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AN APOLOGIE OR DECLARATION OF THE POWER AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD.

CONSISTING IN AN EXAMINATION AND CENSURE OF THE COMMON ERROUR TOUCHING NATURES PERPETUALL AND UNIVERSALL DECAY, DIVIDED INTO SIX BOOKES.

WHEREOF

The first treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some preparatives thereunto.
The second of the pretended decay of the Heavens and Elements, together with that of the Elementary bodies, man onely excepted.
The third of the pretended decay of mankinde in regard of age and duration, of strength and stature, of arts and wits.
The fourth of this pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large proofe of the future consummation of the World from the testimonie of the Gentiles, and the use which we are to draw from the consideration thereof.
The fifth and sixth are spent in answering Objections made since the second impression.

By GEORGE HAKEWILL Doctour of Divinitie and Archdeacon of *Surrey*.

The third Edition revised, and in sundry passages and whole Sections augmented by the Authour; besides the addition of two entire bookes not formerly published.

Ecclesiastes 7. 10.

Say not thou what is the cause that the former dayes are better then these, for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.

OXFORD,
Printed by WILLIAM TURNER Printer to the famous Vniversitie. *Anno Dom.* 1635.

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TO MY VENERABLE MOTHER THE FAMOVS AND FLOVRISHING VNIVERSITIE OF *OXFORD*.



ERE I destitute of all other arguments to demonstrate the *providence of God* in the *preservation of the world*, and to prove that it doth not *universally & perpetually decline*, this one might fully suffice for all, that thou, my *Venerable Mother*, though thou waxe old in regard of yeares, yet in this latter age in regard of strength and beauty, waxest young again. Within the compasse of this last *Centenarie* and lesse, thou hast brought forth such a number of worthy *Sons* for piety, for learning, for wisedome, & for *buildings* hast bin so inlarged and inriched; that hee who shall compare thee with thy selfe, will easily find, that though thou be truly accounted one of the most ancient *Universities* in the World, yet so farre art thou from withering and wrinkles, that thou art rather become fairer and fresher, and in thine issue no lesse happy then heretofore.

The three last *Cardinals* that this Nation had were thine, if that can adde any thing to thine honour. Those thine unnaturall Sons, who of late dayes forsooke thee, and fled to thine Enemies campe, *Harding*, *Stapleton*, *Saunders*, *Rainolds*, *Martyn*, *Bristow*, *Campian*, *Parsons*, even in their fighting against thee, shewed the fruitfulnesse of thy wombe, and the

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efficacie of that milke which they drew from thy breaſts. What one Colledge ever yeelded at one time and from one Country three ſuch *Divines* as *Iewell*, *Raynolds*, & *Hooker*, or two ſuch great wits & *Heroicall* ſpirits as Sir *Thomas Bodley*, and Sir *Henry Savill*. How renowned in forraine parts are thy *Moore*, thy *Sidney*, thy *Cambden*? What rare lights in the Church were *Humphryes*, *Foxe*, *Bilſon*, *Field*, *Abbot*? What pillars thoſe five Sons of thine who at one time lately poſſeſſed the five principall Sees in the Kingdome? So as if I ſhould in this point, touching the *Worlds pretended decay*, be caſt by the votes of others, yet my hope is, that by reflecting upon thy ſelfe, I ſhall be cleared and acquitted by thine.

And in confidence hereof I have to thy *cenſure* ſubmitted this enſuing *Apologie*, which perchance to the *Vulgar* may ſeeme ſomewhat ſtrange, becauſe their eares have beene ſo long inured unto, and conſequently their fancies fore-ſtalled with the contrary opinion. But to thee, I truſt, who judgeſt not upō report, but upon tryall, neither art ſwayed by number and loudneſſe of voyces, but by weight of argument, it will appeare not onely juſt and reaſonable in that it vindicates the glory of the Creator, and a truth as large and wide as the world it ſelfe, but profitable and uſefull for the raiſing up of mens mindes to an endeavour of equalling, yea & ſurpaſsing their noble and worthy *Predeceſſours* in knowledge and vertue; it being certaine that the beſt *Patternes* which we have in them both, either extant at this preſent, or recorded in monuments of ancienter times, had never beene, had they conceived that there was alwayes an inevitable declination as well in the *Arts*, as matter of *Manners*, and that it was impoſsible to ſurmount thoſe that went before them.

I do not beleeve that all Regions of the World, or all ages in the ſame Region affoord wits alwayes alike: but this I thinke, neither is it my opinion alone, but of *Scaliger*, *Vives*, *Budæus*, *Bodine*, and other *great Clarks*, that the wits of theſe latter ages being manured by induſtry, directed by precepts, regulated by method, tempered by diet, refreſhed by exerciſe, and incouraged by rewards, may be as capable of deepe ſpeculations; and produce as *maſculine*, and laſting birthes, as

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any of the ancienter times have done. But if wee conceive them to be *Gyants*, and our selves *Dwarfes*, if we imagine all Sciences already to have received their utmost perfection, so as wee need not but translate & comment upon that which they have done, if we so admire and dote upon Antiquity as wee emulate and envy, nay scorne and trample under foot whatsoever the present age affords, if we spend our best time and thoughts in clyming to honour, in gathering of riches, in following our pleasures, and in turning the edge of our wits one against another, surely there is little hope that we should ever come neere them, much lesse match them: The first step to inable a man to the atchieving of great designes is to bee perswaded that by endeavour hee is able to atchieve it, the next not to be perswaded that whatsoever hath not yet bin done, cannot therefore be done. Not any one man, or nation, or age, but rather *mankinde* is it which in latitude of capacity answeres to the universality of things to bee knowne, And truly had our Fathers thought so reverently of their predecessours, & withall of themselves so basely, that neither any thing of moment was left for them to bee done, nor in case there had beene, were they qualified for the doing thereof; wee had wanted many helpes in learning, which by their travell wee now injoy. By meanes whereof I see not but we might also advance, improve and inlarge our patrimony, as they left it inlarged to us: and thereunto the Arts of *Printing* and *Navigation*, the frequencie of goodly *Libraries*, and liberality of *Benefactours*, are such inducements & furtherances, that if wee excell not all ages that have gone before us, it is onely because we are wanting to our selves.

And as our helpes are more and greater for *knowledge & learning*, so likewise for *goodnesse & vertue*, I meane, since the beames of *Christian Religion* displayed themselves to the World, which for the rooting out of vice & planting of vertue, no *Christian*, I hope, will deny to be incomparably more effectuall then any other Religion that ever yet was heard of in the World: or if others should chance to make a doubt of the certainty of this truth, yet cannot you who preach it, & publish it to others. Doubtlesse being rightly applyed with-

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our apish *superstition* on the one side, or peevish *singularity* on the other, it workes upon the Conscience more forceably, and consequently hath a greater power of making men not outwardly and formally, but really and inwardly vertuous. And if we should looke backe into *Histories*, and compare time with time, wee shall easily finde that where this Profession spred it selfe, men have generally beene more accomplished in all kinde of morall and civill vertues then before it tooke place.

It is true indeed that in processe of time, thorow the *ambition*, *covetousnesse*, *luxury*, *idlenesse*, and *ignorance* of them who should have beene lights in the Church, it too much degenerated from its *Originall* purity, and thereupon manners (being formed by it) were generally tainted, this corruption like a leprosie diffusing it selfe from the head into all the body: But together with the reviving of the *Arts* and *Languages*, which for sundry ages lay buried in barbarisme, the rust of *superstition* was likewise in many places scowred off from Religion, which by degrees had crept upon it, and fretted deepe into the face of it, and the *Arts* being thus refined, and Religion restored to its primitive brightnesse, manners were likewise reformed even among them, at least in part and in shew, who as yet admit not a full reformation in matter of *Religion*. A foule shame then it were for us who professe a thorow reformation in matter of *Doctrine*, to bee thought to grow worse in matter of *manners*, *God* forbid it should be so, I hope it is not so, I am sure it should not bee so: *That grace of God which hath appeared more clearely to us then to our fore-fathers, teaching us to adorne our profession with a gratious and vertuous conversation, to deny ungodlinesse and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, & righteously, and godly in this present world: soberly* in regard of our selves, *righteously* in regard of others, and *godly* in regard of religious exercises.

If then we come short of our *Ancestours* in *knowledge*, let us not cast it upon the deficiencie of our wits in regard of the *VVorlds decay*, but upon our owne *sloth*; if wee come short of them in *vertue*, let us not impute it to the *declination of the VVorld*, but to the malice and faintnes of our *owne wills*; if we

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feele the ſcourges of God upon our Land by mortality, famine, unſeaſonable weather, or the like, let us not teach the people that they are occaſioned by the *VVorlds old age*, and thereby call into queſtion the *providence*, or *power*, or *wiſedome*, or *juſtice*, or *goodneſſe* of the Maker thereof; but by their and our *ſinnes*, which is doubtleſſe both the truer and more profitable doctrine, and withall more conſonant to the Sermons of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, & the *Prophets of God* in like caſes. And withall let us freely acknowledge that *Almighty God* hath beſtowed many bleſſings upon theſe latter ages, which to the former he denyed, as in ſending us vertuous & gracious Princes, and by them the maintenance of piety, and peace, and plenty, and the like. Leſt thorow our ingratitude he withdraw them from us, & make us know their worth by wanting them, which by injoying them wee underſtood not.

But I will not preſume to aduiſe where I ſhould learne, only I will unfainedly wiſh and heartily pray, that at leaſtwiſe your *practiſe* may ſtill make good mine *opinion*, maintained in this Booke, and refute the contrary and common errour oppoſed therein, that you may ſtill grow in *knowledge* and *grace*, and that your vertues may alwayes riſe and increaſe together with your buildings. Theſe latter without the former, being but as a *body without a ſoule.*

Spectemur agendo.

Yours to do you ſervice to the utmoſt

of his poore abilitie

GEORGE HAKEWILL.

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THE PREFACE.



Truth it is, that this enſuing Treatiſe was long ſince in my younger yeares begunne by me for mine owne private exerciſe and ſatisfaction; but afterward conſidering not onely the rarity of the ſubject, and variety of the matter, but withall that it made for the *redeeming of a captivated truth*, the *vindicating of Gods glory*, the *advancement of learning*, & *the honour of the Chriſtian & reformed Religion*, by the adviſe and with the approbation and incouragement of ſuch ſpeciall friends, whoſe piety, learning, and wiſedome I well know, and much reverence, I reſolved (*permiſſu ſuperiorum* and none otherwiſe) to make it publique for the publique good, and the encountring of a publique errour, which may in ſome ſort be equalled, if not preferred before the quelling of ſome great monſter. Neither doe I take it to lie out of my *profeſſion*, the principall marke which I ayme at throughout the whole body of the Diſcourſe being an *Apologeticall defence of the power and providence of God*, his *wiſedome*, his *truth*, his *juſtice*, *his goodneſſe* & *mercy*, and beſides, a great part of the booke it ſelfe is ſpent in preſſing *Theologicall* reaſons, in clearing doubts ariſing from thence, in producing frequent teſtimonies from *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, *Schoolemen*, and *moderne Divines*, in proving that *Antichriſt* is already come, from the writings of the *Romaniſts* themſelves, in confirming the article of our faith touching the Worlds future and totall conſummation by fire, and a day of finall judgement from diſcourſe of reaſon and the writings of the *Gentiles*, and laſtly by concluding the whole worke with a pious *meditation* touching the uſes which we may and ſhould make of the conſideration thereof, ſerving for a terrour to ſome, for comfort to others, for admonition to all. And how other men may ſtand affected in reading, I know not, ſure I am that in writing, it often lifted up my ſoule in admiring and prayſing the infinite *wiſedome* and *bounty* of the *Creator*, in maintaining and managing his owne worke, in the government and preſervation of the *Univerſe*, which in truth is nothing elſe but (as the Schooles ſpeake) *continuata productio*, a continuated production: and often did it call to my mind thoſe holy raptures of the *Pſalmiſt*, *O Lord our governour, how excellent is thy Name in*

all the world: Thou Lord hast made me glad through they workes, and I will reioyce in giving praise for the operations of thy hands, O Lord, how glorious are thy workes, and thy thoughts are very deepe. An unwise man doth not well consider this, and a foole doth not well understand it. And againe, *The workes of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein, His worke is worthy to be praysed and had in honour, and his righteousnes endureth for ever.*

Psal. 8.1. Psal. 92.4.5.6. 111.2.3.

He that shall narrowly observe the prints of the *Almightie's* foot steppes, traced throughout this ensuing discourse, may not unjustly from thence collect, both comfort and assurance; that as the Heavens remaine unchangeable, so doth the Church triumphant in Heaven, and as all things under the cope of heaven vary and change, so doth the militant heere on earth; it hath its times and turnes, sometimes flowing & againe ebbing with the *sea*, sometimes waxing, and againe waning with the *Moone*, which great light, it seemes, the *Almighty* therefore set the lowest in the heavens, and neareſt the Earth, that it might dayly put us in minde of the constancy of the one, and inconstancy of the other, her selfe in some sort partaking of both, though in a different manner; of the one in her substance, of the other in the copie of her visage.

And if the *Moone* thus change, and all things under the *Moone*, why should we wonder at the change of *Monarchies* and *Kingdomes*? much lesse petty states and private families: they rise, and fall, and rise againe, and fall againe, that no man might either too confidently presume, because they are subject to continuall alteration; or cast away all hope, & fall to despaire, because they have their seasons and appointed times of returning againe.

Nemo confidat nimium secundis,
Nemo desperet meliora, lapsus:
Miscet haec illis, prohibetque Clotho
Stare fortunam. Sen.

Let him that stands take heed lest that he fall,
Let him that's falne hope he may rise againe;
The providence divine that mixeth all,
Chaines joy to griefe by turnes, and losse to gaine.

I must confesse that sometimes looking stedfastly upon the present face of things, both at home and abroad, I have often beene put to a stand, and staggered in mine opinion, whether I were in the right or no: and perchance the state of my body, and present condition, in regard of those faire hopes I sometimes had, served as false perspective glasses to looke through, but when againe I abstracted and rayſed my thoughts to an higher pitch, and as from a vantage ground tooke a larger view, comparing time with time, and thing with thing, and place with place, and considered my selfe as a member of the *Vniverse*, and a *Citizen of the World*, I found that what was lost to one part, was gained to another; and what was lost in one time, was to the same part recovered in another; and so the ballance by

by the divine providence over-ruling all, kept upright. But commonly it fares with men in this case, as with one who lookes onely upon some libbet, or end of a peece of *Arras*, hee happily conceives an hand or head which he sees, to bee very unartificially made: but unfolding the whole, soone findes that it carries a due and just proportion to the body; so, *qui ad pauca respicit, de facili pronunciat* (saith *Aristotle*) hee that is so narrow eyed as he lookes onely to his owne person or family, to his owne corporation or nation, or the age wherein himselfe lives, will peradventure quickly conceive, and as soone pronounce, that all things decay and goe backwards, which makes men murmure and repine against *God*, under the name of *Fortune* and *Destinie*; whereas hee that as a part of mankinde in generall, takes a view of the *universall*, compares person with person, family with family, corporation with corporation, nation with nation, age with age; suspends his judgement, and upon examination clearely findes, *that all things worke together for the best to them that love God*: and that though some members suffer, yet the whole is no way thereby indammaged at any time; and at other times those same members are againe relieved, as the Sunne when it sets to us, it rises to our *Antipodes*, and when it remooves from the *Northerne* parts of the world, it cherishes the *Southerne*, yet stayes not there, but returnes againe with his comfortable beames to those very parts which for a time it seemed to have forsaken: *O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodnesse, and declare the wonders that he hath done for the children of men*! or at least wise cry out in admiration with the *Apostle*, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdome and knowledge of our God, how unsearchable are his pathes, and his wayes past finding out!*

Rom. 8. 28.

Rom. 11. 33.

Yet the next way, in some measure to finde them out, (so farre as is possible for us poore wormes heere crawling in a mist upon the face of the Earth) is, next the sacred Oracles of supernaturall and revealed Truth, to study the great Volume of the *Creature*, and the *Histories* not onely of our owne, but of forraigne Countreyes, and those not onely of the present, but more auncient times. *Enquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thy selfe to the search of their Fathers, for we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our dayes upon earth are but a shadow.* If then, to make my party good, and to waite upon Divinity, I have called in subsidiary aydes, from *Philosophers*, *Historiographers*, *Mathematitians*, *Grammarians*, *Logicians*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Souldiers*, *Travellers*, *Lawyers*, *Physitians*, and if I have in imitation of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius*, endeavoured to cut the throates of the *Paynims* with their owne swords, and pierce them with their owne quils, I hope no learned man, or lover of Learning will censure me for this. *Philosophie* and the *Arts* I must account a part of mine owne profession; and for *Physicke* and the *Lawes*, I have therein consulted the chiefe, as well in this *Vniversity*, as out of it, of mine owne acquaintance; nay in *History*, the *Mathematiques* and *Divinity* it selfe, I have not onely had the approbation of the publique professours therein, for the maine points in my booke, which concerne their severall professions; but some peeces I must acknowledge as received from

Iob. 8. 8.

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them, which I have made bold to inſert into the body of my diſcourſe; let no man thinke then that I maintaine a paradoxe for oſtentation of wit, or have written out of ſpleene, to gall any man in particular, nor yet to humour the preſent times; the times themſelves, mine indiſpoſition that way, and reſolution to ſit downe content with my preſent fortunes; if they ſerve not to give others ſatisfaction therein, yet doe they fully to cleeare me to my ſelfe, from any ſuch aſperſion: yet thus much, I hope, I ſafely may ſay without ſuſpition of flattery, that by the goodneſſe of God, and our gratious Soveraigne under God, we yet enjoy many great bleſſings which former ages did not, and were wee thankefull for theſe as wee ought, and truely penitent for our exceſſe in all kinde of monſtrous ſinnes (which above all, threatens our ruine) I nothing doubt but upon our returne to our God by humiliation and newneſſe of life; hee would ſoone diſſolue the cloud which hangs over us, and returne unto us with the comfortable beames of his favour, and make us to returne each to other with mutuall imbracements of affection and duety, and our Armies and Fleets to returne with ſpoyle and victory, and reduce againe as golden and happy times, as ever wee or our fore-fathers ſaw: but if wee ſtill goe on with an high hand, and a ſtiffe necke in our prophaneſſe, our pride, our luxury, our uncharitableneſſe, our unnaturall diviſions in Church and Common wealth, there needs no *prophetical* ſpirit to divine what will ſhortly become of us; *Turne us; O turne us againe O Lord God of hoſtes, ſhew the light of thy Countenance and wee ſhall be whole*; ſhew the light of thy Countenance and wee ſhall bee provident in counſell, ſucceſſefull in warre, ſober in peace, a terrour to our enemies, and a comfort to our allyes and confederates. *Turne thee againe thou God of hoſtes, looke downe from heaven, behold and viſite this vine, and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted: & the branch that thou madeſt ſo ſtrong for thy ſelfe.*

Wee need goe no farther then the nation of the *Iewes* for a notable inſtance in this kinde; who at times more zealous then they in the worſhip of God and the exerciſe of Religion? and who againe at other times more rebellious? It is ſaid of them in the *Pſalme*, *then beleeved they his words*; but preſently it followes in the very next verſe, *they ſoone forgot his workes*: and according to their obedience or rebellion, ſowere they either proſperous or unfortunate in the courſe of their affaires, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thouſand ſtrong; and as much as a great Senate for counſell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe, if they ſwerved (as often they did) their wonted courage, and magnanimity forſooke them utterly; their ſouldiers and military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and ſate in counſell for their owne good, that which children might have ſeene, their graveſt Senatours could not diſcerne, their *Prophets* ſaw darkeneſſe in ſteed of viſions, and the wiſe and prudent were as men betwitcht.

If then we come ſhort of that courage and valour which made our Aunceſtours ſo renowned by ſea and land, not onely in *France*, and *Spaine*,

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Spaine, and the *Netherlands*, but in *Palæstina* it ſelfe; ſure it is not, becauſe the *World declines*, but becauſe our *luxury* increaſes; the moſt evident *ſymptome* of a declining ſtate, for as all *Empires* have riſen to their greatneſſe by *vertue*, and ſpecially by *ſobriety* and *frugality*; ſo is it cleare that by vice, and ſpecially by *luxury*, (which of neceſſity drawes on ſoftnes and cowardiſe) they have all againe declined and come to nothing; and out of their aſhes have others ſprung up, which likewiſe within a while (ſuch a *circulation* there is in all things) have beene turned into aſhes againe.

As when the winde the angry Ocean moves,
Wave hunteth wave, and billow billow ſhoves:
So doe all Nations juſtle each the other,
And ſo one people doth purſue another,
And ſcarce a ſecond hath the firſt unhouſed,
Before a third him thence againe hath rowſed.

Barlæus in his Colonies.

----Sic Medus adeuntis
Aſſyrio, Medoque tulit moderamina Perſes,
Subjecit Perſen Macedo, ceſſurus & Ipſe
Romanis.
Thus did the *Medes* root out th' *Aſſyrian* race,
The *Perſian* quickly foyl'd the *Medes*, in place
Of him ſubdu'd, up ſtarts the *Macedo*,
Who eftſoones yeeldes unto the *Roman* foe.

Claudian. l. 3 in laudes Stiliconis

And laſtly the *Romans* themſelves as by vertue and piety, in their ſuperſtitious way they wanne, and mightily inlarged their Empire, ſo being come to the toppe, they loſt it againe by vice and irreligion: ſo true is that of the *Comicall Poet*,

Hæc niſi urbe aberunt, centuplex
Murus rebus ſervandis parum eſt.
Unleſſe theſe vices baniſht bee.
What ever forts you have,
An hundred walls together put,
Will not have power to ſave.

Plautus in Perſa.

With whom accords the *Tragicall*.

----Ubi non eſt pudor,
Nec cura juris, ſanctitas, pietas, fides,
Inſtabile regnum eſt.
Where is no modeſtie, nor equitie,
Nor ſanctitie, nor pietie,
No nor fidelitie,
In ſuch a Kingdome certainely
There can be noe ſtability.

Who ſo is wiſe then will ponder theſe things, & they ſhall underſtand the loving kindeneſſe of the Lord.

Againe, for matter of *learning* and *knowledge* if we come ſhort of the *Ancients*; wee need not impute it to *natures decay*; our owne riot, our idleneſſe and negligence in regard of them, will ſufficiently diſcharge nature, and juſtly caſt back the blame upon our ſelves. *Falſa*

L. Vives de cauſ. corrupt. artium lib. 1.

eſt enim atque inepta illa quorundam ſimilitudo, quam multi tanquam acutiſſimam atque appoſitiſſimam excipiunt, nos adpriores collatos, eſſe ut nanos in humeris gigantum: non eſt ita, nec nos ſumus nani, nec illi, homines gigantes, ſed omnes ejuſdem ſtaturæ, & quidem nos altius evecti eorum beneficio: maneat modo in nobis, quod in illis, ſtudium, attentio animi, vigilantia, & amor veri: quæ ſi abſint, jam non nani ſumus, nec in gigantum humeris ſedemus, ſed homines juſtæ magnitudinis humi proſtrati. For a falſe and fond ſimilitude it is of ſome, which they take up as a moſt witty and proper one, that wee being compared to the Ancients, are as Dwarfes upon the ſhoulders of Gyants: it is not ſo, neither are we Dwarfes nor they Gyants, but we are all of one ſtature, ſave that we are lifted up ſomewhat higher by their meanes, conditionally there bee found in us the ſame ſtudiouſneſſe, watchfulneſſe, and love of truth, as was in them: which if they be wanting, then are wee not Dwarfes, nor ſet on the ſhoulders of Gyants, but men of a competent ſtature groveling on the earth.

We wonder (as well we may) at *Ariſtotles* wit expreſſed in his voluminous workes, but his indefatigable paines in ſtudy, wee conſider not, holding in his hand when hee layde him downe to reſt, a ball of braſſe, which as ſoone as ſleepe overtooke him, fell into a baſin of braſſe, purpoſely ſet under, that ſo being awaked with the noyſe thereof, he might againe returne to his booke: and though he were, as witneſſeth *Cenſorinus*, of ſo craſie a body (that it is more ſtrange hee ſhould live to his *Climacterical* yeare, then that he then died) yet by the invincible ſtrength of his minde, did hee wade thorow a world of difficulties, and hath thereby left ſuch fruites thereof to the world, as hath deſervedly wonne him immortall honour. *Seneca* a man of an admirable vivacity of ſpirit, writes of himſelfe, that one day he heard *Attalus* the Philoſopher in his publique Lectures, commend a bed which yeelded not to the body, and thereupon addes, *tali utor etiam ſenex, in qua veſtigium apparere non poſſit*; ſuch a one doe I now uſe, though well ſtricken in yeares, in which my body leaves no print behinde it: hee likewiſe by the perſwaſion of the ſame *Attalus* abſtained from Oyſters, from wine, from bathings, he fed ſometimes upon a cruſt of drie bread, ſometimes upon wilde fruit, taken from the hedge, and quenched his thirſt with faire running water, and this hee did for love of knowledge, in a moſt luxurious age, living in the court it ſelfe, abounding in riches and honour, and having all kindes of pleaſures at command. The like doth *Plinius Cæcilius* in his Epiſtle to *Marcus*, write of his unkle Tutour to the Emperour *Veſpaſian*, as was *Seneca* to *Nero*: to his rare naturall endowments, hee added inceſſant watchfulneſſe, and labour in reading and writing, his diet was ſparing and thinne, his ſleepe ſhort and little, in ſo much that his Nephew *Cæcilius* freely confeſſeth of himſelfe: *ſoleo ridere cum me quidam ſtudioſum vocant, qui, ſi comparer illi, ſum deſidioſiſſimus*: I am wont to ſmile when they tearme me a hard ſtudent, who being compared with him, am in truth a very truant: But to come nearer home, King *Alfred* thought to be founder or reſtorer of the Univerſity of *Oxford* is reported to have caſt the naturall day, conſiſting of 24. houres, into three parts, whereof the one he ſpent in affaires

Epiſt. 108.

of

of ſtate, a ſecond in the ſervice of his body, and the reſidue in prayer, ſtudy, and writing, which ſpaces of time, having then none other engine for that purpoſe, hee meaſured by a great waxe light divided into ſo many parts, receiving notice by the keeper thereof, as the ſeverall houres paſſed in burning.

Such examples as theſe of the *Auncient* wee admire, wee commend, wee willingly reade and recite, but follow the faſhion of our owne times.

Laudamus veteres ſed noſtris utimur annis.

The common complaint is, that we want time, but the truth is, *Non parum habemus temporis, ſed multum perdimus*, wee doe not ſo much want as waſt it, either *malè agendo*, or *nihil agendo*, or *aliud agendo*, either in doing naughtines, or nothing, or impertinencies, wee doe *bonas horas malè collocare*, trifle out our pretious houres in eating & drinking, & ſleeping, and ſporting, and gaming, and dreſſing our bodies, and then give out & perſwade our ſelves, that *Nature* forſooth is decayed, that our bodies cannot endure that ſtudy which our Predeceſſours did: and truely I thinke many juſtly complaine of weake and craſie bodies, but withall that more have made them ſo, by intemperance then ſtudy, or found them ſo by nature; let us then lay the fault where it is, and accuſe our ſelves, not *Nature*, or rather God under that name. And yet what the bodies of men even in theſe latter ages being throughly put to it, are able to endure, the extant workes of *Toſtatus*, *Eraſmus*, *Geſner*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, and others ſufficiently teſtifie; it is to this effect a true ſpeech of *Arnoldus Clapmarius* in his *nobile triennium, incredibile eſt quantum breviſſimo tempore humana poſsit aſſequi induſtria*, it is incredible what the induſtrie of mā in a very ſhort time may attaine unto. Maſter *Foxe* in his Latine Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed before his *Acts and Monuments*, reports of himſelfe, that having but a ſickly body, in leſſe then eighteene *moneths* ſpace he read authours, conferred copies, ſearched records, gathered matters, digeſted it into order, reviſed it, &c. for that great worke, and this to bee true ſaith hee, *noverunt ij qui teſtes adfuerunt, & temporis conſcij, & laboris ſocij*, they know full well who were preſent as witneſſes, being both privie to my tyme, and companions of my labour; And *Ioſeph Scaliger* in the life of his father *Iulius* tels us likewiſe of himſelfe, that when hee began firſt with the *Greeke* tongue, in *one and twenty* dayes he learned over all *Homer* with the *comment*, and within *foure moneths* (to uſe his owne words) *he devoured all the reſt of the Greeke Poets*. They were doubtleſſe great matters which *Peter Ramus* went through in ſhort time, as appeares in his life; yet not ſo much by the quickeneſſe and ſtrength of wit (though therein hee excelled) as by his aſſiduity and temperance, which was ſuch, that hee would drinke no wine, till by his Phyſitians hee was injoyned ſo to do; and from his youth to his dying day never uſed by his good will any other bedding then ſtraw; and in his ſtudy ſo watchfull hee was, that if he heard in the morning the ſmiths or carpenters, or other artiſans at worke before he were ſtirring, he would blame himſelfe of negligence and ſloathfulneſſe, that they ſhould prevent him, and be more diligent

Seneca. Idem.

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in their mechanicall trades, then hee in the ſtudie of the liberall ſciences: And (to adde one more) of our rare *Iewell*, Doctour *Humphryes* teſtifies, that hee was *& ſtudioſorum calcar, & ſtudiorum norma, & indefeſſa diligentia ſingulare ſpecimen*, a ſpurre to ſtudents, a rule of ſtudies, and a ſingular preſident of unwearied ſtudiouſneſſe; and againe, *victus nimis ſcholaſticus & ſimplex fuit, corpus macilentum & perimbecillum, ut mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuiſſe ſufficere*: his diet was very ſparing, and ſomewhat too ſcholler-like, his body thinne and very weake, ſo as a man might juſtly wonder, how it could indure and bring about ſuch and ſo many labours.

And certaine it is (what ever our wits pretend to the contrary) that never any became excellent in any profeſſion, or was famous for any notable worke, who was not *abſtemious* and *induſtrious*.

Multa tulit fecitque puer, ſudavit & alſit.

Hee did both doe and ſuffer many things.
Both heat and cold, &c.

And I verily thinke, did the ſtudents in our Univerſities, carefully and conſtantly obſerve thoſe houres for prayer (eſpecially in the morning) which our wiſe and godly founders by their locall ſtatutes require in our ſeverall Colledges, we ſhould ſoone by Gods bleſſing find a change both in manners and learning; and thereby ſtop the mouthes of ſuch both at home and abroad, as cry out that wee have loſt our ancient reputation, and that the *Ieſuites* by the ſtrictneſſe of their diſcipline have gotten the ſtart of us, and wonne the ſpurres from us. *Antiquitùs ſtrictiſſimè fuit obſervatum ut exceptis graduatis, nemo animi, vel etiam negotij cujuſquam ſui cauſa è Collegio ſuo ſine ſuperioris petita & obtenta licentia, (ſocio etiam aſſignato) egredi poſſet; ingredi civium domos, prandium aut cœnam apud eos ſumere, non niſi maxima urgente cauſa, & quaſi ex ſpeciali indulto, cuiquam licuit: popinas autem intrare, & in hoſpitijs publicis convivari, vel in ædibus alicujus civis pernoctare piaculum erat, nam in his ſi quis deliquiſſet, ex Academia niſi magna aliqua ratio ſubfuiſſet cum dedecore ejiciebatur.* I neede not *Engliſh* it, but wiſh it practiſed. And conclude this point with that of *Quintilian*, which cannot too often be remembred; *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, ſed ultra nobis quam oportebat indulſimus, ita non tam ingenio nos illi ſuperârunt, quam propoſito.* Nature hath not made us more uncapable then our Anceſtours, but wee have beene too indulgent to our ſelves, by which meanes it comes to paſſe that they ſurmount us not ſo much by the goodneſſe of wits, as ſtudiouſneſſe and endeavour.

Piſcon Relat. Hiſt. tom. 1. c. 9. de Acad. Oxon.

Orat. 2. 5.

Now for the worke it ſelfe I am well aſſured (as all other Bookes and actions) it will be diverſly cenſured, as men ſtand diverſly affected: if but three gueſts meet at a feaſt, they will hardly accord in one diſh; & truely I thinke that as mens fancies (could they bee ſeene) would bee found to differ more then their faces; ſo are their judgements more different then their taſts: but this common courteſie (due by the Lawes of civility and humanity) I ſhall crave (which I hope no ingenuous minde

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minde will deny mee) that I bee not condemned before I bee understood.

Ne mea dona tibi studio disposita fideli, Lucret. lib. 1.
Intellecta prius quam sint, contempta relinquas.

Doe not cast off with surly scorne
What heere I offer thee,
Before thou understand aright
What heere is said by mee,

Legant & postea despiciant, ne videantur non ex judicio, sed ex odij præ- Hieronymus.
sumptione ignorata damnare: first reade, and then despise lest thou seeme to condemne that which thou knowest not, rather out of malitious prejudice, then advised judgement, and if upon a serious perusall and ballancing of mine arguments any shall yet vary from mee, I quarrell him not, but hope wee may both injoy our opinions without any breach of *faith* or *charity*; onely I say that the question is surely noble, and worthy to be discussed by a more noble pen, as being a disquisition touching the shippe wherein we all sayle, whether it bee staunch or no, and herein will be the tryall, *Opinionum commenta dies delet, naturæ judicia confirmat*; time weares out dreames of fancie, but strengthens the dictates of Nature and Truth; as the Sun-beames being imprisoned, as it were, for a time, worke through a thicke mist, though with some difficulty, but being once broken through, and the mist dispelled, they shine out and continue cleare.

I have walked (I confesse) in an untroden path, neither can I trace the prints of any footsteppes that have gone before mee, but onely as it led them to some other way, thwarting, and upon the by, not directly: some parts belonging to this discourse, some have slightly handled, none throughly considered of the whole: which I speake not to derogate from their worth (it being *puerilis jactantiæ accusando illustres* Hieronymus.
viros suo nomini famam quærere; a childish kinde of bragging to hunt after applause by contradicting famous men) but onely to shew that whiles they intended another thing, they might happily in this be carried away with the common streame: for surely such a sweet harmony there is betweene all the members of this body, such a coherence and mutuall dependance betwixt all the linkes of this chaine, that hee who takes a view of the whole, will easily grant that hee might be deceived by looking upon some parts thereof.

Yet some perchance will conceive, I might have delivered my minde with lesse expence of words and time, and truly I must acknowledge that *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum*; it cannot bee but in speaking so much somewhat should be spoken amisse. Yet withall it must be remembred, that being to grapple with such a Gyant-like monster, I could not thinke him dead till I had his head off: and that which to some may seeme superfluous or impertinent, will happily by others be thought not unprofitable or unpleasant, the paines is mine, and if it be over-done, done I am sure it is; if I have said more then enough, enough is said to serve the turne.

And

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And if any ſhall have a minde to publiſh any thing againſt that I have written, I ſhall deſire it may be done fairely, not by ſucking of the ſoares, and flying over the ſound parts, nor by nibbling upon the twigges, and utmoſt branches, but by ſtriking at the roote or body of the tree, or at leaſtwiſe ſome of the principall limbes thereof; and in the meane ſeaſon, I ſay with Saint *Auguſtine*, *Quiſquis hæc legit, ubi pariter certus eſt, pergat mecum; ubi pariter hæſitat, quærat mecum; ubi errorem ſuum cognoſcit, redeat ad me; ubi meum, revocet me*: whoſoever thou art that reades this diſcourſe, where thou art aſſured, goe on with me; where thou art in doubt, ſearch with me; where thou doſt acknowledge thine errour, returne to me; where thou findeſt mine, recall me; and conclude with *Lactantius*: *Etiamſi nulli alij, nobis certè proderit, delectabit ſe conſcientia, gaudebitque mens in veritatis ſe luce verſari, quod eſt animæ pabulum incredibili quâdam jucunditate perfuſum*: If this Treatiſe profit none elſe, yet ſhall it me, my conſcience ſhall comfort it ſelfe, and my minde bee refreſhed in the light of Truth, which is the foode of the ſoule, mixed with delight incredible.

Lib. 1. de tri. cap. 3.

[***]

Rode caper vites, tamen hic, cum ſtabis ad aras,
In tua quod fundi cornua poſſit, erit.

An

An Advertisement to the Reader occasioned by this third impression.

SInce the second impression of my booke some occurrents have falne out which I could not well passe over in silence.

About two yeares since there came to mine hands a little booke, intituled *De Naturæ constantia, seu Diatribe in qua per posteriorum temporum cum prioribus collationem, mundum nec ratione suipsius, nec ratione partium, universaliter & perpetuò in pejus ruere ostenditur.* The authour of it calls himselfe *Iohannes Ionstonus a Polonian.* This booke after the receit thereof I soone perused, and found it to be upon the matter little else but a translation of mine contracted into a narrower compasse, the methode is mine, the arguments are mine, the authorities mine, the instances mine, but by mangling and gelding of it, hee hath neither retained the force of my reasons, nor the face of my discourse: so as I may in this case justly take up that of the *Epigrammatist,*

Quem recitas meus est ô Fidentine libellus;
Sed male dum recitas, incipit esse tuus.

True indeed it is, that in two or three places he hath named me, yet so as he not only mistakes my name, but would not seeme to have borrowed from me so much as it is apparent he hath, yet thus I will say for him, that his stile is not to be discommended, and in some other workes of his hee hath shewed himselfe not unlearned.

Since my second impression likewise many papers and letters have passed between a Reverend *Prelate* of this Kingdome and my selfe, aswell touching the generall subject, as sundry peeces of my *Apologie*, which hath occasioned the fifth booke, and in a good part the sixth, now added to the other foure. The motive that drew on these papers and letters betwixt us will in part appeare, both by his Lordships Epistle to the Reader, and my answer thereunto, prefixed to the fifth booke.

These

THeſe enſuing teſtimonies which ſome Reverend Prelates, and other grave Divines, and learned Profeſſours have beene pleaſed under their hands to impart unto mee concerning my booke, and the ſubject thereof, more ample then I can acknowledge, or deſerve, I ſhould not have publiſhed, had I not found mine endeavours sleighted by ſome, and by others in the maine point oppoſed, profeſſing themſelves ſtill unſatisfied, as if I maintained a paradoxe for oſtentation of wit, or affectation of ſingularitie, rather then a ſound poſition for love of truth, and the advancement of Gods glory.

Worthy Sir,

IT lyeth not in my power to make any ſufficient requitall unto you for the many courteſies which I received from you at Oxford; *but ſpecially for your laſt remembrance of mee with that noble monument of your learning and induſtrie, which you were pleaſed to ſend unto mee. Other bookes I ſeldome reade but once, and that curſorily too, for the moſt part: but here,* juvat uſque morari; *the things contained therein being ſo artificially mixed with ſuch variety of learning and matter of delight, that they cannot but* decies repetita placere, *&c.*

Your faithfull friend and brother
Ia. Armachanus.

GOod Mr Doctour, give me leave I pray you, with many harty ſalutations and much deſire of your acquaintance, to thanke you for the great pleaſure and contentment I have received in reading againe and againe, your learned and excellent diſcourſe touching the power and providence of God in the government of the world. Wherein as I could wiſh not any thing to be defalked, ſo me thought I wanted now and then the expreſſing of the Roman & Greeke *ſummes in our moneyes currant now a dayes &c.*

Your loving friend and harty well-willer, *Fr. Hereford.*

FOr your booke as you treat on a ſubject wherein much learning may bee ſhewed, ſo truly you have ſhewed it abundantly, and I thinke there is no ingenuous ſcholler but doth worthily eſteeme and commend it. &c.

Your loving friend and brother to be commanded, *Godfr. Gloucester.*

Theſe

These testimonies following I have the rather added, partly for that in my *Preface* to the Reader I had affirmed, that for the maine points of my booke, I had the approbation of the *publique Professours* therein, and partly to shew their concurrence in opinion with me, to whose censure I had in mine *Epistle Dedicatory* submitted both my selfe & my booke.

Reverend Sir.

WHen you first proposed unto mee the probleme which is the subject of your learned discourse, I was then your adversary in the point, but now am your convert. I have learned from you, that our many defects argue not a successive decay and consumption in Nature: for if from the beginning, the beeing of the Creature, had beene attended with daily losse of entitie and perfections, how hath it escaped not-beeing or annihilation? The age wherein you live owes hereunto you the restitution to her proper inheritance, together with an assured hope, that her posterity shall not perish, till that finall dissolution by the power of God. You adde life to the endeavours of both, seeing they cannot longer doubt that they may equall (if not transcend) the Acts and vertues of their Predecessours.

Samuel Fell Professour for the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*.

SIr, as reason perswades judgement, so report credulity. A populat tradition is soone prevalent: but sounder learning as soone destroyes it. So hath your accurate industrie confounded that vulgar error of deficient nature. My owne profession must subscribe to it. Never did the Orientall languages finde such perfection as in this last Century.

Iohn Morris S. T. D. King's Professour of the *Hebrew* tongue in the Universitie of *Oxon*.

Reverend Sir.

I Am informed by Religion and Reason, that there is an infinite Power, Providence, propagation, and Protection. Had I but doubted of this, I might easily have beene taught it by your learned labours. And the World can never winne me to beleeve an universall decay, while there lives so strong a penne to maintaine the perpetuall flourishing of it, till it shall be no more.

Ed. Lapworth. M. D. & Natur. Philosoph. Professor Sedlianus.

Reverend Learned Sir,

YOur Booke of the Providence of God, &c. I hold to be a worke of good Iudgement, truth, and use. We finde in Physicke, Simples in Nature for medicines, and our constitutions to bee the same they were of old, for the

generall, though particulars may be accidentally weaker: and so ascending to their higher causes, the Elements and Heavens, Sunne, Moone, &c. are (I am perswaded) the same as they were created. The universe is (I thinke) and shall continue the same, by God his power and goodnesse, till it be dissolved by the same breath which made it.

Tho. Clayton. Med. Prof. Regius.

Reverend Sir.

YOur learned and elegant Apologie doth so clearely demonstrate a permanent vigour of Nature, both celestiall and sublunarie, and so strongly convince all pretended reasons for a perpetuall and generall decay, that the Reader (not obstinately resolute to maintaine his owne Hypothesis) cannot but see and reject the common errour, and from you receive and embrace the Truth, to which I must willingly subscribe.

Io. Bainbridge Med. D. & Astronomiæ
Professor Savilianus.

This testimonie following was sent me since my second impression, but long before the death of the worthy Authour thereof.

Reverend Sir,

MY opinion hath alwayes inclined to believe, that the world ever since the flood, hath by the infinite wisedome and power of the Almightie Creatour, beene preserved in that strength and beauty which it then enjoyed. And since I have perused your very excellent learned discourse upon this argument, I am wholly confirmed in the same: your great varietie of excellent proofes out of all antiquitie, assuring me, that neither the Heavens nor the Earth, neither the mindes nor the bodies of men have suffered any generall decay. And that God hath granted the knowledge of many strange and excellent things to this age, which in times past were altogether unknowne.

Henricus Briggius
Geometriæ professor Savilianus.

Reverend Sir.

I Must confesse before the reading of your booke, I was of that opinion (touching the universall decay of the world) which you justly tearme a popular errour: but through the strength of your arguments, the weight of your authorities, and pregnancie of instances alleadged, am I now otherwise perswaded: nor have I in my slender reading observed, or doe I thinke that History either ancient or moderne, can afford reasons and instances, of equall number and weight to disproove your assertion.

Degorem Wheare Hist. Præl.
Camdenianus.

Good

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GOod Doctour Hakewill, I have ever beene of your opinion, that the generall decay which is pretended to be in Nature, and in bodies naturall, both celestiall and elementarie, is but a meere conceit: as also that the perpetuall declination, which is supposed to attend mankinde, in regard of age, strength, wit and manners, through naturall causes, is but a common errour: which you have fully proved in your learned and copious discourse: and now at fourescore and ten yeares of age I shall not easily be otherwise perswaded.

Thom. Allen
of Gloceſter Hall.

FIngere aliquid aut comminiſci quod longiuſculæ taciturnitati meæ prætexerem, nihil videtur opus (clariſſime Hakewille:) teipſum enim haudquaquam latet, quibus occupationibus ſtudijſvè ego plerunque diſtineri ſoleam, ſic ut intermittenti officio, vel etiam aliquando ceſſanti, paratiſſimam apud te veniam eſſe nullus dubitem: ſed nec tuorum in me meritorum oblivionem ſubrepere poſſe facilis ſuſpicio erit, quoties memineris, quibus me jampridem amoris tui pignoribus obſtrinxeris, & nuper etiam imprimis, ubi Apologiam illam à te recens ſcriptam mihi donare peramanter dignatus es: quo munere cave mihi quicquam abs te majoris pretij gratiuſve acceſſiſſe putes. Effabor hoc animo, uno cum illo libro, nihil eruditius, nihil elegantius ſub noſtro hoc cœlo natum meo quidem judicio viſum eſt. Miſſa enim ut faciam quæſtionis ſubjectæ gravitatem, narrationum perſpicuitatem, argumentorum vim, teſtium denique quos citas & authorum dignitatem ſimul & numerum: Deus bone! totius methodi ἐυρύθμια qualis, & concinnitas! rerum, materiarumque quanta ſeges! doctrinarum quæ varietas! atque indè, quam ſalutaris & opportuna voluptas! expertus loquor, utpote qui poſtquam à munere publico vacare paullulùm licuerit, crebrò huc me contuli, ſine tædio & fatigatione omni hîc ſæpiùs quaſi inambulavi, neq; facilè unquam pedem retuli niſi cum fructu, & ſpico aliquo melioris literaturæ è cultiſſimo uberrimoque hoc agro tuo decerpto. Macte eſto (vir venerande) & perge tu de repub. literariâ deque eccleſia Dei ulteriùs mereri.

Verè Tuus
Deg. Whear.

Reverendiſſimo viro, & de optimis optime merito
Georgio Hakewillo S.T.D. εὐχαριστήριον.

ECce laborabat varijs erroribus orbis,
Quem ſuus oppreſſit (nulla ruina) metus.
Telluris merſæ, jam jamq; cadentis Olympi,
Aeris exhauſti, deficientis aquæ:
Jamque valeſcebat minitantis opinio morbi,
Cœperuntque ſuas quique dolere vices.
Nullos honos medici, jam nulla remedia morbi,

Et ſibi nemo ſuam præſtitit ipſe fidem.
Omnia languebant, cœlumque ſolumque putabant
Nec retinere ſuas nunc elementa vices.
Me quoque cum reliquis epidemicus abſtulit error,
Et peream ſi non & periiſſe putem.
Hei mihi quam vanos hominum veſania ſomnos
Somniat, & falſos fingit adeſſe metus.
Quin etiam horrificant ſapientum effata priorum,
Terrificiſque necant pectora cæca minis.
Haud ſecus Eumenidum quam viderat agmina Pentheus,
Orbem cum viſus ſol geminare ſuum.
Atque Mycenarum furiis vexatus Oreſtes,
Ultrici tæda quem ſua mater agit.
Tales quiſque ſua ſibi pingit imagine formas,
Et timet augurio deteriora ſuo.

Aſpicit Hakewillus tantis erroribus actos,
Advenit, & medicas admovet ipſe manus.
Fertur ut æthereum clepſiſſe Prometheus ignem
Humanas augens invidioſus opes:
Hic quoque divina fæliciter uſus opella,
Luminis indignos erigit arte viros.
Ergo ubi deluſis collyria præſtat ocellis,
Protinus admiſſâ nox fugit atra die.
O qualem quantumque virum quo pectore & ore,
Quo genio ingenio, qua pietate potens.
Si modo cum tota periiſſet Apollo caterva,
Et mundum antiquus deſtituiſſet honos,
Si ſimul & ſcioli ſimul ipſa ſcientia, quondam
Merſa ſub obſcura dilituiſſet humo,
Si Ciceronе carens Romæ facundia deſit,
Jactabunda ſuis Græcia tota ſcholis,
Scilicet hoc uno ſperem eluceſcere Phœbo,
Rurſus & è tenebris ſurgere poſſe ſuis.
Ille opus aggreditur, fæliciter ille medetur,
Quoque laboratur ſuſtulit ille malum.
Diffugiunt umbræ, morbuſque metuſque recedunt,
Redditur & rebus vita vigorque ſuis
Auſpiciis Hakewille tuis nunc vivitur ergo,
Gratia Diis, veſtra jamque valemus ope.
Quanta tibi tali debetur gloria facto,
Auxiliatrici gratia quanta ſtylo?
Quales elapſus victricibus hoſtis ab armis,
Cui modo de certa eſt certa ſalute fides;
Vel quantas medico memori de pectore cæcus
Lumine poſt multos jam redeunte dies;
Vel quales quantaſque à morte reductus acerba,
Solvenit ob gratos ora redempta ſonos.

Quare

Quare age debemus, quicquid ſumus, atque libenter,
Solvimus in titulos noſtraque noſque tuos.

Eia age viciſti, neque enim pugnabimus ultra,
Tendimus en victas in tua verba manus.

παλινῳδῶν

Eruditionis, gravitatis, pietatis
tuæ observantiſſimus
Rogerus Goſteyk *S.T.B.*
Cantabrigienſis.

One more teſtimonie I will adde, but that one in ſteed of many, ſent mee from a deare friend, and neare neighbour of mine, whoſe ſtation in the Church of God had it beene anſwerable to his gifts, hee ſhould doubtleſſe have moved and ſhined in an higher & larger ſpheare then hee did.

In eruditiſſimam D. Hakewilli
Apologiam Elogium.

SUo creare numini Mundum parem,
Carentem origine, neſcientem termini.
Non potuit ille cuncta qui poteſt Deus.
Hinc æviternum condidit, ſimilem ſibi,
Rei creatæ ſola quæ Perfectio
Ab Architecto potuit optimo dari.
Perire namque cauſâ ab exterâ nefas
Cui nil ſit uſquam quod repugnet exterum:
Contrà duello quicquid interno cadit
Succeſſione mutuâ rependitur.
Ergò labore nec fatiſcit perpete,
Quiete vires nec redintegrat novas:
Non tabe languet, non ſenectâ deficit,
Non letho ab hoſte, morte non obit ſuâ.
Hoc omne magnum, terra, cærulum, polus,
Sol, aſtra, luna, quicquid humanum genus
Ambit, tegitque ſuſtinetque, ſexies
Bis quina ſæcla plùs minuſve ſubſtitit.
Ætas, ſtatura, ingenia, mores interim,
Quæ ſunt fuere, quæque ſunt futura ſunt.
Tenorem eundem cuncta ſervant: omnia
Tuetur idem qui creavit artifex.
Tuebiturque ſarta tecta quatenùs
Ipſi placebit: ſolus ævum cum volet
Finiri poterit illi qui potuit dare.
Dabitque finem, non aquarum molibus,
Priſca ut Gigantum cum piaret ſæcula:
Sed ignium undis, Chriſtiana quod docet,

Quare

Subeſſe falſum cui nihil poteſt, Fides.
Nam cum ſupremus arduo Judex throno
Jus mortuiſque dicet & viventibus:
Torrens ab imo flammeus ſolio Dei
Fragore acuto, vaſto & impetu fluens
Involvet, obruetque cuncta, & omnis hæc
Reddetur ingens quam videmus machina
Levis favilla, tenuis & ciniſculus,
Cinis, favillæ non ſat eſt, imò Nihil.
Hæc, hiſque plura Hackwillianus ſuggerit
Docti catique doctus & catus liber,
Volvendus ille mente ſeriâ, & manu
Crebrâ terendus: Rem putas? nil dignius,
Rerum lacertos & toros? nil fortius:
Formam ordinemque? Pulchrius nihil: Stilum,
Phraſinque? nil eſt uſpiam elegantius.
Sic uſquequaque dulce miſcet utili,
Tuliſſe punctum ut omne nullus ambigas.
Sacerque vatum me niſi fallat tripos,
Vivet, vigebit: quippe cui Genius ineſt.
Nec interibit uſque dum noviſſimo
Natura rerum & ipſa ſolvitur die,
Cremante cuncta publico Mundi rogo.

Io. Dunæus S. T. B.
Cantabrigienſis.

Diverſe other faire and rich teſtimonies (farre beyond my expectation and merit) I have received at ſeverall times, and upon ſeverall occaſions from other worthy men, but theſe I conceived would ſuffice to make it appeare, and to let ſuch as beleeve otherwiſe to know, that I ſtand not ſingle, nor maintaine a paradoxe.

THE

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CAP. 2.

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that

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NOt long after the first edition of my booke, it pleased the right Reverend and learned Prelate the Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, now with God, to doe mee so much favour as freely to impart mee his minde touching the computation of the *Roman Sesterce*, by letters; the effect whereof was, that he valued the *Sesterce* at somewhat an higher rate then I had done, grounding himselfe upon the decrease in the weight of coynes since the time of *Budæus*, who wrote his booke *de asse*, (as appeareth by the date of the Epistle Dedicatory, in the yeare 1514) somewhat above one hundred yeares agoe, and the greatest part of the best Authours following him since therein, those who live in this present age might happily be somewhat mistaken in their reckoning by reason of the distance betwixt our times and his. The difference betwixt his Lordships computation and mine is not great, he valuing twenty *Sestercies* at 3ˢ 2ᵈ of our coyne, and my selfe at 3ˢ 1ᵈ *ob*, which in small summes is scarce sensible, though in great summes I must confesse it appeare somewhat wider, which upon the matter serves my turne better, in as much as it serves to make the excesse of the *Roman* luxury appeare the greater: yet to bolt out the truth, and withall to satisfie my selfe in this businesse, I sent to a friend of mine in *London* to take information from the Mint-masters what was the present value of an ounce of silver with us, because the *denarius* being by generall consent the eighth part of an ounce, and the *Sesterce* the fourth part of the *denarius*; it consequently followes, that as the ounce rises or falls in value, so doth the valuation of the *Sesterce*: Answer was returned mee, that the Kings price of the mint for silver brought thither is five shillings, but betweene man and man, five shillings and three pence; The former of which I have followed, as likewise doth Sir *Henry Savill* in his Annotations on *Tacitus*, and our last Translatours in their marginall notes; but my L. of *Hereford* seemes to draw neare to the latter, which to speake truly and properly is accounted the sterling price: and therefore to mine owne calculation I have now made bold to annexe his Lordships, leaving the Reader to his owne choyce to have recourse unto, and make use of which he please. I was likewise about to have set downe in the margine of my booke (which many have desired) the value of the *Sesterces* mentioned therein answerable to our *English* coynes, but the difference being so great betweene *Sestertij* and *Sestertia*, when I found the summe to be expressed by *Sestertijs*, it being common to both, I could fixe upon neither but upon conjecture, and casting of it up, by the one I found the summe sometimes to fall so low under expectation, and by the other to rise so high above beleife, and besides the margin in many places to be so prepossed with quotations, that in the end I resolved to leave all to the use of the calculated Tables & the direction of the Reader, it being certaine that when wee finde out a thing by a concurrence and cooperation of our owne diligence, it both relisheth the sweeter and stickes the faster.

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THE TABLE
OF THE VALVE OF THE *ROMAN* SESTERCE,
compared with our Englisth *coyne now in use.*

BEcause in the fourth and last booke of this ensuing treatise in discoursing of the *Roman luxury*, frequent mention is made of their excessive expences, and the ordinary computation of their Authors, whose testimonies I use, is by *Sesterces:* I held it requisite for the better understanding of those summes by such who are not acquainted with the *Roman* coynes, in this table to expresse the value of the *Sesterce*, and withall to reduce some of their most noted summes to our *sterling*, that so the Reader desirous to know any particular summe, may either find it expressed in this Table, or easily finde it out by the proportioning the summe which he desires to know, with the neareſt to it above or under.

The *Sestertius* was among the *Romans* a coyne so common, that *nummus* and *Sestertius* came at length to be used promiscuously the one for the other, so called it was *quasi Semissertius*, because of three *asses* is wanted halfe a one, and is thus commonly expressed IIS, or thus H-S, by which is understood two *asses* and an halfe. For the value of it, ten *asses* make a *denarius* or *Roman* pennie, so tearmed, because it contained *dena æra*, which were the same with their *asses*; so as the *Sesterce* containing two *asses* and an halfe, must of necessity be found in the *denarius* foure times; now the *denarius* being the eight part of an ounce, and an ounce of silver being now with us valued at five shillings; it followes from thence that the value of the *denarius* is seven pence halfe penny; and consequently of the *Sesterces*, being the fourth part thereof, *penny halfe penny farthing halfe farthing*. Touching the manner of counting by *Sesterces*, a controversie there is betwixt *Budæus* & *Agricola*, whither *Sestertius* in the masculine & *Sestertium* in the neuter, be to be valued alike, which *Agricola* affirmes, *Budæus* upon better reason in my judgement denies, and to him I incline, holding with him that *Sestertium* in the neuter containes a thousand *Sestertios:* But here two things are specially to be noted; first, that if the *numerall*, or word that denoteth the number being an *adjective*, and of a different case, be joyned with *Sestertium* (by an abbreviation put for *Sestertiorum*) in the genitive case plurall, then doth it note so many thousand *Sestertij*; for example, *decem Sestertium* signifieth *decem millia*, ten thousand *Sesterces*: Secondly, if the *numerall* joyned with *Sestertium* be an *adverb*, then it designeth so many hundred thousand, *ex: gra: decies Sestertium* signifies *decies centena millia*, ten hundred thousand, or a million of *Sesterces*; and sometimes the substantive *Sestertium* is omitted, but necessarily understood; the adjective then or adverbe set alone being of the same value as if the substantive were expressed, as thus, *decem* standing by it selfe is as much as *decem Sestertium*, and *decies* in like case, as if it were *decies Sestertium*, which I have premised that the reason of my rendring the *Latine* summes might the better be conceived, now to the table.

Sesterces *are worth*	In *English* monies.	Sesterces *are worth*	In *English* monies.
Twenty	0l-3s-1d-ob.	A Million	7812-10-0-0.
A hundred	15-7-ob.	Five Millions	39062-10-0-0.
Five hundred	3-18-1-ob.	Ten Millions	78125-0-0-0.
A thousand	7-16-3-0.	Twenty Millions	156250-0-0-0.
Five thousand	39-1-3-0.	Fiftie Millions	390625-0-0-0.
Ten thousand	78-2-6-0.	A hundred Millions	781250-0-0-0.
Twenty thousand	156-5-0-0.	Two hundred Millions	1562500-0-0-0.
Fiftie thousand	390-12-6-0.	Five hundred Millions	3906250-0-0-0.
A hundred thousand	781-5-0-0.	A thousand Millions	7812500-0-0-0.
Five hundred thousand	3906-5-0-0.		

A Talent is 750 ounces of silver, which after five shillings the ounce, is 187 pounds.

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MY LORD OF *HEREFORD'S* TABLES OF CALCVLATION WITH the reformation of ſuch miſtakes as were found in that Copie which it pleaſed his Lordſhip to ſend mee.

Unus Seſtertius in maſculino genere, ſive unus nummus, valebat noſtræ monetæ Angliçanæ fere 2d

Nimirum ut 10 valeant 19d

Seſtertij.

Viceni ſeſtertij	0l 3s 2d
30	0-4-9
40	0-6-4
50	0-7-11
60	0-9-6
70	0-11-1
80	0-12-8
90	0-14-3
100 Seſtertij vel 106 nummi (quod idem ſonat) valebant	0-15-10
Duceni	1-11-8
300	2-7-6
400	3-3-4
500	3-19-2
600	4-15-0
700	5-10-10
800	6-6-8
900	7-2-6
Mille nummi valebant	7-18-4

Seſtertia.

Bina H.S. vel bina Seſtertia in neutro genere valebant	15-16-8
3 H.S. ſive ſeſtertia, ſive 3 millia nummorum valebant	23-15-0
4 H.S.	31-13-4
5	39-11-8
6	47-10-0
7	55-8-4
8	63-6-8
9	71-5-0
Dena H-S. ſive Seſtertia, vel 10000 nummûm.	79-3-4
Vicena Seſtertia vel XX, vel 20 millia nummûm	158-6-8
30 H-S. vel &c.	237-10-0
40	316-13-4
50	395-16-8
60	475-0-0
70	554-3-4
80	633-6-8
90	712-10-0
Centum millia vel C. vel 100 Seſtertia valebant	791-13-4
Ducenta	1583-6-8
300	2374-0-0
400	3165-13-4
500	3957-6-8
600	4748-0-0
700	5539-13-4
800	6331-6-8
900	7123-0-0

Jam deinceps numerantur per adverbia, ut non dicamus mille millia, vel mille ſeſtertia, ſed decies, id eſt, decies millena millia.

Decies continet noſtræ monetæ ſupputatione paulò accuratiori	7914-13-4
Vicies	15829-6-8
Tricies	23744-0-0
Quadragies	31658-13-4
Quinquagies	39573-6-8
Sexagies	47488-0-0
Septuagies	55402-13-4
Octogies	63317-6-8
Nonagies	71232-0-0
Centies	79146-13-4
Ducenties	158293-6-8
Tercenties	237440-0-0
Quadringenties	316586-13-4
Quingenties	395733-6-8
Sexcenties	474880-0-0
Septingenties	554026-13-4
Octingenties	633173-6-8
Nongenties	712320-0-0
Millies	791466-13-4
Bis millies	1582933-6-8
Ter millies	2374400-0-0

Quater

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Quater millies	3165866-13-4	Octies millies	6331733-6-8
Quinquies millies	3957333-6-8	Novies millies	7123200-0-0
Sexies millies	4748800-0-0	Decies millies	7914666-13-4
Septies millies	5540266-13-4	Vicies millies	15829333-6-8

Talentorum apud Antiquos multa fuere genera, Atticum, Euboicum, Æginense, Hebraicum, Babylonicum, & alia. Sed hoc observandum est, Scriptores ubi Talenti mentionem faciunt absque ulla adjectione, vix unquam aliud intelligere quam Atticum, quod valebat nostra moneta Anglicana libras 190l.

Talentum Atticum	190l	Talenta 2000	380000
Talenta duo	380	3000	570000
3	570	4000	760000
4	760	5000	950000
5	950	6000	1140000
6	1140	7000	1330000
7	1330	8000	1520000
8	1520	9000	1710000
9	1710	10000	1900000
10	1900		
		Talenta 20000	3800000
Talenta 20	3800	30000	5700000
30	5700	40000	7600000
40	7600	50000	9500000
50	9500	60000	11400000
60	11400	70000	13300000
70	13300	80000	15200000
80	15200	90000	17100000
90	17100	100000	19000000
100	19000		
Talenta 200	38000	200 Millia	38000000
300	57000	300	57000000
400	76000	400	76000000
500	95000	500	95000000
600	114000	600	114000000
700	133000	700	133000000
800	152000	800	152000000
900	171000	900	171000000
1000	190000	Mille millia Talentorum	190000000

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O Qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum Cælique Sator! qui tempus ab ævo
Ire jubes: ſtabiliſque manens das cuncta moveri,
Da pater auguſtam menti conſcendere ſedem,
Da fontem luſtrare boni, da luce reperta
In te conſpicuos animæ defigere viſus.
Diſjice terrenæ nebulas & pondera molis,
Atque tuo ſplendore mica. Tu namque ſerenum,
Tu requies tranquilla pijs, Te cernere, finis,
Principium, vector, dux, ſemita, terminus, idem.

Thou that mad'ſt heaven and earth, whoſe wiſdome ſtill doth guide
The world, by whoſe command time evermore doth ſlide:
Thou that unmov'd thy ſelfe, cauſeſt all things to move:
Grant Father, I may climbe thoſe ſacred ſeates above,
Grant, I of good may view the ſpring, that finding light,
My minde perpetually on thee may fixe her ſight.
Diſpell theſe cloudes, diſcharge this loade of lumpiſh clay,
And ſpread thy beames: for thou to Saints the cleareſt day,
The calmeſt quiet art, and thee to contemplate
Port, paſſage, leader, way, beginning is and date.

AN INDEX OF THE TABLES ADDED IN THE END OF THE Booke, beſides that of the ſeverall Chapters and Sections ſet in the beginning thereof.

First, *of the principall things and matters contained therein.*

Second, *of the computation and calculation of the* Roman Seſterce, *as well by mine owne way as my* L. *of* Herefords.

Third, *of the names of the ſeverall Authours alleadged in this diſcourſe, for the greateſt part whereof I muſt acknowledge my ſelfe beholding to the publique Librarie at* Oxford, *where hee that deſires it may freely conſult them.*

Fourth, *of the paſſages of holy Scripture, ſpecially thoſe which are ſome way illuſtrated.*

Fifth, *of the* Errata *which have paſſed in ſome Coppies, which I ſhall deſire the Reader to correct.*

AN

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AN

APOLOGIE OF THE POWER AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD:

OR

An Examination and Censure of the common errour touching Natures perpetuall and universall decay.

LIB. I.

Which treats of this pretended Decay in generall, together with some preparatives thereunto.

CAP. I.

Of diverse other opinions justly suspected if not rejected, though commonly received.

SECT. I. *In Divinitie.*

THE opinion of the Worlds Decay is so generally received, not onely among the Vulgar, but of the Learned, both Divines and others, that the very commonnesse of it makes it currant with many, without any further examination: That which is held, not onely by the multitude, but by the Learned, passing smoothly for the most part without any checke or controll. *Nec alius promior fidei lapsus, quàm ubi rei falsæ gravis author extitit*, saith *Pliny*: Men do not any where more easily erre, then where they follow a guide, whom they presume they may safely trust: They cannot quickly be perswaded, that hee who is in reputation for knowledge and wisdome, and whose doctrine is admired in weighty matters, should mistake in points of lesser consequence; and the greatest part of the World, is rather led

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with the names of their Masters, and with the reverend respect they beare their persons or memories, then with the soundnesse and truth of the things they teach. Whererein that of *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*, is, and ever will be verified. *Magnos errores magnorum virorum authoritate persuasi transmittimus*: Wee deliver over as it were by tradition from hand to hand great errours, being thereunto induced by the authority of great men. Whiles wee are yong, our judgement is raw and greene, and when wee are old, it is forestalled, by which meanes it comes often to passe that, *inter juvenile judicium, & senile præjudicium, veritas corrumpitur*; betweene the precipitancie and rashnesse of youth to take whatsoever is offered, and the obstinate stiffenesse of age in refusing what it hath not formerly beene acquainted with, truth is lost. The evidencing of which assertion, is the proper subject of this Chapter, wherein I hope I shall make it appeare, that many opinions are commonly received, both in ordinary speech, and in the writings of learned men, which notwithstanding are by others either manifestly convinced, or at leastwise justly suspected of falsehood and errour, and this as well in *Divinitie*, as in *Philosophie* and *Historie*.

First then in *Divinitie* (not to meddle with doctrinall points in controversie at this day) it is commonly received, and beleeved, that *Iudas* among the other Apostles, received the blessed Sacrament at our Lords hands; of which notwithstanding, saith the learned *Zanchius*, *Etsi multi magni viri hoc docuerint & scripserint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo, aut concedere possum, quia aperte pugnat cum historia Iohannis Euangelistæ*: Though many great Clarkes have taught and written it, yet my selfe neither do nor can by any meanes grant it, inasmuch as it plainly contradicts the History of *Iohn* the Euangelist.

In quartum præceptum.

Cap. 13. 30.

That the Sea was in a miraculous manner restrained from overflowing the earth, as also that the terrestriall *Paradise* was yet existent in perfection, and that both *Enoch* and *Elias* were translated thither and there lived, was commonly held by the generall streame of antiquitie; both which opinions are now contradicted and cried downe by the Jesuites and namely by *Pererius* upon *Genesis*.

That the foure *Monarchies* alluded unto by *Nabuchadnezzars* image, were to endure to the end of the World; of which *Iunius* observes, *hanc quidem sententiam Patres ferè omnes secuti sunt*: this opinion well nigh all the Fathers followed, yet doth himselfe maintaine, that they reach only to the first comming of Christ, and publication of the Gospell.

That *Melchizedeck* spoken of in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, was *Sem* the sonne of *Noah*: Yet *Pererius* in his commentarie on the 14 of *Genesis*, endeavours to overthrow it by many weightie reasons drawne from the Text.

That it was before the Flood unlawfull for men to feed upon flesh, whereas *Cajetan* holds the contrary opinion, and is therein followed by *Franciscus de Victoria* in his relection of temperance, and *Dominicus Soto* in his fift booke *de Iustitia & Iure*, first question, and first article.

In quartum Gen.

That our first Parents stood but one day in *Paradice*; of which opini-

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on *Pererius* likewise affirmes, *Pervulgata est, eademque ut multorum, sic imprimis nobilium & illustrium Authorum firmata consensu*; it is commonly received and strengthened by the consent of many worthy and famous authors: yet labours he to disprove it, in as much as so many, and so different acts are by *Moses* recorded to have passed betweene their Creation and Ejection, as could not well be dispatched within the compasse of one day. And *Tostatus*, though he were first of the common opinion, yet afterward upon better advice he changed it. *Commen. in Gen. cap. 3.*

That the Prophecie of old *Iacob*, *The Scepter shall not depart from Iudah untill Shilo come*, was fulfilled in *Herods* raigne at the birth of CHRIST, by the continuance of the government in the Tribe of *Iudah*, till the raigne of *Herod*, reputed the first stranger that tooke upon him the Kingly office among the *Iewes*: but *Casaubon* in his Exercitations, proves that neither the kingly government was continued in that Tribe, in as much as it was often interrupted, and at length ended in *Zedechiah*, nor that *Herod* was a stranger, in as much as himselfe, his father, and his grandfather were all circumcised, and yet he confesses of the common opinion, *hæc sententia ab insignibus pietate & doctrina viris profecta, ubi semel est admissa, sine ulla controversia aut examine apud omnium ætatum eruditos præter admodum paucos semper deinceps obtinuit*; this opinion first set on foot by men of singular pietie and learning; and being once generally embraced without any question or examination of it, afterward prevailed with the Learned of all ages, some few onely excepted. Gen. 49. 10. *Exercit. 1. ad apparat. Annal. cap. 2.*

That there passed but foure *Passeovers* betweene the Baptisme and Passion of our *Saviour*: yet the same *Casaubon* in his Exercitations upon *Baronius*, tells us; *primus quòd sciam nostra memoria assertor quinti Paschatis extitit Gerardus Mercator, insignis Mathematicus, cujus sententiam viri summi & amplexi sunt, & novis argumentis ex Hebraici Kalendarii ratione præcipuè desumptis confirmârunt*: the first (to my knowledge) who stood for a fifth Passeover, was *Gerardus Mercator*, a famous Mathematician, whose opinion the most learned have both embraced, and confirmed by arguments drawne chiefely from the computation of the *Hebrew Kalender*. *Exercit. 16. ann. 34. num. 1.*

That *Iephtah* slew his daughter, and sacrificed her to the Lord: but *Iunius* in his annotations on that place thinkes hee onely consecrated her by vowing her virginitie, which may well stand with the nature of the originall word, and the contrary cannot well stand, either with *Iephtahs* faith or Gods acceptance.

That by the river *Phison*, mentioned in the second of *Genesis*, the *Indian Ganges* is to be understood, *Sententia est omnium ferè interpretum ac Theologorum probata consensu*; is an opinion allowed by the consent of almost all Interpreters and Divines, saith *Pererius*; yet for himselfe hee professeth, *Mihi diligenter omnia consideranti ac perpendenti nunquam visum est probabile Phison esse Gangem*: when I had exactly weighed all circumstances, it never seemed to mee so much as probable, that *Phison* should be *Ganges*.

That by the river *Gehon Nilus* is to be understood, *Nullus est ferè omnium interpretum (tanta in hoc est omnium consensio) qui non pro certo*

habeat hoc nomine Gehon significatum esse à Mose, Nilum: there is hardly any one Expositour (so great is the consent in this) who doth not hold it for certaine, that under *Gehon*, the river *Nilus* is by *Moses* signified, saith the same *Pererius*: yet afterwards hee addes, *Sed Gehon non esse Nilum, multa & clara sunt indicia*; yet that *Gehon* is not *Nilus*, there are many and cleare evidences.

History of the World, part. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7.

That the Arke rested upon the hils of *Armenia*; whereas Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident, that therein most Writers were utterly mistaken. Neither was he led so to thinke (as he professeth) out of humour or singularitie, but therein groundeth himselfe upon the originall, and first truth, which is the word of God, and after upon reason and the most probable circumstances thereupon depending. And in truth he that shall consider that the sons of *Noah* comming out of the *Arke*, travelled from the *East* into the land of *Shinar* (where they built the towre of *Babell*) and that *Armenia* lies to the Northwest of that plaine, will easily conceive that it could not well be, that the *Arke* should rest upon those hils; but the chiefe occasion of the mistake seemes to be in the vulgar translation, which hath rendred *Armenia* instead of *Ararat*.

Gen. 11.

That of the three sonnes of *Noah*, *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Iaphet*; *Sem* was the eldest, *Cham* the second, and *Iaphet* the yongest; whereas *Iunius* is of opinion that *Iaphet* was the eldest, grounding himselfe upon the text, *Genesis* 10.21. *Cham* the yongest, which he proves from *Genesis* 9. 24. and that *Iaphet* was the eldst is not his opinion alone, but of *Lyranus*, *Tostatus*, *Genebrard*, and the Hebrew Doctors.

Gen. 3. 6.

That the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evill, was an apple: whereas the text specifies no such matter; and it should seeme by the circumstances thereof, that it was rather some other kind of fruit more pleasant, both to the taste and sight.

Vide Agatharchidem de rubro mari. *Dec.* 2. lib. 8. cap. 1.

That the waters of the Red Sea were of colour red, whereas travellers into those parts by sight find the contrary: it rather borrowing that name from the red bankes and clifts about it, as both *Castro* and *Barros* are of opinion, or from the coasts of *Idumæa*, by which it passeth; as *Scaliger* first observed, and after him *Fuller*.

Exod. 34. 29.

To these may be added, that it is commonly beleeved, that *Moses* had hornes when hee came downe from the mountaine; becaüse they read in the vulgar Latine, *Ignorabat quòd cornuta esset facies sua*: Hee knew not that his face was horned; whereas the sense is, he knew not that his face shined, the same word in the Hebrew signifying both an horne, and a shining beame.

Mat. 2. 23.

That our Saviour wore his haire long, becaüse we read he was a *Nazarite*; whereas the truth is, that he was a *Nazarite*, or rather a *Nazarene*, as with *Beza* our last Translatours read it; by education not by profession and institution, in regard of the place in which hee was nursed, and conversed, not any vow whereunto hee was bound.

2. Sam. 18. 9. Camden. in Hampshire.

And lastly, that *Absolon* was hung by the haire of the head, whereas the text saies in plaine tearmes, *his head caught hold on the Oke*: in like manner (it seemes) as *Henry*, Grand-child to the Conquerour is said to have ended his daies in the new forrest.

SECT.

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SECT. 2. *In Philosophie.*

SEcondly, in Philosophy it is commonly received, that the heart is the seat and shop of the principall faculties of the soule: nay, divine Scripture applying it selfe to the ordinary opinion therein, in many places attributes wisdome and understanding to the heart: whereas that noble paire of Physitians, *Hippocrates* and *Galen* have made it evident by experimentall proofes, that those divine powers of reasoning and discourse are seated in the braine, in as much as they are not hindered in the distemper of the heart, but of the braine, nor recovered being lost, by medicaments applyed to the heart, but to the braine.

That the three principall faculties of the soule, the Understanding, Imagination, and Memory, are distinguished by three severall Cells or Ventricles in the braine; the Imagination (as is conceived) being confined to the fore-part, the Memory to the hinder part, and Judgment or Understanding to the middle part thereof; which opinion *Laurentius* confutes, and *Fernelius* derides, making them all to be dispersed thorow all the receptacles of the braine, in as much as sometimes when the whole braine is disaffected, the operation but of one of those faculties is hurt; and sometimes againe when but one ventricle is hurt, the operation of all the three faculties are hindred. Neither ought it to seem more strange, that the same ventricle in the braine should be capable of all these three functions, then that the same bone or sinew, and every part and particle thereof should have in it (in regard of the nourishment it receives, and the excrement it drives forth;) an attractive, a retentive, an assimilative, and an expulsive vertue. *Hist. Anat. lib. 10. q. 2.*

That one hand by nature is more usefull, and more properly made for action then the other: whereas wee find no such difference betwixt the two eyes, the two eares, the two nostrils; and if men were left to themselves, as many, I thinke, if not more, would use the left hand, as now by education and custome doe the right: And in truth I am of opinion that God and Nature hath given us two hands, that wee should use both indifferently, that if need required, the one might supply the losse or defect of the other. Such would *Plato* have the Cittizens of his Common-wealth to be, and such do I take those seaven hundred *Benjamites* to have beene, mentioned in the 20th of *Judges*; and if either hand should in nature be preferred before other, mee-thinkes it reason it should be that which is neareſt the heart, the fountaine of life and activitie.

That in nature there is an East and a West; which (as to mee it seemes) cannot be, since that which to us is East, is West to our *Antipodes*, and that which is East to them, is West to us.

That the radicall moisture, and primigeniall heat, naturally ingrafted in us, wastes alwaies by degrees from the time of our conception, as oyle in a lampe, or waxe in a taper: whereas notwithstanding till wee come to the age of consistence, wee still grow in bulke, in strength and

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ſtature: which for mine owne part I cannot conceive how it ſhould be: if from our infancie our naturall heat and moiſture ſtill decreaſed.

That a man hath a naturall ſpeech of his owne as he is a man, (ſome thinke *Hebrew*) which language he would ſpeake by nature, if hee were not taught ſome other: but this is a dreame, and hath beene twice confuted by a double experiment. The firſt was *Pſammeticus* a King of *Egypt*, who deſiring to underſtand which was mans moſt ancient and naturall language, cauſed two children to be ſequeſtred from all ſociety of men, and to be nouriſhed of two ſhe goates, forbidding all ſpeech unto them: which children continuing for a long time dumbe, at laſt uttered *Bec Bec*: the King being informed that in the *Phrygian* language *Bec* ſignified *Bread*, imagined that the children called then for Bread, & from thence collected, that becauſe they ſpake that language which no man had taught them, therefore the *Phrygian* language was the naturall ſpeech of man. A weake proofe and ſilly conceit. For the childrens *Bec*, (as is probably collected) was onely that language which they learned of their Goat-nurces, when they came to ſuck their teats, who receiving from them ſome eaſe by their ſucking, ſaluted them with *Bec*, the beſt language they had, from whom the children learned it, and ſo much as they heard, ſo much juſt they uttered, and no more: and if they had not heard it, they could never have pronounced it, as we may evidently ſee in men that are borne deafe. And by another experiment tryed upon other infants, (which is our ſecond inſtance) by *Melabdim Echebar*, whom they call the *Great Magore* or *Mogul*. Hee likewiſe upon the fore-named errour, that man hath a certaine proper language by nature, cauſed thirty children to be brought up in dumbe ſilence, to finde out the experience, whether all of them would ſpeake one and the ſame language, having inwardly a purpoſe to frame his Religion conformable to that Nation whoſe language ſhould be ſpoken, as being that Religion which is purely naturall unto man. But the children proved all dumbe, though they were ſo many of them, and therefore they could not ſpeake, becauſe they were not taught: whereby it appeareth, that the ſpeaking of any language is not in man by nature; The firſt man had it by divine *Infuſion*, but all his poſterity onely by *Imitation*.

Herodotus lib. 2.

Purchas Pil. l. 1. cap. 8.

SECT. 3. *In Hiſtory Eccleſiaſticall.*

THirdly, in Hiſtory, which is *Eccleſiaſticall*, *Civill*, or *Naturall*. In Hiſtory *Eccleſiaſticall* it is commonly received, that *Simon Peter* encountred with *Simon Magus*, and that the *Magitian* undertaking to flie up into the aire, the *Apoſtle* ſo wrought by prayer and faſting, that he came tumbling downe and brake his necke: but of this ſtory ſaith St *Auguſtine*, *Eſt quidem & hæc opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam perhibeant eſſe falſam plerique Romani*: many are of this opinion, yet moſt of the *Roman* Writers hold it but as a tale. And in another place he calls it *Græcâ fabulâ*, an invention of the *Gracians*, who were ſo fruitfull in theſe kind of fables, that *Pliny* himſelfe could ſay of them, *Mirum eſt quò provectâ Græcâ*

Epiſt. 86. Caſulano.

Hiſt. Natur. lib. 8. cap. 22.

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Græca credulitas, nullum tam impudens mendacium est ut teste careat; it is a wonder to see whither the credulity of the *Greekes* carry them, there being no lye so shamefull, but it findes a patron among them: Nay, the very Latine Poet took notice of their immoderate liberty this way:

—— Et quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia?
What dares not lying Greece
Insert in histories? *Iuven. Sat. 10.*

And so did the *Roman* Orator, *tribue illis literas; do multarum artium disciplinam, testimoniorum autem fidem & veritatem nunquam isti coluere*: Learning I grant them, and the knowledge of many Arts, but for the religious credit of testimonies they never regarded it. *In Orat. pro Placco.*

That our ordinary Computation of the yeere of the Lord is exact, yet *Kepler* in the fourth Chapter of his discourse touching that yeere, speaking of the ordinary computation, *ista annorum summa*, (saith hee) *licet receptissima & publico usu stabilita, brevior tamen est quam ut à Nativitate Christi descendat*: that number of yeeres though it be most commonly received and setled by publique use, yet falls it short of the time passed since Christs Nativitie; and againe, *error iste tacito vulgi consensu sensim invaluit*, that errour by a tacite consent of the vulgar hath unawares prevailed.

That the World was created in the Spring: *Opinio est non Astrologis modò & Poetis accepta, sed omnium etiam Ecclesiasticorum Scriptorum atque Theologorum firmata consensu* saith *Pererius*, is an opinion not intertained onely of Astrologers and Poets, but ratified by the consent of all Ecclesiasticall Writers and Divines; yet doth himselfe professedly maintaine the Creation to have beene in *Autumne*.

That St *Hierome* was a Cardinall, and apparrelled in Scarlet Robes, many Writers have fained, and the Painters following them have thereby deceived more; yet *Baronius* howbeit it might perchance serve to advance the honour of his owne order, rejects it as a fiction, and as contrary both to the manner of life and writings of that great, but severe Doctor. *Tom. 4. Anno. 377.*

That St *Iames* the elder came into *Spaine*, and converted that Nation to the Christian faith, is an opinion deepely rooted in the breasts of all men saith *Mariana*; yet in the same place doth himselfe acknowledge that learned and grave men have endeavoured to confute it, and as witnesseth *Baronius*, they have so farre assaulted it, that they held it as a matter altogether impossible. *De Advent. Iac. in Hisp. cap. 5. Martyrolog. Iul. 25.*

That Christ suffered in the 33^d yeare of his age, yet *Joseph Scaliger* takes upon him to demonstrate from the number of the Passeovers passing betwixt his Baptisme and Passion, that he suffered in the 35 yeere current of his age, or in the 34 compleat. *De emend. temp. lib. 6.*

That those seventie Interpreters, who by the command of *Ptolomey*, translated the Law of the Jewes out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, performed that worke single and apart in severall cells; as also that they translated all the Old Testament intirely: whereas St *Ierome* in his Preface to the *Pentateuch* refutes both these.

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That the *Sybils* clearely fore-told many things touching the name, the fore-runner, the birth and death of *Christ*, the comming of *Antichrist*, the over-throw of *Rome*, and the consummation of the World, which notwithstanding, (as *Causabon* hath learnedly observed) seemes to bee contrary to the Word of God, that so profound mysteries should be revealed to the *Gentiles*, so long before the Incarnation of *Christ*; specially since they write more plainely and particularly of those matters, then the Prophets of God themselves among the *Iewes*; and the greatest Clarkes among the *Gentiles*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and others, curious searchers into all kindes of learning, never so much as once mention either their names, or their Writings, nor any of these mysteries. While the Church of *Christ* was yet in her infancy, many such kinde of bookes were forged, thereby to make the doctrine of the Gospel more passable among the *Gentiles*; and no marvell then that these of the *Sybils* passed for current among the rest.

Exer. 1. ad ap. annal. cap. 10.
Ephes. 3. 9.
Coloss. 1. 26.
Rom. 16. 25.

That the Wise men which came out of the *East* to worship our Saviour, were *Kings*, and from thence (their bodies being translated to *Cullen*,) they are at this day commonly called the three Kings of *Cullen*, and the day consecrated to their memory, is by the French termed *Le jour de trois Rois*, the day of the three Kings, Yet *Mantuan* a Monke, feares not to declare his opinion to the contrary, and gives his reasons for it.

Nec reges ut opinor erant, neque enim tacuissent
Historiæ sacræ Authores genus illud honoris,
Inter mortales quo non sublimius ullum;
Adde quòd Herodes, ut magnificentia Regum
Postulat, Hospitibus tantis regale dedisset
Hospitium, secumque lares duxisset in amplos.

Had they beene Kings, nor holy Historie
Would have conceal'd their so great Majesty,
Higher then which on Earth none can be named;
Herods magnificence would eke have framed
Some entertainment fitting their estates,
And harbour'd them within his Royall gates.

SECT. 4. *In History Civill.*

IN History *Civill* or *Nationall*; it is commonly received, that there were foure, and but foure *Monarchies*, succeeding one the other; the *Assyrian*, the *Persian*, the *Grecian*, and the *Roman*; Yet *Iohn Bodin*, a man of singular learning, specially in matters of History, dares thus to begin the seventh Chapter of his *Method*: *Inveteratus error de quatuor Imperijs, ac magnorum Virorum opinione pervulgatus, tam altè radices egit, ut vix evelli posse videatur*; that inveterate errour of foure Empires, made famous thorow the opinion of great men, hath now taken such deepe rootes, as it seemes it can hardly be pluckt up; and thorow a great part of that Chapter labours hee the Confutation of those who maintaine that opinion.

That

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That *Mona-insula* so often mentioned by the Ancients, was the Ile of *Man*, whereas *Humphry Lloyde* in his epistle to *Ortelius* against *Polydor Virgill*, and the common opinion hath proved it by invincible arguments to be that Iland which we now call *Anglesea*, a part of *Wales*.

That *Nilus* doth emptie it selfe into the Sea by 7 mouths, was and is the current opinion, yet *Gulielmus Tyrius*, a man worthy to be beleeved in this case, for that he was an eye-witnesse and diligent searcher out of the truth of the same, affirmeth that onely by 4 mouthes and no more, it disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea.

That the *Saxons* called the Remainder of the *Brittaines*, *Welch*, as being *strangers* unto them: whereas that word signifies not a *stranger* either in the high or low Dutch, as *Verstegan*, a man skilfull in those Languages hath observed; & that the *Saxons* gave them the name of *Welch*, after themselves came into *Brittaine*, is altogether unlikely. For that inhabiting so neare them as they did, to wit, but over against them on the other side of the Sea, they could not want a more particular and proper name for them, then to call them strangers. It seemes then more likely, that the *Brittaines* being originally descended from the *Gaules*, the *Saxons* according to their manner of speech, by turning the *G* into *W*, instead of *Gallish*, termed them *Wallish*; & by abbreviation *Walch* or *Welch*, as the *French* at this day call the *Prince of Wales*, *Prince de Galles*. Cap. 5.

That *Brute* a *Trojan* by Nation, and great grand-child to *Æneas*, arrived in this Iland, gave it the name of *Brittaine* from himselfe, heere raigned, and left the government thereof divided among his three sonnes, *England* to *Loegrius*, *Scotland* to *Albanak*, and *Wales* to *Cambert*. Yet our great *Antiquary* beating (as he professeth) his braines, & bending the force of his wits to maintaine that opinion, hee found no warrantable ground for it. Nay by forcible arguments (produced as in the person of others disputing against himself) he strongly proves it (in my judgement) altogether unsound & unwarrantable. *Boccace*, *Vives*, *Adrianeis Iunius*, *Polydorus*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinæus*, *Bodin*, and other Writers of great account, are all of opinion, there was no such man as this supposed *Brute*. And among our own ancient Chroniclers, *Iohn of Wethamsted*, *Abbot of S. Albon*, holdeth the whole narration of *Brute* to have been rather Poeticall, then Historicall, which me thinkes is agreeable to reason, since *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, *Gildas*, *Ninius*, *Bede*, *William of Malmesbery*, and as many others as have written any thing touching our Countrey, before the yeare 1160, made no mention at all of him, not seeme ever so much as to have heard of him. The first that ever broached it, was *Geffrey of Monmouth*, about foure hundred yeares agoe, during the raigne of *Henry* the second, who publishing the *British* story in Latine, pretended to have taken it out of ancient monuments written in the *Britisb* tongue: but this Booke as soone as it peeped forth into the light, was sharply censured both by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newbery*, who lived at the same time; the former terming it no better, then *Fabulosam historiam*, a fabulous history; and the latter, *ridicula figmenta*, ridiculous fictions, and it now stands branded with a black coale among the bookes prohibited by the Church of *Rome*. Camden: Britan: de primis Incolis. In granario, Anno 1440.

That

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That the *Pigmies* are a Nation of people not above two or three foot high, or as *Iuvenal* but one:

Sat. 13. *Vbi tota cohors pede non altior uno.*

and that they ſolemnely ſet themſelves in battle array to fight againſt the *Cranes* their greateſt enemies: and that being griped faſt in their talons, they are by them carried through the aire.

Ibidem. *----raptuſque per aera curvis*
Vnguibus, à ſæva fertur Grue.----

De Gygantibus Cap. ultimo. Of theſe notwithſtanding witneſſeth *Caſſanion*, *Fabuloſa illa omnia ſunt quæ de illis vel Poeta, vel alij Scriptores tradiderunt*: all thoſe things are fabulous, which touching them either the Poets or other Writers have delivered. And with him fully accordeth *Cardan* in his eight Booke *De rerum varietate*: *Apparet ergò Pigmeiorum hiſtoriam eſſe fabuloſam, quod & Strabo ſentit, & noſtra ætas, cùm omnia nunc firmè orbis mirabilia innotuerint, declarat.* It appeares then that the Hiſtory of the *Pigmies* is but a fiction, as both *Strabo* thought, and our age, which hath now diſcovered all the wonders of the world, fully declares. *Gellius* alſo, and *Rhodogin*, referre thoſe *Pigmies* (if any ſuch there bee) to a kinde of Apes: and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine lib. 16. cap. 8.* and though the vulgar Edition tranſlate thoſe words of the Prophet *Ezekiel, cap. 27. verſ. 11. Pigmæi erant in turribus tuis*, yet *Iunius* upon better reaſon renders them *Gammadai in turribus tuis erant*, the originall word (as in his Annotations he obſerveth) ſignifying a cubit, being there uſed, not becauſe the men there ſpoken of, were of that ſtature as the vulgar Tranſlatour ſeemes to imagine; but becauſe their Countrey was caſt into that figure, as witneſſeth *Pliny. lib. 2. cap. 91.*

Cap. 4. *9. 4.* *4. 3.* *De Civit. Dei.*

SECT. 5. *In Hiſtory Naturall.*

IN *Naturall* Hiſtory, it is commonly received, that the *Phœnix* lives five hundred or ſixe hundred yeares, that there is of that kinde but one at a time in the World, that being to dye, hee makes his neſt of ſweet ſpices, and by the clapping of his wings ſets it on fire, and ſo burnes himſelfe: and laſtly, that out of the aſhes ariſes a worme; and from that worme another new *Phœnix*: Neither am I ignorant that ſundry of the Fathers have brought this narration to confirme the doctrine of the Reſurrection: but rather, as I beleeve, to fight againſt the *Gentiles* with their owne weapons, and to pierce them with their owne quils, or from them to borrow an illuſtration; then as giving credite to the truth of the ſtory, which was originally coyned in *Egypt*, as fruitfull in fables, as *Africa* in monſters, and from thence derived to the *Grecians* and *Romans*: one of them is ſaid to have beene brought to *Rome* by the command of *Claudius Cæſar*, and expoſed to publique view, as appeareth upon record, *Sed quem falſum eſſe nemo dubitaret*, ſaith *Pliny*, no man need make any doubt of it, but that he was counterfeit; and in the ſame Chapter, *haud ſcio an fabulas è, unum in toto orbe, nec viſum magnoperè*, I doubt it is but a fiction, that there is but one of the kinde in the whole World, and that ſo ſeldome ſeene. With whom accord *Tacitus*, & *Cardan*,

Nat. hiſt. 10. 2.

Lib. 6. Annal. cap. 7.

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dan, and *Scaliger*, and reason it selfe drawne both from *Divinity* and *Philosophy*: in *Divinity*, in as much as two at least of every kinde came into the *Arke*, *male* and *female*, as they at first were created: from *Philosophy*, in as much as without more *individuals* then one, the whole kinde by a thousand casualties, must needes be in danger of utter extinguishment, and therefore where we finde but one of a kinde, as the *Sunne* and the *Moone*, God and Nature have set them out of gun-shot, farre enough from any reach of malice, or feare of danger. *Lib. 10. de sub. Exercit. 233.*

That the whelpes of *Beares* are at first littering, without all forme or fashion, and nothing but a little congealed bloud, or lumpe of flesh, which afterward the dame shapeth by licking, yet is the truth most evidently otherwise, as by the eye witnesse of *Ioachimus Rheticus*, & others it hath beene proved. And herein as in many other fabulous narrations of this nature, (in which experience checkes report) may we justly take up that of *Lucretius*, *Gesnerus.*

---- Quid nobis certius ipsis
Sensibus esse potest, quo vera & falsa notemus?
What can more certaine be then sence,
Discerning truth from false pretence?

That the *Bever* being hunted, & in danger to be taken, biteth off his stones, knowing that for them onely his life is sought, and so often escapeth: hence some have derived his name, *Castor à castrando seipsum*, from gelding himselfe, and upon this supposition, the *Egyptians* in their *Hieroglyphickes*, when they will signifie a man that hurteth himselfe, they picture a *Bever* biting off his owne stones, though *Alciat* in his *Emblemes*, turne it to a contrary purpose, teaching us by that example, to give away our purse to theeves rather then our lives, and by our wealth to redeeme our danger: but this relation touching the *Bever* is undoubtedly false, as both by sense and experience, and the testimony of *Dioscorides* it is manifested. First, because their stones are very small, and so placed in their body as are a *Bores*, and therefore impossible for the *Bever* himselfe to touch or come by them: and secondly, they cleave so fast unto their backe, that they cannot bee taken away, but the beast must of necessity lose his life: and consequently most ridiculous is their narration, who likewise affirme, that when he is hunted, having formerly bitten off his stones, he standeth upright, and sheweth the hunters that hee hath none for them, and therefore his death cannot profit them, by meanes whereof they are averted, and seeke for another. *Lib. 3. cap. 13.*

That *Swans* a little before their death, sing most sweetly; of which notwithstanding, *Pliny* thus speakes, *Olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus, falsò ut arbitror aliquot experimentis*: *Swans* are said to sing sweetly before their death, but falsely, as I take it, being led so to thinke by some experiments. And *Scaliger* to like purpose, *de Cigni verò cantu suavissimo, quem cum mendaciorum parente Gracia jactare ausus es, ad Luciani tribunal, apud quem aliquid novi dicas, statuo te.* Touching the sweet singing of the *Swan*, which with *Greece* the mother of lyes, you dare to publish, I cite you to *Lucians* tribunal, there to set abroach some new stuffe. And *Ælian*, *cantandi studiosos esse jam communi sermone pervulgatum est*: *ego verò* *Natur. hist. 10. 23.* *Exercit. 23.*

Cignum

Cignum nunquam audivi canere, fortaſſe neque alius: that *Swans* are skilfull in ſinging, is now rife in every mans mouth; but for my ſelfe I never heard them ſing, and perchance no man elſe.

De Temp. lib. 3. That the *Salamander* lives in the fire; yet both *Galen* and *Dioſcorides* refute this opinion. And *Mathiolus* in his commentaries upon *Dioſcorides*

Lib. 2. cap 56. De erreurs Populaires. affirmes, that by caſting many *Salamanders* into the fire for tryall, hee found it falſe. The ſame experiment is likewiſe avouched by *Ioubertus*.

That the *Mandrakes* repreſent the ſhape and parts of a man; yet the

In comment. in Dioſcoridem. ſame *Mathiolus*, a very famous Phyſitian affirmes of them, *Radices porrò Mandragoræ humanam effigiem repræſentare, ut vulgò creditur, fabuloſum eſt*: that the rootes of the *Mandrake* repreſent the ſhape of a man, as it is commonly beleeved, is fabulous, calling them cheating knaves and quack ſalvers that carry them about to be ſolde, therewith to deceive barren women.

That *Bees* in ſtinging, loſe their ſtings, and ſo become drones; whereas *Virgil* tels us, that together with their ſtings they loſe their life. *Animamque in vulnere ponunt*. And Mr *Butler* a great Bee-maſter in his *Fœminine Monarchie* hath obſerved, that the drones are ſuch by kinde, not by accident.

That *Vipers* in their birth, kill their mother of whom they are bred:

Exercit. 20. 1. *Scaliger* out of his owne experience aſſures us the contrary, *Viperas* ſaith he, *ab impatientibus moræ fœtibus numeroſiſſimis, atque idcirco erumpentibus rumpi atque interire, falſum eſſe ſcimus, qui in Vincentij Camerini lignea theca vidimus enatas Viperillas parente ſalvâ*: that *Vipers* are rent and ſlaine by the number of their young ones, impatient of delay, and ſtriving to get forth, we know to be falſe, who in a woodden boxe belonging to *Vincentius Camerinus*, have ſeene the young newly brought forth, together

Vide Angelum Abbatium de Vipera natura & Buſtamentinum de animantibus S. S. with the old one, ſafe & ſound. True indeed it is, that the *Viper* bringing ſometime twenty or more, and being delivered but of one a day, the hindermoſt impatient of ſo long delay, ſometimes gnawes thorow the tunicle or ſhell of the egge in which they are incloſed, & ſo come forth with a part of it upon them; which *Ariſtotle* truly affirming, thereupon it ſeemes hath growne the miſtake, that they gnaw thorow the belly of the damme, which is undoubtedly falſe. The derivation then of the word *Vipera quaſi vi pariens*, is but a tricke of wit, grounded upon an erroneous ſuppoſition, it being rather (as I conceive) from *vivum pariens*; there being no other kinde of Serpent which bringeth forth her young hatched out of the egge, but onely the *Viper*.

Lib. 7. quæſt. 8. That *Women* ſo borne, have afterward changed their ſex, & become men: *Hoc credidit antiquitas, & hodie Medici ferè omnes idem ſentiunt*, ſaith *Laurentius*: thus antiquity beleeved, and almoſt all Phyſitians are at this day of the ſame opinion, yet doth he profeſſe himſelfe to be of another minde.

That the *Hare* is one yeare a *male*, and another a *female*: whereas *Rondeletius* affirmes, that they are not ſtones which are commonly taken to be ſo in the *female*, but certaine little bladders filled with matter, ſuch as are upon the belly of the *Bever*, wherein alſo the vulgar is deceived, taking thoſe bunches for ſtones, as they doe theſe Bladders. Now the

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the uſe of theſe parts both in *Bevers* and *Hares* is this, that againſt raine both the one and the other ſexe, ſuck thereout a certaine humour, and annoint their bodyes all over therewith, which ſerves them for a defence againſt raine.

That a *Wolfe* if he ſee a man firſt, ſuddenly ſtrikes him dumb, whence came the Proverbe, *Lupus eſt in fabula*: and that of the Poet,

Lupi Mœrim vidêre priores,
The Wolves ſaw Mœris firſt.

Yet *Philip Camerarius* profeſſeth, *fabuloſum quod vulgò creditur, hominem à Lupo præviſum ſubitò conſternari, & vocem amittere:* That it is fabulous which is commonly beleeved, that a man being firſt ſeen by the *Wolfe*, is thereupon aſtoniſhed, and loſeth his voyce; And that himſelfe hath found it by experience to be a vaine opinion: which *Scaliger* likewiſe affirmes upon the ſame ground. *Vtinam tot ferulis caſtigarentur mendaciorum aſſertores iſti quot à Lupis viſi ſumus ſine jactura vocis*: I wiſh thoſe Patrons of lyes were chaſtiſed with ſo many blowes, as at ſundry times I have beene ſeene of Wolves, without any loſſe of my voyce.

Meditat. Hiſt. cap. 23.

Exercit. 344.

That men are ſometimes transformed into Wolves, and againe from Wolves into men: touching the falſhood whereof, *Pliny* himſelf is thus confident, *homines in Lupos verti, rurſumque reſtitui ſibi, falſum eſſe confidenter exiſtimare debemus; aut credere omnia quæ fabuloſa tot ſeculis comperimus*: that men are changed into Wolves, & againe reſtored to themſelves, that is, to the ſhape of men, wee ought aſſuredly beleeve to be falſe, or to give credite to whatſoever we have found fabulous in the courſe of ſo many ages. And with *Pliny* doth our renowned *Camden* herein accord in his deſcription of the Kingdome of *Ireland*: in that (ſaith hee) the *Iriſh*, and even thoſe who would ſeeme worthy credit, affirme, that in the Countie of *Tipperarie*, ſome are yeerely turned into Wolves, *fabuloſum ſanè exiſtimo*, truely I hold it fabulous; *nec ego aliud de Lycaonibus illis in Livonia tranſmutatis, de quibus multi multa produnt, affirmare auſim*; neither durſt I affirme any other thing of the tranſmutation of thoſe *Lycaons* in *Livonia*, touching whom, many have vvritten many things. But *Sabin* in his Commentaries upon the ſeaventh Booke of the *Metamorphoſis*, tells us upon his owne knowledge, a pretty ſtory to this purpoſe. That certaine men are yeerely turned into Wolves, and againe, returne to their former ſhapes, is a matter (ſaith hee) commonly beleeved: ſuch *Herodotus* mentions among the *Neurians*, a people of *Scythia*; and it is generally reported, that the like are here to be found among the *Boruſſians*, of whom, one was lately taken and brought by the Boores of the Countrey, before the Duke of *Pruſſia*, whoſe Cattle hee was ſuppoſed to have devoured; hee was indeed a deformed man, and not much unlike a wilde beaſt, having woundes in his face, which hee vvas ſaid to have received from the teeth of dogges during his change; this fellow being by ſome examined (whom the Prince deputed to that buſineſſe) affirmed that hee was twice in the yeare ſo changed, namely about *Chriſtmas*, and againe about *Midſommer*; whereupon being kept cloſe priſoner in the Caſtle, and narrowly obſerved, it was by

Nat. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 22.

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tryall found that notwithstanding his owne confession he still retained the same shape, *atque is fuit exitus fabulæ*, saith my Author, here was the epilogue of this Comœdie.

Now that which hath given occasion to this opinion might bee as I suppose, either an *illusion* of Sathan in regard of the beholders, or a strong melancholie *imagination* in the patients, or the *education* of men among Wolves from their very infancie. For that the Devill can at his pleasure transubstantiate, or transforme one substance into another, I hold it no sound Divinity.

That the *Pellican* turning her beake against her brest therewith pierceth it till the bloud gush out, wherewith shee nourisheth her young: whereas the *Pellican* hath a beake broade and flat, much like the slice of Apothecaries and Chirurgions, with which they spread their plaisters, no way fit to pierce, as *Laurentius Ioubertus* Counsellour and Physition to *Henry* the fourth of *France*, in his booke of *Popular errours*, hath observed.

That the cause of the increase of *Nilus*, was the melting of the snow, and the fleeting thereof from the toppes of the mountaines of *Æthiopia*; of this opinion was *Anaxagoras*, and him followed *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*: nay, *in eadem opinione omnis vetustas fuit*, saith *Seneca*, the whole body of antiquity was of the same minde; *sed falsum esse plurimis argumentis patet*, saith the same *Seneca*, but that to be false is apparent by many arguments.

Nat. qu. 4. 13.

That the *Lyon* trembles at the Crowing of the *Cocke*, but I have heard by credible report, that King *Iames* upon tryall found this to bee fabulous.

That there were such creatures as *Nymphs*, and *Satyres*, and *Syrens*, and *Sphinges*, and *Remoraes*, and *Vnicornes*, of which kinde notwithstanding, none are now to be found.

Touching the fable of the *Satyres*, see a notable passage in *Causabon de Satyrica poesi.* pag. 47.

Lastly, that the *Mole* hath no eyes, nor the *Elephant* knees; both which notwithstanding by dayly and manifest experience are found untrue.

SECT. 6.

An Application of what hath beene said to the present purpose.

MAny more instances might bee given both in *Divinity*, *Philosophy* and *History*, to shew that 'tis a thing neither new nor unjustifiable by the practise of wise men to examine & impugne received opinions, if they be found erroneous, such as I take this to be of *Natures universall decay*. So that I hope it shall neither seeme unpleasing nor unprofitable, nor yet impertinent that I have dwelt so long upon this point. I know that of *Chrysostome* to be most true: *The hardest lesson is to unlearne*, and therefore have I harped so long upon this string to make it cleare that men may erre, specially where that falls out which *Iustin* in his dialogue with *Tryphon* hath observed, that *posteriores sequuntur*

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tur priores securi examinis, that the later follow the former without examination: Custome with most men prevailes more then Truth: though *Christ* hath said, as *Tertullian* rightly noteth, *I am Truth and not Custome*: yea such is the force thereof, that according to the inbred notions and preconceptions, which it hath formed and imprinted in our mindes, for the most part we shape the discourse of Reason it selfe. Thus *Pythagoras* by bringing up his Schollers in the speculative knowledge of *numbers*, made their conceits so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes how the element of *number* gave essence and beeing to the workes of *Nature*. A thing in reason impossible, which notwithstanding thorow their misfashioned preconceite, appeared unto them no lesse certaine, then if Nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the Creatures of God.

Divine is that speech of *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysickes*; *Quantam autem vim habeat consuetudo, leges declarant; in quibus fabulosa & puerilis narrationes plus valent cognitione vera earum rerum propter consuetudinem.* what is the strange force of Custome, the Lawes themselves declare; in which, childish and fabulous narrations are preferred before the true knowledge of the same thing, and that onely through custome. From which (to draw neaser to our present purpose) the great Lawyer *Panormitan* wishes that the severity of the ancient *Canons* be not too farre presséd upon delinquents, because men of later ages (saith he) *are no way matchable with the Ancients, as not in strength nor stature: so neither in wit nor manners.* But I much marvell that so great a Clearke should bee so easily carryed away with so vaine a shew, and by making men beleeve that they were not able to observe the *Canons*, make them unable indeed: which together with the greedy desire of gaine, hath beene, no doubt, the ground, or at least the pretence of such a multiplicity of *dispensations* in later ages; men choosing rather to stretch their purse-strings, and to buy out a dispensation for their money then, to improve their endeavours for the doing of that which the *Canon* requires. And hence the *Lenten fast* duly kept with much ease by our Predecessours, is with most men now adayes made so impossible, notwithstanding the observation thereof conduce so much to the publique good: and from hence saith the Glosse in the Canon Law, *dicunt hodie pro fornicatione minimem esse deponendam, quia fragiliora sunt corpora nostra, quam olim erant*; upon which occasion a worthy friend sent me these verses.

Duarenus de Beneficijs. 8. 6.

Dist. 82.

Turpiter O Hakewille *erras, nam deficit orbis*
Iste, nec Antiquis nos paris ille patres;
Nam rigidos illos Canones, quos prisca ferebat
Aetas, non possunt secula nostra pati:
Atque ita jamdudum decrevit Episcopus ille,
Cui nimis hareticum est, credere nolle, scelus.

Thus englished by the Author.

Hakewill you are deceiv'd; the world decayes,
And breeds not now the men that were of yore,

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Thoſe rigid Canons that in ancient dayes
Our Fathers bare, are for our times too ſore;
And thus a Pope did not long ſince decree,
Whom not to credit were foule hereſie.

CHAP. 2.

Of the Reaſons inducing the Author to the writing and publiſhing of this Diſcourſe.

SECT. 1.

Whereof the firſt is the redeeming of a captivated truth.

SUch is the admirable beauty and ſoveraignty of *Truth* in it ſelfe, and ſuch infinite content doth it yeeld the Soule being found and embraced, that had I propoſed no other End to my ſelfe in this enſuing Treatiſe then the diſcovery and unfolding thereof, I ſhould hold it alone a very ample recompence, and ſufficient reward of my labour. The *Greekes* call it ἀλήθεια, which by an eaſie and unſtrained derivation implyes the *breath of God*: ſo that as *Minerva*, by which is meant the *Arts*, is fained to have ſprung from the head of *Iupiter*: ſo *Truth* undoubtedly flowes from the mouth of the *Creator*, not onely that *ſupernaturall* and revealed *Truth*, which concernes our ſpirituall and ſupernaturall good, but that which concernes our good either
Jam. 1. 17. *morall* or *naturall*. For as *every good thing*, ſo farre as it is good, *is from God*, the Author and originall cauſe of all goodneſſe; ſo every Truth is from the ſame God, the Fountaine of all Truth: Howbeit hee impart the diverſe kindes thereof after a different manner; the Truth of *Experience* by ſenſe, of *Reaſon* by diſcourſe of the intellectuall power, of *Religion* by faith. Theſe are as ſeverall lines drawne from the ſame center, or ſeverall beames from the ſame Sunne: All which notwithſtanding in their ſeverall rankes and degrees carry in them, or rather have ſtamped and printed upon them, ſome character or reſemblance of the Divine Excellencie.

Gen. 2. 7. And as *Truth* is the *breath of God*, ſo is the *Soule* of man to, which may well be thought to be in part, the cauſe that the *Soule* is ſo wonderfully taken and affected with the love and liking of it. All the Kingdomes in the world, and the glittering pompe of them cannot ſo much refreſh and delight a ſtudious minde, as this one ineſtimable Jewell of *Truth*, which *Lucretius* hath lively deſcribed:

Lib. 2. 1. *Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis, &c.*

It is a view of delight, ſaith hee, to ſtand or walke upon the ſhore ſide, & to ſee a ſhip toſſed with tempeſts upon the Sea; or to be in a fortified Towre, and to ſee two Armies joyne battle upon a plaine: but it is a pleaſure incomparable for the minde of man to be ſettled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of *Truth*, and from thence to deſcry and behold the errours, perturbations, labours and wandrings up and downe of other men. Wee ſee in all other pleaſures there is ſatietie, and after

they

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they be used their verdure departeth, which sheweth well they bee but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures, and that it was the novelty that pleased, and not the quality; but of the contemplation of *Truth* there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable. And certainly the more contentment and comfort doe we reape therein, for that the apprehension of *Truth* helpes to repaire that Image of God, which by the fall of man was in that very part sorely batter'd and bruis'd, I meane in regard of the knowledge of naturall Truths; but in regard of supernaturall utterly defaced.

Now such being the condition of *Truth*, both in regard of *God, it selfe, and us*, wee may not part with it at any termes, nor can wee purchase it at too deare a rate, *buy the truth, but sell it not.* Some perchance in this very point may suppose, that the opinion maintaining *Natures decay*, argues in the maintainers more modesty and humility, and is apter to breed in men a religious feare and devotion, being perswaded as well by sense and reason, as by Scripture and faith, that the World must have an end, & that in appearance the end thereof cannot be farre off. Which though it were so, yet may it not be upheld with an untruth, *Rectè placet laudem humilitatis in parte non ponere falsitatis, ne humilitas constituta in parte falsitatis perdat præmium veritatis*, saith S. *Augustine*. Wee desire not to settle the prayse of humility upon false grounds, lest being built upon falshood, it loose the reward of Truth. If evill be in no case to be done that good may come thereof, no, not the least evill for the greatest good, if a lye may not bee made for the winning of a mans Soule; no, not for the gaining of a world of Infidels to the faith, as *Divines* truely teach; then may not the defence of any untruth be undertaken, what faire pretence soever of piety, or charity, or humility it may put on. For as we are to speake *veritatem in charitate*, the truth in love, so are we to follow *charitatem in veritate*, love grounded upon truth. It being one of the properties of true charity *to rejoyce in truth*. *Truth* then and true piety, *Truth* and true charity, *Truth* and true humility, being inseparable companions; *let none presume to put them asunder, whom God hath thus linked and joyned together. Will yee talke deceitfully for Gods cause*, saith *Iob, will yee make a lye for him?* if we may not utter an untruth for Gods cause, and the advancement of his glory, much lesse for the best good of man, the glory of God being as much and more to be preferred before the best spirituall good of man, as mans spirituall good before his temporall. *Absit à me, ut veritatem per mendacium velim in Matthæum. iri confirmatam*, saith *Chrysostome*, farre bee it from me to attempt the strengthning of truth by falshood. The reason hereof is well yeelded by S. *Augustine*, *fracta vel leviter imminuta authoritate veritatis, omnia dubia remanebunt*, the credit and soveraignty of truth being never so little crackt, or the practise of lying never so little countenanced, a man can build upon nothing, but all things will be full of doubt and distrust. And againe, *nunquam errare tutiùs existimo, quàm cùm in amore nimio veritatis, & rejectione nimia falsitatis erratur*, a man cannot lightly erre more safely, then in too much love of Truth and hatred of lyes, whether they arise from errour and mistake, or malice and forgery, whether

Prov. 23. 23.

Lib. de Nat. & Gratia cap. 36.

Ephes. 4. 15.

1. Cor. 13. 6.

Job. 13. 7.

De Mendacio ad Consentium.

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they consist in the disagreement and disconformity betwixt the speech and the conception of the minde, or the conceptions of the minde and the things themselves, or the speech and the things.

SECT. 2.

The second is the vindicating of the Creators honour.

AS my *first Reason*, for the writing and publishing this Discourse, was for *the redeeming of a captivated truth*: so my *second* is for *the vindicating of the Creators honour*, the reputation of his *wisedome*, his *justice*, his *goodnesse*, and his *power*; being all of them in my judgement by the opinion of *Natures decay*, not a little impeached and blemished. His *wisdome*, for that intending (as by the sacred Oracles of his word he hath in sundry passages clearely manifested it) to put an end to the World *by fire*, it cannot (I thinke) be well conceived why he should ordaine or admit such a dayly, universall and irrecoverable consumption in all the parts of Nature, which *without fire*, or any other outward meanes would undoubtedly bring it to that finall period.

His *justice*, for that withdrawing from later ages that strength and ability of performing religious duties, and practising morall vertues, which to the former hee granted, yet to demand and expect no lesse from the later then he did from the former, what is it but to *reape where he sowed not*, to require as much of him that hath but *five talents*, as of him that had *ten*; or to deale as *Pharaoh* did with the *Israelites*, still to exact the same taske of bricke, and yet to withhold the wonted allowance of straw? Neither can wee with that confidence reprehend the raigning vices of the times, if wee cast the reason thereof not so much upon the voluntary malice and depravation of mens vvils, as upon the necessity of the times preordained by God; which upon the matter, what is it but to lay the burden upon God, and to accuse him, that so we may free and excuse our selves?

Exod. 5. 7. 8.

His *Bounty* and *Goodnesse*, as if out of a niggardly and sparing disposition he envied the succeeding generations of the World, that happines which upon the preceding hee freely and richly conferred; whereas I am rather of opinion, that as in *holy Scripture*, for the most part, he accepted and preferred the younger brother before the elder, and as *Christ our Saviour* turned the water into wine towards the end of the feast, which farre excelled that in the beginning: so the gifts and graces of God, have beene more plentifully powred out upon mankinde in this later age of the World, then ever since the first *Creation* therof. As was foretold by the *Prophet* in the Old Testament, and remembred by the *Apostle* in the New; *And it shall come to passe in the last dayes* (saith *God*) *I will powre out of my spirit upon all flesh.*

Joh. 2. 10.

Joel. 2. 18.

Acts 2. 17.

Lastly, the reputation of his *Power* is thereby most of all stained and wounded, as if his treasury could at any time bee emptied and drawne dry, as if he had but one blessing in store, or were forced to say with old *Isaack* when hee had blessed *Iacob*, *with corne and wine have I blessed him, & what shall I do now to thee my son?* No, no, his arme is not shortned, neither

Gen. 27. 38.

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neither is his mightie power any way abated; yet they who thus complaine of *Natures decay*, what do they but implicitly impeach and accuse his *Power?* which indeed is nothing else but *Natura Naturans* (as the *Schooles* Phrase is) *Active Nature*, and the creature the workmanship thereof, *Natura Naturata*, *Nature Passive*; That which the Samaritans ignorantly and blasphemously spake of *Simon Magus*, may properly and truly be spoken of Nature, that it is *the great power of God*, or *the power of the great God*, as is divinely observed by the wittie *Scaliger* against *Cardan* in that Exercitation, which in its front beares this inscription, opposed to *Cardanes* assertion: *Non ex fatigatione mundum solutum iri*, that the world shall not dissolve by being tyred, *quasi natura* (saith hee) *sit asinus ad molas, non autem Dei Opt. Max. potestas, quæ eodem nutu gubernat infinito quo creavit*, we may not conceive that Nature is as an asse wasted and wearied out at the mill; but the Power of the Mightie God which governes all things with the same infinite command, wherewith they were created. And with him accords *Valesius* discoursing of the Worlds end, towards the end of his booke *de sacra Philosophia*, *Quæ à Deo ipso per se ac sine causa secunda compacta sunt, non possunt ab alia causa solvi, sed solùm ab eo ipso à quo sunt coagmentata*. those things which are made of God himselfe immediately by himselfe without the concurrence of second causes, cannot be unmade by any inferiour cause, but by him alone by whom they were first made. And againe, *Certè ita est, virtutem divinam apponi necesse est ut deleatur quod Deus ipse fecit*; there needes no lesse then a divine power, for the abolishing of that which the *Deity* it selfe hath wrought; which hee seemes to have borrowed from *Plato in Timæo*, where hee thus speakes of the World. *Ita aptè cohæret, ut dissolvi nullo modo queat, nisi ab eodem à quo est colligatus*, so proportionably doth each part answer other, that it is indissoluble, but onely from his hands who first framed it. As then *Almightie God* created all things of nothing by the *power of his word*: So doth hee still uphold them and will, till the dissolution of all things in their essences, faculties and operations by the *Word of his Power, reaching from one end to the other mightily, and disposing all things sweetly*. Indeed with the workes of man it is not so, when he hath imployed about them all the cuming, and cost, and care that may be, hee can neither preserve them nor himselfe, both they and hee moulder away and returne to their dust, *But I know*, saith the *Preacher, that whatsoever God doth, it shall be for ever, nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it*. And the sonne of *Sirach*. *Hee garnished his workes for ever, and in his hand are the chiefe of them unto all generations, they neither labour nor are weary, nor cease from their workes, none of them hindereth another, and they shall never disobey his word.*

Exercit. 77.

Heb. 1. 3. Wisdome. 8. 1.

Eccles. 3. 14.

16. cap. 27. 28. vers.

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SECT. 3.

The third is for that the contrary opinion quailes the hopes, and blunts the edge of vertuous endeavours.

MY *third reaſon* for the penning and publiſhing of this diſcourſe is, that *the contrary opinion thereunto ſeemes not a little to rebate and blunt the edge of mens vertuous endeavours*. For being once throughly perſwaded in themſelves, that by a fatall kinde of neceſſitie and courſe of times, they are caſt into thoſe ſtraits, that notwithſtanding all their ſtriving and induſtrie, it is impoſſible they ſhould riſe to the pitch of their noble and renowned Predeceſſours, they begin to yeeld to the times and to neceſſity, being reſolved that their endeavours are all in vaine, and that they ſtrive againſt the ſtreame; nay the *Maſter* himſelfe of Moralitie, the great *Patriarch* of Philoſophers, hath told us, that *circa impoſſibilia non eſt deliberandum*, is is no point of wiſedome for a man to beat his braines and ſpend his ſpirits about things meerly impoſſible to be atchieved, and which are altogether out of our reach. The way then to excite men to the imitation of the vertue, and the exploits of their famous Anceſtours, is not (as I conceive) to beat down their hopes of parallelling them, and ſo to clip the wings of their aſpiring deſires: but rather to teach them that there wants nothing thereunto but their owne endeavour, and that if they fall ſhort, the fault is not in the age but in themſelves. The ſpies that were ſent by *Moſes* to diſcover the land of *Canaan*, at their returne told the people, that the inhabitants thereof were much ſtronger then themſelves, that they were *Gyants* the ſonnes of *Anak*, and themſelves but as *Graſhoppers* in compariſon of them, by meanes of which report, the hearts of the people *melted* within them, and they were utterly *diſcouraged* from marching forward, though the diſcoverers reported withall, that the land from whence they came flowed with milke and honey; and the pomegranats, the figs, the wonderfull cluſters of grapes brought from thence, for a taſte and evidence of the goodneſſe of the ſoile, pleaſed them exceeding well. Thus when our Anceſtors are painted forth as Gyants, not onely in ſtature and ſtrength, but in wit and vertue, though the acts wee find recorded of them, pleaſe us marveilous well, yet wee durſt not venture, or ſo much as once thinke upon the matching of them, becauſe wee are taught and made to beleeve, that wee forſooth are but as Pigmies, and dwarfes in regard of them; and that it were as poſſible to fit a childs ſhoe to *Hercules* foote, as for us any way to come neere them, or to trace their ſteps, *poſſunt, quia poſſe videntur*: they can becauſe they ſeeme they can.

Certainly the force of imagination is wonderfull, either to beget in us an abilitie for the doing of that which wee apprehend we can do, or a diſabilitie for the not doing of that which wee conceive wee cannot do: which was the reaſon that the *Wiſards* and *Oracles* of the *Gentiles* being conſulted, they either returned an hopefull anſwer, or an ambiguous,

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guous, such as by a favourable construction, might either include or at leastwise not utterly exclude hope. *Agesilaus* (as I remember) clapping his hand upn the Altar, and taking it off againe, by a cunning device, shewed to his souldiers *victory*, stamped upon it, whereby they were so encouraged, and grew so confident, that beyond all expectation, they indeed effected that, whereof by this sleight, they were formerly assured. *Prognostications* and *Prophesies* often helpe to further that which they foretell, and to make men such as they beare them in hand they shall bee; nay by an unavoidable destinie must be. *Francis Marquesse* of *Saluzzo* yeelds us a memorable example in this kinde, who being Lieutenant Generall to *Francis* the first, King of *France* over all his forces which hee then had beyond the mountaines in *Italy*, a man highly favoured in all the Court, and infinitely obliged to the *King* for his *Marquesate* which his brother had forfeited, suffered himselfe to be so farre affrighted and deluded, (as it hath since beene manifestly proved) by *Prognostications*, (which then throughout all *Europe* were given out to the advantage of the *Emperour Charles* the *fifth* and to the prejudice of the *French*,) that having no occasion offered, yea his owne affections contradicting the same, hee first began in secret to complaine to his private friends of the inevitable miseries which hee foresaw prepared by the *Fates* against the *Crowne* of *France*: And within a while after (this impression still working in him) hee most unkindly revolted from his Master and became a turne-coat to the *Emperours* side, to the astonishment of all men, his owne great disgrace, and the no lesse disadvantage to the *French* enterprize: on the other side I doubt not but that the propheses of *Savanarola*, as much assisted *Charles* the eight to the conquest of *Naples*, which hee performed so speedily and happily, as hee seemed rather with chalke to marke out his lodgings, then with his sword to winne them. *Guicciardin.* *Idem.*

To like purpose was that custome among the Heathen of deriving the pedegree of valiant men from the Gods, as *Varro* the most learned of the *Romanes* hath well observed: *Ego hujusmodi à Diis repetitas origines utiles esse lubens agnósco, ut viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, se ex Diis genitos credant, ut eo modo animus humanus veluti divina stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audaciùs, agat vehementius, & ob hæc impleat ipsa securitate fœlicius.* I for my part (saith hee) judge those pedegrees drawne from the Gods not to be unprofitable, that valiant men (though in truth it be not so) beleeving themselves to be extracted from divine races, might upon the confidence thereof undertake high attempts the more boldly, intend them the more earnestly, and accomplish them the more securely and successively. And of the *Druides* *Cæsar* hath noted, that among other doctrines, they taught the *soules immortality* by propagation, because they thought, *hoc maximè ad virtutem excitari homines metu mortis neglecto*, that by meanes of this apprehension men were notably spurred forward, and whetted on to the adventuring and enterprising of commendable actions, through the contempt of death. Which same thing *Lucan* hath likewise remarked. *Aug. de Civit. Dei lib. 3. c. 4.*

De bello Gallico, lib. 6.

---Vobis authoribus, umbra *Lib. 1.*

Non

Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis ſi cognita) vitæ
Mors media eſt: certè populi quos deſpicit Arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget Lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.

...Your doctrine is,
Our Ghoſts goe not to thoſe pale realmes of Stygian Dis,
And ſilent *Erebus*: the ſelfe ſame ſoules do ſway
Bodies elſewhere, and death (if certaine truth you ſay)
Is but the mid'ſt of life. Thrice happy in your error
Ye Northerne Wights whom Death, the greateſt Prince of terror
Nothing affrights. Hence are your Martiall hearts inclin'd
To ruſh on point of ſword, hence that undaunted minde
So capable of Death; hence ſeemes it baſe and vaine
To ſpare that life which will eft-ſoones returne againe.

By all which wee ſee the admirable efficacie of the *Imagination*, either for the elevating or depreſſing of the minde, for the making of it more abject and baſe, or more active and generous: and from thence infer, that the doctrine of *Natures* neceſſary *decay*, rather tends to make men worſe then better, rather cowardly then couragious, rather to draw them downe to that they muſt bee; then to lift them up to that they ſhould and may bee, rather to breed ſloath then to quicken induſtrie. I will give one inſtance for all, and that homebred; the reaſon why wee have at this day no *Vineyards* planted, nor wine growne in *England* as heretofore, is commonly aſcribed to the *decay* of *Nature*, either in the regard of the Heavens, or earth, or both, and men poſſeſſed with this opinion ſit downe and trye not what may be done: whereas our great *Antiquary* imputes it to the *lazineſſe* of the Inhabitants, rather then to any defect or diſtemper in the *Climat*, and withall profeſſes that hee is no way of the minde of thoſe grudging ſloathfull husbandmen, (whom *Columella* cenſures) who thinke the earth is growne *wearie* and *barren* with the exceſſive plentie of former ages. I have ſomewhere read of a people ſo brutiſh and barbarous, that they muſt firſt be taught and perſwaded that they were not beaſts but men, and capable of reaſon, before any ſerviceable or profitable uſe could be made of them. And ſurely there is no hope, that ever wee ſhall attaine the height of the worthy acts and exploits of our Predeceſſours, except firſt wee be reſolved that Gods grace and our own endeavours concurring, there is a poſſibilitie wee ſhould riſe to the ſame degree of worth.

Camden in Glocester-ſhire

Orat. 12. 10. *Si hanc cogitationem homines habuiſſent: ut nemo ſe meliorem fore eo qui optimus fuiſſet arbitraretur, ii ipſi qui ſunt, optimi non fuiſſent*; if men had alwaies thus conceived with themſelves that no man could be better then hee that then was beſt, thoſe that now are eſteemed beſt, had not ſo beene. They bee the words of *Quintilian*, and thereupon hee inferres, as doth the *Apoſtle* 1. *Corinth.* 12. at the laſt verſe, *Nitamur ſemper*

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per ad optima, quod facientes, aut evademus in summum, aut certè multos infra nos videbimus, Let us covet earnestly the best gifts, and propose to our selves the matching at least, if not the passing of the most excellent patternes, by which meanes we shall either gaine the toppe, or see many beneath us. *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, sed ultra nobis quàm oportebat indulsimus, ita non tam ingenio illi nos superarunt quàm proposita,* Lib. 2. c. 5. saith the same *Author* in another place. Nature hath not made us more uncapable then our Ancestours, but wee have beene too indulgent to our selves, by which meanes it comes to passe that they surmount us not so much in wit as in endeavour.

SECT. 4.

The fourth is, that it makes men more careless as in matter of repentance, so likewise both in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posteritie.

AS the opinion of the *worlds universall decay quailes the hopes and blunts the edge of mens endeavours,* so doth it likewise of our exhortations and threatnings, when men are perswaded that famines and pestilences, and unseasonable weather, and the like, are not the Scourges of God for sinne, but rather the diseases of wasting and decrepit Nature, not procured so much by the vices and wickednesse of men, as by the old age and weakenesse of the world. And this opinion beeing once throughly rooted and settled in them, they neither care much for repentance, or call upon God for grace, thereby either to prevent these heavie judgements, hanging over their heads, or to remove them having seised upon them: but the Prophets of God (I am sure) tooke another course. They told not the people that these plagues were the symptomes and Characters of the worlds declining and decreasing, but the markes and rods of Gods vengeance for their transgressions and rebellions, and that the onely way both to prevent and remove them, was to remove their hainous and grievous sinnes out of Gods sight, the onely meanes to turne them from themselves, was for themselves to returne and be reconciled to their God. Besides the same opinion serves to make men *more careless both in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posteritie.* For when they consider how many thousand yeares *nature* hath now beene, as it were in a fever *Hectique*, daily consuming and wasting away by degrees; they inferre that in reason she cannot hold out long, and therefore it was to as little purpose to plant trees, or to erect lasting buildings, either for *Civill, Charitable*, or *Pious* ufes, as to provide new apparell for a sicke man, that lies at deaths doore, and hath already one foote in the grave: *I beseech you brethren,* saith the *Apostle, by the comming of the Lord Iesus, and by our gathering together unto him, that yee be not soone shaken in minde or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letters, as from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any meanes.* What a solemne Preface doth hee make unto it? and with how serious a conclu- 2. Thess. 2. 1.

sion

sion doth he seale it up? Now among other reasons yeelded by *Divines* for this his earnestnesse herein, one speciall one is, that men might not lavish out, and scatter their estates, upon a vaine supposition of the approach of that day. As *Philip Camerarius* a learned man, and Councellour to the state of *Norinberg*, reports upon his owne knowledge, that a *Parish-Priest* in those parts skilfull in *Arithmetique* presumed so farre upon his Calculations and the numerall letters of that prediction in the *Gospell*, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt*, they shall looke upon him whom they pierced, that hee confidently assured his parishoners, not onely of the *yeare*, but the very *day* and *houre* of the worlds end, and our Saviours comming to judgement. Whereupon such as gave credit to him carelessely wasted their meanes, perswading themselves that they should now have no further use of them. At the day & houre prefixed they all met in a Chappell to heare their *Prophet* preaching and praying, during which time there arose a great tempest with fearefull thunder and lightning, in so much as all present looked out every minute, for the fulfilling of the Propheſie: but a while after the storme cleared up, and the day appearing faire, the silly people finding themselves to be thus abused, for very indignation they rush upon their false Prophet, and would have slaine him or used him shamefully as hee deserved, had he not slipped out of their fingers, and the fury of the inraged multitude beene appeased by some of the wiser sort. The like is reported by *Espencæus* out of *Bullinger* of the *Hutites* a branch of the sect of *Anabaptists*, in his Commentaries on the third Chapter of the second epistle to *Timothy*: so dangerous a thing it is to predetermine the last day, or to set a period to the course of *Nature*. It is most certaine that wee are by many hundreds of yeares neerer the worlds end, then was the *Apostle* when hee wrote that exhortation to the *Thessal.* and yet when that end shall bee, is still as uncertaine to us, as it was to them. Upon which point S. *Augustine* I remember hath an excellent meditation, comparing the severall ages of the world to the ages of man; not so much as I conceive in regard of growth or declination, as in regard of progression, making the *infancie* thereof from *Adam* to *Noah*, the *Childhood* from *Noah* to *Abraham*, the *Youth* from *Abraham* to *David*, the *mans estate* from *David* to *Christ*, the *old age* from *Christ* to the *end* of it. And as the duration in all the other ages of man is certaine, but the lasting of *old age* uncertaine: so is it in the World. And as *Chrysostome* well noteth, we call not the end of the yeare the last houre, or day, or weeke thereof, but the last moneth or quarter: so wee call this last age of the World the End thereof. But how long this age shall last, it is still doubtfull, it being one of those secrets which the Almightie hath lockt up in the cabinet of his owne counsell, a secret which is neither *possible* neither *profitable* for us to know, as beeing not by God revealed unto us in his Word, much lesse then in the booke of Nature.

Medic. Hist. cap. 41.

1532.

It is agreed upon on all sides by Divines, that at least two signes forerunning the Worlds end, remaine unaccomplisht; the *Subversion of Rome*, and the *Conversion of the Iewes*. And when they shall be accomplisht

plisht God onely knowes, as yet in mans judgement there being little appearance of the one or the other. *It is not for us to know the times and seasons which the father hath put in his owne power: in his owne power they are,* Act. 1. 7. they depend not upon the law of *Nature*, or chance of second Causes, but upon his will and pleasure, who as he made the World by his word, so by his becke can and will unmake it againe. *Sola religione mihi persuadetur mundum cepisse, atque finem intendit habiturum*, saith *Scaliger*: it is onely faith and religion that assures mee that as the World had a beginning, so it shall have an end by fire. And Divine *Bartas*, Exercit 62.

L'immuable decret de la bouche divine,
Qui Cause ra sa fin, Cause son origine. Sept. iour. 1.

Th'immutable divine decree, which shall
Cause the Worlds end, caus'd his originall.

Let not then the vaine shadowes of the Worlds *fatall decay* keepe us either from looking backward to the imitation of our noble *Predecessors*, or forward in providing for *posteritie*, but as our *Predecessours* worthily provided for us, so let our *posteritie* blesse us in providing for them, it being still as uncertaine to us what generations are yet to ensue, as it was to our predecessours in their ages. I will shut up this reason with a witty *Epigram* made upon one who in his writings undertooke to foretell the very yeare of the Worlds consummation.

Nonaginta duos durabit mundus in annos
Mundus ad arbitrium si fiat obitque tuum. Owen upon Napeir.
Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis? ut ne
Ante obitum mendax arguerere? sapis.

Ninetie two yeares the World as yet shall stand,
If it do stand or fall at your command.
But say, why plac'd you not the Worlds end nigher?
Lest ere you dyed you might be prov'd a lyer.

SECT. 5.

The fifth and last reason, is the weake grounds which the contrary opinion is built upon.

THe *fifth* and *last reason* which moved mee to the undertaking of this Treatise was, the *weake grounds which the contrary opinion of the Worlds decay is founded upon.* I am perswaded that the *fictions* of *Poets* was it which first gave life unto it. *Homer* hath touched upon this string, with whom *Virgill* accords, and they are both seconded by *Juvenall* and *Horace*: but above all, that *pretty invention* of the *foure Ages* of the world compared to foure mettals, Gold, Silver, Brasse, and Iron, hath wrought such an impression in mens mindes, that it can hardly be rooted out. For ancient *Philosophers* and *Divines*, I finde not any, that are so much as alleaged in defence of it, but *Pliny* and *Cyprian*, to whom some have added *Gellius* and *Augustine*, and some few beside: but how truly, it shall appeare God willing when wee come to speake of their testimonies in their proper places. And for Scripture proofe, it is both very sparing and wrested.

That which above all (as I conceive) had made way for this opinion is, the *morositie* and crooked disposition of old men, alwaies complaining of the hardnesse of the present times, together with an excessive admiration of *Antiquitie*, which is in a manner naturall and inbred in us, *Vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*, The ancients wee extoll being careless of our owne times. For the former of these, old men for the most part being much changed from that they were in their youth in complexion and temperature, they are fill'd with sad melancholy thoughts, which makes men thinke the world is changed, whereas in truth the change is in themselves. It fares with them in this case as with those whose taste is distempered, or are troubled with the jaundise, or whose eyes are bloodshot, the one imagining all things bitter or sowre, which they taste, and the other red or yellow which they see.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 2. verbis ultimis.

Virg. Æn. 3.

---Terræque Vrbesque recedunt;

Themselves being launched out into the deepe, the trees and houses seeme to goe backeward, whereas in truth the motion is in themselves, the houses and trees still standing where they were. *Seneca* tels us a pleasant tale of *Harpaste* his wives foole, who being become suddenly blind shee deemed the roome in which she was to be darke, but could by no meanes be perswaded of her owne blindnesse. Such for the most part is the case of old men, themselves being altered both in disposition of body and condition of minde, they make wonderfull narrations of the change of times since they remember: which because they cannot bee controlled, passe for currant.

Epist. 51.

Such a one it should seeme was that *Cæcilian*, of whom the *Epigrammatist* thus writes:

Mart. epig. l. 9. epig. 51.

Dixerat O mores! O tempora! Tullius olim,
Sacrilegum strueret cum Catilina nefas:
Cum gener atque socer diris concurreret armis,
Mœstaque civili cæde maderet humus.
Cur nunc O mores? cur nunc O tempora dicis?
Quod tibi non placeat Cæciliane, quid est?
Nulla ducum feritas, nulla est infamia ferri,
Pace frui certâ lætitiâque licet;
Non nostri faciunt tua quod tibi tempora sordent,
Sed faciant mores Cæciliane tui.

Oh times! Oh manners! once old *Tully* said,
When *Catiline* his hellish plot had laid:
When warres did sonne and Father-Law divide,
And *Rome's* sad earth in civill slaughter dy'd:
Why now Oh times! O manners! cry, st thou man?
What is't displeases thee *Cæcilian*?
No Generalls rage, no swords of traytors now,
But peace and joy do plentifully flow.
'Tis not the ages manners, but thine owne
Hath made the age to thee so hatefull growne.

Which *Epigram* our English *Martiall* thus imitates,

Cur accusat homo mores & tempora, culpam

Moribus

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Moribus aſcribens temporibuſque ſuam?
Non in temporibus vitium eſt, aut moribus ullum, Lib. 3. epiſt. 117.
Non vitiamur ab his temporibus, ſed in his.

The other pioner, as I may ſo call it, which by ſecret undermining, makes way for this opinion of the Worlds decay, is an exceſſive admiration of Antiquitie, together with a baſe and envious conceit of whatſoever this preſent age affords, or poſſibly can afford in compariſon thereof. *Vetulam præferunt immortalitati*, they preferre the wrinkles of Antiquitie, before the rareſt beautie of the preſent times, Cicero of Vlyſſes

---Cunctis ſua diſplicet ætas Auſon. Edill. 25
Spernimus in communi omnes preſentia:
Our preſent age doth us diſpleaſe,
And preſent things we all deſpiſe.

The common voice every where is, and ever hath beene, and will be to the worlds end.

Fælix nimium prior ætas, Boetius lib. 2. metro. 5.
Contenta fidelibus arvis---
--Vtinam quoque noſtra redirent
In mores tempora priſcos.
Thrice happy former ages and bleſſed
With faithfull fields content and pleaſed.
Would our age alſo had the grace
Againe old manners to embrace.

Yet if wee will ſpeake properly and punctually, Antiquity rather conſiſts in the old age, then infancie or youth of the World. But take it as commonly underſtood I thinke it will not be denied by any that underſtand the courſe of times, but that in latter ages, many abuſes have beene reformed, many Arts perfected, many profitable Inventions diſcovered, many noble and notable acts atchieved,

Multa dies variuſque labor mutabilis ævi
Retulit in melius.
Time and much toile of this unſteddie World
Hath bettered many things.

As truly *Virgill*; and elegantly *Claudian*,

---Rerumque remotas De raptu Proſerp. lib. 3.
Ingenioſa vias paulatim explorat egeſtas.
Wittie neceſſitie by degrees traceth out
Of things the prints and windings moſt remote.

But let us heare what the wiſeſt man that ever lived of a meere man hath determined in this point: *Say not thou, what is the cauſe that the former daies were better then theſe? for thou doſt not enquire wiſely concerning this.* Eccleſ. 7. 10. Upon which words ſaith *Iſiodorus Clarius*, *Quia manifeſtum eſt habuiſſe priora tempora, ſicut & hæc noſtra habent incommoda ſua*; becauſe it is evident that former times had their miſchiefes and miſeries waiting upon them as well as ours. *Yet becauſe* for the moſt part, the beſt of former times is recorded, and the worſt concealed from us, as the Sieve lets goe the fineſt flowre, but retaines the bran; *or becauſe* we are generally more ſenſible of the croſſes, then the bleſſings of our times; *or laſtly becauſe* the

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Minuit præsentia famam. sight and presence of things diminisheth that reputation which we conceived of them: Such is the disease and malignity of our nature, *Vitium malignitatis humanæ*, as *Tacitus* cals it, *ut vetera semper in laude, præsentia sint in fastidio.*

Lib. de Orator.

Horat. l. 2. ep. 1.

---Et nisi quæ terris semota suisque
Temporibus defunctis videt, fastidit, & odit.
Sed redit ad fastos, & virtutem imputat annis,
Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

Save what removed is by place; nor lacks,
Antiquity to warrant it, hee lothes and hates:
Vertue hee counts by yeares and Almanacks,
Wonders at nought but what death consecrates.

But as the same Poët wittily speakes, comparing the *Grecians* with the *Romans*, the same may we demaund, comparing our selves and *later ages* generally with the *ancients*.

Quod si tam antiquus novitas invisa fuisset
Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus, aut quid haberet
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?

If ancients had envied as much as wee,
Things that are new, what now would ancient bee,
Or could be read and used publicklie?

A man may say of many of our new Writers as *Gellius* sometime spake of a good speech that *Favorinus* made: *Nonne si id Antisthenes aut Diogenes dixisset dignum memoria visum esset?* had *Antisthenes* or *Diogenes* spoken it, would it not have seemed memorable?

Noct. At. 18. 7.

Essayes l. 2. c. 10. It was the cunning of *Michael Montaigne*, as himselfe witnesseth, to use a similitude of *Plutarchs*, or a sentence of *Senecaes* as his owne, that so it might appeare how men censured that in him, which in those ancient Authors they highly applauded: but very witty was the device of *Michael Angelo* a most famous moderne Painter, who drawing a table after the *Antique* manner, hid it in a corner of a friends house, where hee thought it would soone be discovered, and withall, sets his owne *name* in a corner of the table, but in letters scarce discernable. The table being found, hee was quickly sent for, shewed him it was by the Master of the house, and commended for an exquisite peece, farre beyond any of the present age; but when the Authour of it challenged it to be his owne, and for proofe thereof shewed him his *name* in it, he craved pardon of him, and acknowledged his errour.

The *Satyrist* somewhere speakes of a famous Poetresse, who was second to none but *Homer*, and that onely for his antiquitie.

---Vni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos.---

Such is the advantage which Antiquity hath against the present times, that if we meete with any thing which excells, we thinke it must be *ancient*, or if with any thing that is *ancient*, it cannot but excell: Nay, therefore we thinke it excells, because we thinke it *ancient*, though it be not so.

Vt

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Vt quidem artifices noſtro faciunt ſeculo, Phædrus. l. 5. Fabul. in prologo.
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo
Si marmori adſcripſerint Praxitelen, ſuo
Detrito Myronem argento.
As ſome artificers in theſe our dayes,
Who ſell their workes at a farre dearer rate,
If on new marble they Praxitiles,
Or Myron write, upon their battered plate.

I have ſeene, ſaith *Ludovicus Vives*, the verſes of a man then living, which becauſe they were found in a very ancient Library, covered with duſt, and eaten with mothes, hee that tooke them up in a manner adored them bare-headed, as being *Virgils*, or ſome one of that age. And another with diſdaine caſt away an Epiſtle of *Tullies*, before which there was of purpoſe prefixed a *French* name: *addito etiam convitio barbarei Tranſalpinæ*: adding this ſcoffe withall, that it ſavoured of Tranſalpine barbariſme. Which perverſe and partiall judgement I conceive not to ſpring ſo much from a due reſpect to the ancient Authors, as an envious diſeſteeming of the preſent. *To the beſt and wiſeſt while they live, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſerver of their defects, and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth.* De cauſis Corrupt. Art. lib. 7. Hooker 5. 7.

Virtutem incolumem odimus, Hor. l. 3. od. 24.
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
Vertue growing in our ſight w'envy
Remov'd from hence we ſtraight way deifie.

Though flattery and envy are at defiance each with other, yet doe they both agree in this, that they feed upon living bodies, but leave them being dead.

Paſcitur in vivis livor poſt fata quieſcit, Ovid. amor. ult. primi.
Tum ſuus ex merito quemque tuetur honor.
As envy ſtill on living bodies feedes,
So honour after death doth crowne their deedes.

When *Hercules* had vanquiſhed ſo many fierce monſters,
Comperit invidiam ſupremo fine domandam. Idem l. 2. ep. 1.
He grapled laſt with envy as the worſt.

Eſſe quid hoc dicam vivis quod fama negatur, Martial. l. 5. epig. 10.
Et ſua quod rarus tempora lector amat.
Hi ſunt invidiæ nimirum (Regule) mores
Præferat antiquos ſemper ut illa novis.
Whence is't that Poëts living are miſprized,
And few do like the workes of their owne times?
Through Envy (*Regulus*) are they deſpiſed,
Which ſtill to new preferres the elder rimes.

Men read the Authors of their owne times, either as *inferiours* or punies to themſelves, with a kinde of ſcorne to learne of them:

---Quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ Horat. l. 2. ep. 1.
Imberbes didicêre, ſenes perdenda fateri.
To yonger then themſelves to yeeld great ſhame they hold,

And what they learne in youth t'unlearne when they are old.

Or as their *Equalls*, in whoſe perſons or manners, becauſe happily they eſpie ſome imperfections, they judge accordingly of their workes.

Eccleſ. 10. 1. *For as dead flies cauſe the oyntment of the Apothecary to ſend forth a ſtinking ſavour: ſo doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wiſedome.* Which was in a manner the Apoſtles caſe, *his letters*, (ſay they) *are weightie and powerfull: but his bodily preſence is weake, and his ſpeech contemptible.* And

2. Cor. 10. 10. no doubt but to thoſe who thus conceived of him, his very letters were not ſo powerfull and weightie, as otherwiſe they would have beene, and as now they are to us, who know not what his perſon or ſpeech was. Or if no acception be to be taken to them, yet wee hold it a kinde of diſreputation or diſparagement unto us, by yeelding them their due (though worthily and juſtly merited,) to preferre them before our ſelves,

Ingenio qui vult cedere nullus erit.

In wit will no man yeeld: which is the onely reaſon that the ſame men, being while they live, mightily maligned and impugned, they are after their death, and that many times by the ſame corrivals, as highly honoured and commended.

Horat. l. 2. ep. 1. *Vrit enim fulgore ſuo, qui pragravat artes*
Infra ſe poſitas, extinctus amabitur idem.

Who others doth in acts and skill ſurmount,
With brighter beames inferiour ſpirits doth vex,
But being dead is held of great account.

Which *Martial* verifies in the practice of *Vacerra*,

Lib. 8. epig. 69. *Miraris veteres Vacerra ſolos,*
Nec laudas niſi mortuos Poëtas,
Ignoſcas petimus Vacerra, tanti
Non eſt ut placeam Tibi perire.

Old Poëts onely thou doſt praiſe,
And none but dead ones magnifie;
Pardon *Vacerra*, thee to pleaſe
I am not yet in minde to die.

Hee is a happie man ſaith the great *Scaliger*, (and that not ſo much out of his reading, as his own ſenſe and feeling,) who while hee lives, is made partaker of thoſe deſerved praiſes.

In fine Cyclom. Elementorum. *Quas vita non dat, funus ac cinis dabunt.*

Which life grants not, death and the grave will give.

Even *Tully* himſelfe the *patterne* of eloquence to all ſucceeding ages, and one of the moſt abſolute, and eminent in his profeſſion, that ever the world yeelded, was notwithſtanding ſharpely cenſured, and taunted at by his coevals, *ut tumidiorem, & Aſianum, & redundantem, & in repetitionibus nimium, & in ſalibus aliquando frigidum, & in compoſitione fractum, exultantem ac penè quod procul abſit, viro molliorem:* as ſwelling after the Aſiatique manner, too redundant and frequent in repetitions, in jeſt ſometime too cold, and in the compoſure of his matter broken and effeminate. Nay *Virgil* the Prince of Poëts, was not without his corrivals and oppoſites in his life-time, ſuch as were *Carbilius Pictor*, *Viperanus*,

Quintil. Orat. 12. 10.

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nus, Herennius, Faustinus, and others, insomuch, that one wrote a booke intituled *Anti-bucolica*, another *Æneido-mastix*, one collected his *faults*, another his *stealths*, as *Donatus* in his life hath observed. To like purpose *Velleius Paterculus* speaking of a notable exploit of *Sextius Saturninus*, observes the same humorous disposition in those of his time, *Quod ego factum*, saith he, *cuilibet veterum Consulum gloriæ comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter, audita visis laudemus libentius, & præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur, & his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus*: which noble exploit of his I could justly compare with the most famous and glorious acts of the ancient *Consuls*; but that out of a naturall inclination wee more willingly commend things we receive by heare-say, then by sight, prosecuting things present with *envie*, but being past with *veneration*; as being perswaded that we are *affronted* by the one, but *instructed* the other. Lib. 2. cap. 92.

The Roman Priests before *Cæsar*, for reformation of the errours in the computation of their yeere, would sometimes thrust in a moneth, by example from *Numa Pompilius*, but this was found to be so poore and weake a remedy, that *Iulius Cæsar* by the helpe of his Mathematicians brought it to perfection: yet even for this was he envyed and scoffed at by *Cicero*, who when one said to morrow the star *Lyra* will arise; yea, said he, at *Cæsars* command. Plutarch. in vita Cæsaris.

For my selfe, I professe with *Pliny* the younger, *Sum ex iis qui miror antiquos, non tamen ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio; neque enim quasi lassa aut effœta natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat*: I am one of the number of those who admire the Ancients, yet not as some, doe I despise the wits of our times, as if *Nature* were tired and barren, and brought forth nothing now that were prayse-worthy. To which passage of *Pliny*, *Vives* seemes to allude, *malè de natura censet quicunque uno illam aut altero partu effœtam arbitratur*, hee that so thinkes or sayes, is doubtlesse injurious and ingratefull both to God and Nature: And *qui non est gratus datis, non est dignus dandis*, hee that doth not acknowledge the peculiar and singular blessings of God bestowed upon this present age in some things beyond the former, is so farre from meriting the increase of more, as he deserves not to enjoy these. And commonly it falls out, that there the *course* and discent of the graces of *God* ceases, and the spring is dryed up, where there is not a correspondent *recourse* and tide of our thankefulnesse. It is a good book to this purpose which *Iohannes Rivius* hath composed and published in Latine: *Of the happinesse of this our age, and of the ingratitude of men to God for his benefits*. Let men then suspend their rash judgements, *nec perseverent suspicere præteritos, despicere præsentes*, onely to admire the Ancients, and despise those of the present times. Let them rather imitate *Lampridius* the Oratour of whom witnesseth the same *Sydonius*, that hee read good Authors of all kindes, *cum reverentia antiquos, sine invidia recentes*: the old with reverence, the new without envy. I will conclude this point and this Chapter with that of *Solomon*, *Hee hath made every thing beautifull in his time*: answerable whereunto is that of the *sonne of Syrach* (which may well serve as a Commentary upon those wordes of *Solomon*) *All the* Lib. L. epist. 11. Sydonius lib. 3. epist. 8. Lib. 8. epist. 11. Eccles. 3. 11.

Eccleſiaſticus 39. 33,34,35. *workes of the Lord are good; and he will give every needfull thing in due ſeaſon, ſo that a man cannot ſay, this is worſe then that: therefore prayſe yee the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bleſſe the name of the Lord.*

CHAP. 3.

The Controverſie touching the Worlds decay ſtated, and the method held thorow this enſuing Treatiſe propoſed.

SECT. 1.

Touching the pretended decay of the mixt bodies.

LEaſt I ſhould ſeeme on the one ſide to fight with ſhaddowes, and men of ſtraw made by my ſelfe, or on the other to maintaine paradoxes, which daily experience refutes, it ſhall not bee amiſſe in this Chapter, to unbowell the *ſtate* of the queſtion, touching the *Worlds decay*, and therewithall to unfolde and lay open the ſeverall knots, and joynts thereof, that ſo it may appeare wherein the adverſe party agrees, and wherein the point controverted conſiſts, where they joyne iſſue, and where the difference reſts. It is then agreed on all hands, that all ſubcœleſtiall bodies, *individualls*, I meane, under the circle of the Moone, are ſubject not onely to *alteration*, but to *diminution* and decay; ſome I confeſſe, laſt long, as the Eagle and Raven among *birds*, the Elephant and Stagge among *beaſts*, the Oake among *Vegetables*, ſtones and mettalls among thoſe treaſures which Nature hath laid up in the *boſome of the earth*: yet they all have a time of *growth* and increaſe, of *ripeneſſe* and perfection, and then of *declination* and decreaſe, which brings them at laſt to a finall and totall *diſſolution*. *Beaſts* are ſubject to diſeaſes, or at leaſt to the ſpending of thoſe naturall ſpirits, wherwith their life and beeing, as the Lampe with oyle, is maintained; *Vegetables* to rottennesſe; *ſtones* to mouldering, and *mettals* to ruſt and canker, though I doubt not but ſome have layen in the bowells of the earth untainted ſince the *Worlds Creation*, and may continue in the ſame caſe till the *Conſummation* thereof: Which needs not ſeeme ſtrange, ſince ſome of the *Egyptian Pyramides* (ſtones drawne from their naturall beds and fortreſſes, and expoſed to the invaſion of the aire, and violence of the weather) have ſtood already well nigh *three thouſand* yeares, and might (for ought wee know) ſtand yet as long againe. And I make no queſtion but *glaſſe*, and *golde*, and *chriſtall*, and *pearle*, and *precious ſtones* might ſo be uſed, that they ſhould laſt many thouſand yeares, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long. For that which *Poets* faigne of *Time*, that it eates out and devoures all things, is in truth but a *poeticall fiction*, ſince *Time* is a branch of *Quantity*, it being the meaſure of motion, and *Quantity* in it ſelfe is no way *active*, but meerely *paſſive*, as being an accident flowing from the matter. And thereupon *Conta-renus* in his fourth book, and eight Chapter, of the perfection of things, having touched upon that paſſage of the Poet, *Tempus edax rerum*, Time eates out all things; preſently adds, *Quæ ſententia ut propius ad vulgi ac-*

cedat,

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cedat, ita est remotior à veritate; which opinion as it approacheth neerer to the vulgar, so is it from the truth more remote. It is then either some inward conflict, or outward assault vvhich is vvrought in *Time*, that eates them out; *Time* it selfe without these, is toothlesse, and can never doe it. Nay, even among *Vegetables* it is reported by Mr *Camden*, that whole trees lying under the Earth, have beene, and daily are digged up in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*, which are thought to have layen there since *Noahs* floud. And *Verstegan* reports the like of *firre* trees digged up in the *Netherlands*, which are not knowne to grow any where in that Country, neither is the soile apt by nature to produce them, they growing in cold hillie places, or upon high mountaines, so that it is most likely, they might from those places (during the deluge) by the rage of the waters be driven thither. Yet all these consisting of the Elements, as they doe, I make no doubt, but without any outward violence in the course of Nature, by the very inward conflict of their principles whereof they are bred, vvould by degrees, though perchance for a long time insensibly, yet at last feele corruption. For a Body so equally tempered, or evenly ballanced by the Elements, that there shall bee no *predominancie*, no struggling or wrastling in it, may be imagined; but surely (I thinke) was never really subsisting in Nature, nor well can be. Cap. 4.

SECT. 2.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements, in regard of their quantity and dimensions.

I Come then in the next place from the *mixt* Bodies, to the *Elements* themselves, wherof they are mixed. Of these it is certaine, that they decay in their *parts*, but so, as by a *reciprocall compensation* they both lose and gaine, sometime losing what they had gotten, and then againe getting what they had formerly lost, *Egregia est in elementis quaternarum virium compensatio, equalibus justisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium*, saith *Philo* in his booke *de Mundi incorruptibilitate*, there is in the Elements a singular retribution of that foure-folde force that is in them, dispensing it selfe by even bounds and just rules. The Element of the *fire*, I make no doubt, but by condensation it sometimes loses to the *aire*, & the *aire* again by rarefaction to it. Again, the *aire* by condensation loses to the *water*, and the *water* by rarefaction to it. The *earth* by secret conveyances, sucks in, & steales away the *waters* of the Sea, but returnes them again with full mouth. And these two incroach likewise & make inrodes interchangeably each upon other. The ordinary depth of the sea is commonly answerable to the ordinary hight of the main land above the water: & the whirle-pooles & extraordinary depths answerable to the hight of mountains, above the ordinary hight of the earth. The *Promontories* and neck-lands which butt into the Sea, what are they but *solide creekes?* and the *creekes* which thrust forth their armes into the Land, but *fleeting Promontories?* The *Ilands* what are they but *solide lakes*,

and

and the *lakes* againe but *fleeting Ilands?* Nay, *Ilands* ſometimes are ſwallowed up by the *Sea*, ſometimes new riſe out of the *Sea*. Sometimes parts of the *Continent* are recovered out of the *Sea*, as was a place in *Egypt*, called *Delta*, *Ammania regio*, and others; nay, the greateſt part of the *Netherlands* was ſo recovered, as appeares by their finding innumerable ſhels of Sea-fiſh, almoſt in every place where they dig, and other parts againe irrecoverably loſt by the *inundation* thereof, as it fell out in the ſame Countries, about foure hundred yeares ſince, in the raigne of our King *Henry* the firſt, the ſteeples and towres which yet appeare above the water, ſhewing to Paſſengers the revenge of that unmercifull Element upon a part for the loſſe of the whole land. *Helice* likewiſe, and *Bura* Citics of *Greece*, were drowned (as it ſeemes in *Ogyges* floud, of which thus the Poet,

Ariſt. 1. Meteor.

Ovid. Met. 15.

Si quæras Helicen & Buram Achaidos Vrbes,
Invenies ſub aquis.

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground,
Are ſought in vaine, but under water found.

Cap. 32. And *Seneca* in the ſixth booke of his Naturall queſtions, thus ſpeakes of theſe two Cities, *Helicen, Burimque totas mare accepit, ſupra oppida duo navigatur, duo autem quæ novimus, quæ in noſtram notitiam memoria literis ſervata perduxit, quàm multa alia aliis locis merſa ſunt? Helice* and *Buris* the Sea hath wholly ſwallowed up, ſo that now wee ſayle over two Townes, two I ſay which are come to our knowledge by the memory of ancient records, but how many other trow wee may bee ſwallowed up in divers other places, which we never heard of? *Inter Inſulas nulla jam Delos*, ſaith *Tertullian* in his booke *de Pallio*, among the Ilands there is now no ſuch thing to be found as *Delos*: and againe *Acon in Atlantico Lybiam aut Aſiam adæquans quæritur nunc*; *Acon* in the *Atlanticke Sea* equalling *Africa* or *Aſia*, is now found wanting. The ſtory of King *Arthur*, and the Knights of the round table is but an idle booke, yet it was not (it ſeemes) without cauſe that he calls the *Corniſh Triſtram*, *Sir Triſtram de Lioneſſe*, inaſmuch as Maſter *Carew* of *Antony*, in his *Survay of Cornewall* witneſſeth, that the Sea hath ravened from that Shire, that whole Country of *Lioneſſe*; and that ſuch a Country of *Lioneſſe* there was, he very ſufficiently proveth by many ſtrong reaſons. Mr *Camden* in his Geographicall deſcription of the *Britiſh* Ilands reports out of ancient records, that upon the *Kentiſh* Coaſt, not farre from *Tanet*, is a ſandy dangerous place (which the inhabitants call *Goodwin ſands*) where an Iland (being the patrimonie of Earle *Goodwin*) was ſwallowed up in the yeare 1097.

Surv. lib. 1.

The very like hereunto doth *Camden* out of *Giraldus* report of a part of *Pembrok-ſhire*, which anciently runne out in the forme of a Promontorie towards *Ireland*, as appeares by that ſpeech of *William Rufus*, that he could eaſily with his ſhippes make a bridge over the Sea, ſo that he might paſſe on foote from thence into *Ireland*. This tract of ground being all buried in deepe ſands, during the raigne of *Henry* the ſecond, was by the violence of a mighty ſtorme ſo farre uncovered, that many ſtumpes of great trees appeared faſtned in the earth: *ictuſque ſecurium tanquam*

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tanquam hesterni saith *Giraldus*, and the strokes of the axes in them, as if they had beene but but yesterday, *ut non littus iam sed lucus esse videretur mirandis rerum mutationibus*, so that it now made shew of a wood rather then a strand, such is the wonderfull change of all things.

Sometimes dry Townes become Havens, and sometimes againe Haven-townes have become dry, as *Hubert Thomas*, a man of very good parts, chiefe Secretary to *Fredericke* the third, *Count Palatine* of *Rhene*, and *Prince Elector*, in his description of the Country of *Liege*, affirmeth, that the Sea hath in time come up to the walls of *Tongres*, now well nigh an hundred *English* miles from the Sea, which among other reasons hee proves by the great iron rings there yet to bee seene, unto which the ships that there sometimes arrived, were fastened. Also *Forum Iuliam*, a Towne seated in *littore Narbonensi*, the present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of *France*, *Michael Hospitalis*. *Epist. lib. 3.*

Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus,
Atqui ubi portus erat, siccum nunc littus, & horti.
The ruines of an ancient Haven appeares to bee,
But where the Haven was, now gardens may you see.

In like manner the river *Arno* now falleth into the Sea fixe miles from *Pisa*, whereby it appeareth, that the land hath there gotten much upon the Sea in this Coast, for that *Strabo* in his time reporteth, it was but 20 furlongs (which is two miles and a halfe) distant from the Sea. Lastly, sometimes *Ilands* have beene annexed to the *Continent*, as *Samos*, which (as witnesseth *Tertullian*) is become sand, and *Pharos* which in *Homers* time was an *Iland*, but in *Pliny's*, annexed to the *Continent* by the slime of *Nilus*. And sometimes againe peeces have beene cut off from the *Continent*, and made *Ilands*, so was *Ischia* as witnesseth *Pontanus* and *Baccius*, so was *Sicily* separated from the maine of *Italy*. Survay of Tuscany.

Hæc loca vi quondam, & vastâ convulsa ruinâ, *Virg. Æneid. lib. 3.*
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
Dissiluisse ferunt, cùm protinus utraque tellus
Vna foret, venit medio vi pontus & undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque & urbes
Littore deductas, angusto interluit æstu.
These places by huge force with ruine violent,
(So great a change in things long tract of time can make)
Sundred they say, which erst were both one Continent,
Till in betweene the Sea with force impetuous brake,
And with his mighty waves th'Hesperian did divide
From the Sicilian shore, and now 'twixt townes and fields
Thus rent asunder ebbes and flowes a narrow tide.

Sic & Hispaniæ à contextu Africa mare eripuit, saith *Seneca*. Thus did the Sea snatch away *Spaine* from the Continent of *Africa*. And this *Iland*, as many imagine, was likewise broken off from the Continent of *France*, grounding themselves partly upon private *reasons*, and partly upon the *authorities* of *Antonius Volscius*, *Dominicus Marius Niger*, and *Servius Honoratus*, who seekes to prove it from that of *Virgil*, *Nat. quæst. l. 6. c. 29.* *Camden.* *Twine.* *Verstegan.*

Eclog. 1. *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*
And Britaines wholly from the World divided.

And of *Claudian* in imitation of *Virgil.*

Nostro deducta Britannia mundo.
Britaine from our World sever'd.

Of both these, as well Ilands annexed to the Continent, as peeces of the Continent broken off from it by force of the Sea, and made Ilands; *Plinie* hath written at large in his second Booke of his Naturall History, *cap.* 85, 86, 87. And *Ovid* in the 15. of his *Met.* toucheth them both:

Fluctibus ambita fuerant Antissa Pharosque,
Et Phœnissa Tyros, quarum nunc Insula nulla est.
Antissa, Pharos, and Phœnissian Tyre,
Now are not, but with Seas surrounded were.

And on the other side,

Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni,
Nunc freta circumeunt: Zancle quoque juncta fuisse
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abstulit, & mediâ tellurem repulit undâ.
Th'old inhabitants of Leucadian Iles,
Conjoyned to the Continent them found.
And Zancle joyned was to Italy;
Which now cut off by Sea the waves surround.

By reason of which mutuall traffique and interchange, the Elements may truly be said to remaine alwayes the same in regard of their intire bodies, as *Theseus* his ship so renowned in antiquity, was held by the schollers of *Athens* to be the same, though it were renewed in every part thereof, and not a planke or pin remained of the first building, or as a river may properly be said to be the same, though it vary from it selfe by the accesse of fresh supplies every moment.

Horat. lib. 1. epist. 2. *Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at iste*
Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.
The Clowne waits till the foord be slidden all away,
But still it slides, and will for ever and a day.

SECT. 3.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in regard of their quantities.

THere is no feare then of the naturall decay of the *Elements* in regard of their *quantity* and dimensions; all the controversie is in regard of their *quality*, whether the *aire* and *water* be so *pure* and *wholesome*, and the *earth* so *fertile* and *fruitfull* as it was some hundreds or thousands of yeares since. Touching the former, I thinke I shall make it appeare, that the World in former ages hath been plagued with more *droughts*, *excessive raines*, *windes*, *frosts*, *snowes*, *hailes*, *famines*, *earth-quakes*, *pestilences*, and other contagious diseases, then in later times: all which should argue a greater distemper in the *Elements*; and for the *fruitfulnesse*

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neſſe of the *earth*, I will not compare the preſent with that before the *fall* or before the *floud*: I know & beleeve that the one drew on a curſe upon it, (though ſome great *Divines* hold that curſe was rather in regard of mans enſuing labour in dreſſing it, then of the earths enſuing barrenneſſe) and the other by waſhing away the ſurface and fatneſſe thereof, and by incorporating the ſalt waters into it, much abated the native & originall fertility thereof, and conſequently the vigour and vertue of plants, as well in regard of nouriſhment, as medicine. Upon which occaſion (it ſeemes) after the *Floud*, man had leave given him to feed upon the fleſh of beaſts, and fowles and fiſhes, which before the *Floud* (as it is commonly thought) was not lawfull. Neither can it be denied that Gods extraordinary favour or curſe upon a land (beſide the courſe of Nature) makes it either fruitfull or barren, *A fruitfull land makes he barren*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, *for the wickedneſſe of them that dwell therein*; And on the other ſide, *hee turneth the wilderneſſe into a ſtanding water, and dry ground into water-ſprings*. Though ſome grounds then are more barren, yet are others more fruitfull, as *Barkley* in his *Icon animorum* hath truely obſerved, *fœcunditatem aut ſqualorem non modo non ubique, ſed nec perpetuò impoſuit Deus, olim fœlices proventibus terræ, nunc ſterilibus arenis informes ac vaſtæ ſunt; & quæ quondam crudo aëre horrebant, non tantùm jam in fruges, ſed & in voluptatum inſtrumenta luxuriant*. As God hath not every-where ordained either fruitfulnes or barrennes, ſo neither alwayes to indure, ſome fruitfull lands in former ages, are now nothing elſe but waſte & ſandie deſarts: and ſome others againe, which by reaſon of the rawneſſe of the aire lay waſte, doe not onely abound in corne, but in all kinde of pleaſant delights. And for grounds which are continually rent and wounded with a plow-ſhare, worne and waſted with tillage, it is not to be wondred if they anſwer not the fertility of former ages: But for ſuch as have time and reſt given to recover their ſtrength, & renew their decayed forces, or ſuch as yet retaine their virginity without any offence offered unto them, I doubt not but experience and tryall will make it good, that they have loſt nothing of their primitive goodneſſe, at leaſt-wiſe ſince the Floud.

Gen. 3.17.18. *Pererius in locum.*

Gen. 9. 3.

Pſal. 107.34. 35.

Cap. 2.

Requietus ager benè credita reddit. *Ovid. art. am. lib.* 3.

Give but thy grounds the craved reſt,
They will thee pay with intereſt.

As on the other ſide,

Continuâ meſſe ſeneſcit ager. *Idem ibidem.*

Thy fieldes with reſtleſſe tillage,
Grow barren as with old age.

And conſequently there is in the earth it ſelfe by long laſting, no ſuch perpetuall and univerſall decay in regard of the fruitfulneſſe thereof, as is commonly imagined.

And if not in the earth it ſelfe, then ſurely not in the *trees* and *hearbs*, and *plants*, and *flowres*, which ſuck their nouriſhment from thence, as ſo many infants from their mothers breaſt: Let any one kind of them that ever was in any part of the world ſince the Creation, be named, that is utterly loſt; no, God and Nature have ſo well provided againſt this, that

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one ſeede ſometimes multiplyes in one yeare many thouſands of the ſame kinde. Let it be proved by comparing their preſent qualities with thoſe which are recorded in ancient writers, that in the revolution of ſo many ages, they have loſt any thing of their wonted *colour*, their *ſmell*, their *taſte*, their *vertue*, their *proportion*, their *duration*. And if there be no ſuch decay as is ſuppoſed to bee found in the ſeverall kindes of *vegetables*, what reaſon have wee to beleeve it in *beaſts*, ſpecially thoſe that make *vegetables* their food. If *Ariſtotle* were now alive, ſhould he need to compoſe ſome new treatiſe *De Hiſtoria Animalium*, in thoſe things where he wrote upon certaine grounds & experimentall obſervations? have the beaſts of which he wrote, any thing altered their diſpoſitions? Are the wilde become tame, or the ſtrong, feeble? no certainly. It was true in all ages, both before and ſince which the Poët hath,

Horat. l. 4. od. 4.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis,
Eſt in juvencis, eſt in equis patrum
Virtus, nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ Columbam.

From Nobles noble ſpirits proceed,
Steeres, Horſes, like their Sires doe prove,
The Eagle fierce doth never breed
A timorus and fearefull Dove.

Hath the *Lyon* forgot his Majeſty, or the *Elephant* his ſagacity, or the *Tyger* his fierceneſſe, or the *Stagge* his ſwiftneſſe, or the *Dogge* his fidelity, or the *Foxe* his wilineſſe? were the *Oxen* then of the ſame Countrey ſtronger for labour, the *Horſes* better featured, or more ſerviceable then now? doubtleſſe theſe leſſons, as their *Miſtreſſe* cannot but teach them, ſo theſe ſchollers cannot but learne them, neither is it in their power to forget them.

SECT. 4.

Touching the pretended decay of mankinde, in regard of manners and the Arts.

WIth *man* it is otherwiſe: for he having a free-will (at leaſtwiſe in *morall & naturall* actions) by reaſon of that liberty varyeth both from his kind and from himſelfe, more then any other creature beſides: And hence it is (other circumſtances concurring) that in the ſame Country, men are ſometimes generally addicted to vertue, ſometimes to vice; ſometimes to one vice, ſometimes to another; ſometimes to civility, ſometimes to barbariſme; ſometimes to ſtudiouſneſſe and learning, ſometimes to eaſe and ignorance; ſometimes they are taller of ſtature, ſometimes lower; and laſtly, ſometimes longer, ſometimes ſhorter lived; and this I ſay ariſeth partly from the *Liberty* of mans will, and partly from *Gods providence*, over-ruling and diſpoſing all things according to the ſecret counſell of his owne unſearchable wiſedome.

Boeth. de Conſol. lib. 1. Met. 6.

Signat tempora proprijs
Aptans officijs Deus,

Nec

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Nec quas ipse coercuit,
Misceri patitur vices.
To proper offices,
God hath each season bounded:
And will not that the courses
He set them, be confounded.

Hæc omnia mutantur, saith S. *Augustine*, *nec mutatur divina providentiæ ratio, qua fit ut ista mutentur.* All these things are changed, and yet the reason of the Divine Providence, by which they are changed, changeth not. To affirme then that humaine affaires remaine alwayes in the same estate, continually drawne out as by an even thread, without variation, is *untrue*: and on the other side to say that they alwayes degenerate and grow worse and worse, is as *unsound*. For surely had it beene so since the Creation, or the fall of man, civill society, nay the world it selfe could not have subsisted, but would long since have beene brought to utter ruine and desolation. *Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit*, vice was at highest, and neare its downe fall stood. And as *Bodin* hath both rightly observed, and learnedly expressed. *Quod si res humanæ in deterius prolaberentur, jampridem in extremo vitiorum ac improbitatis gradu constitissemus, quò quidem antea perventum esse opinor: Sed cum flagitiosi homines nec ulterius progredi nec eodem loco stare diutius possent, sensim regredi necesse habuerunt, vel cogente pudore qui hominibus inest à natura, vel necessitate, quòd in tantis sceleribus societas nullo modo coli poterat, vel etiam quod verius est, impellente Dei bonitate;* If men should alwayes grow worse and worse, wee had long since arived at the utmost point and highest pitch of villany, to which it may be men have already attained, but vvhen they could neither make a farther progresse, nor longer abode in the same state, they must needes by degrees returne againe, either very shame constraining them, which is implanted in man by nature, or meere necessity, in as much as humane society could not stand with such an height of wickednesse, or else which I rather beleeve, the Grace and goodnesse of God, moving and leading them thereunto.

Iuvenal. Sat. 2.

Method. Hist. cap. 7.

With *Bodin* doth *Barkley* herein fully accord, *Omnis secula* (saith hee) *genium habent, qui mortalium animos in certa studia solet inflectere; quædam ætates præcipuè armis exercitæ, mox omnia in quietem composita; tum Regnorum, tum Rerumpublicarum in populis amor; nunc velut in barbariem homines nasci, deinde facilioribus animis mansuescere, & post secula aliquot ad stipatum prima caligine ingenium redire; ita sæpius orbis cultis hominum moribus emicuit; subsidensque deinde industria, velut quadam nube subducta est.* All ages have their proper *genius*, which inclines the mindes of men to certaine studies and courses, sometimes are they wholly exercised in armes, and within a while after all things are composed for peace, now men are in love with Monarchies, and then with Democracies, sometimes are they naturally disposed to barbarousnesse, and then againe to civility, and after the revolution of a few ages they returne to their former roughnesse: thus hath the world often shined in neatenesse of manners, and then againe industry being

Icon anim. c. 1.

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ſlackned by degrees, it hath beene over-ſhadowed as it were with a thicke and blacke cloud.

Vice ſometimes aboundes in one nation, and ſometimes in another, and in the ſame nation the ſame vice doth not alwayes equally abound: but it either riſes or falls, raignes or vaniſheth according to the diſpoſition of Rulers, and execution of Lawes: As is well and wiſely noted by a late Hiſtoriographer of our owne in the very entrance of his *Hiſtory* of *England*, *wee ſhall finde* (ſaith he) *the ſame correſpondencies to hold in the actions of men, vertues and vices the ſame, though riſing and falling according to the worth or weakeneſſe of Governours; the cauſes of the ruines and mutations of ſtates to be alike, and the traine of affaires carried by preſident in a courſe of ſucceſſion under the like colours*; and that which he obſerves in the *Hiſtory* of this nation is no doubt true in all. Wee need goe no farther then that of the *Iewes* for a notable inſtance in this kinde: who at times, more zealous then they in the worſhip of *God*, and the exerciſes of religion? and who againe, at other times more rebellious? It is ſaid of them in the *Pſalme*, *then beleeved they his words*, but preſently it followes in the very next verſe, *They ſoone forgot his workes*; and according to their obedience and rebellion, ſo were they either proſperous or unfortunate in the courſe of their affaires: during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thouſand ſtrong, & as much as a great Senate for Counſell in peaceable deliberations: contrary-wiſe if they ſwerved, (as they often did) their wonted courage & magnanimity forſooke them utterly, their ſouldiers and military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword, when they entred into mutuall conference, and ſate in Counſell for their owne good, that which children might have ſeene, their graveſt Senatours could not diſcerne, their *Prophets* ſaw darkeneſſe inſteed of *Viſions*, and the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitcht.

S. D.

Pſal. 106. 12. Verſ. 13. 14.

Now that which is ſpoken touching the revolutions and returnes of *vertues* and *vices*, is likewiſe true in *Arts* and *Sciences*. *Hinc factum eſt* (ſaith *Contarenus*,) *ut quibuſdam ætatibus acerrima hominum ingenia vigere, aliis tanquam flacceſcere videantur.* Hence it is that in ſome ages the wits of men ſeeme wonderfull ſharpe, and againe in others flat & blunt. And it is a true obſervation which *Ramus* to this purpoſe hath, *commigrationes gentium variæ commemorantur, commigrationes literarum & diſciplinarum commemorari poſſent, non minores*: wee read of diverſe commigrations or removalls of Nations, and ſurely no leſſe of Arts and Sciences might be obſerved. Whereupon *Ariſtotle*, who held the Arts Eternall, as hee did the world, yet tells us there was alwayes a riſing and a falling of them as of the ſtarres: ſo as ſometimes they flouriſhed in one place and age, and ſometimes in another: as the ſtarres ſometimes ſhine in our *Hemiſphere*, ſometimes in the other. Where was there ever more Learning & Science then in *Greece*, & where is there now in the world more barbariſme? what moſt excellently learned men, pillars & lights of the Church of Chriſt hath *Africa* brought forth? as *Tertullian*, *Minutius*, *Optatus*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius* his Maſter, *Fulgentius*, S. *Cyprian*, and S. *Auguſtine*? and with what learned men is *Africa* in our times acquainted?

De perfectione Rerum. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

1. *De cælo, & 1. Meteor.*

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ted? Contrariwise in the flourishing dayes of the *Romans*, how utterly without all knowledge of letters were the *Germans* and *Netherlanders*, & how do they now a dayes flourish in all kind of learning & cunning? While the Arts through the Christian world lay in a manner buried in negligence and obscurity, then did their lustre shine forth most clearely in *Ireland*, thither did our *English Saxons* repaire as to a Faire or Market of good letters: whence of the holy men of those times we often reade in our Ancient Writers. *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam.* He was sent into *Ireland* to study there. And in the life of *Sulgen*, who lived about six hundred yeares ago. *Camden in Hibernia.*

Exemplo Patrum commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hybernos sophia, mirabile, claros: *Iacobus Curio, lib. 2. Rer. Cron.*

And for to skill and learning hee aspired,
Treading the steps of Ancestours he sayled
To Ireland, then for wisedome much admired.

Hæc quoque cum Latium quateret Mars Barbarus orbem,
Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra Camœnis. *Buchan in Sylva.*
Hinc sophia Graia, sophia decreta Latina,
Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventæ
Carolus ad Celtas traduxit.

When bloudie warres all Italy had stain'd
This Land the banish'd Muses entertain'd.
Hence *Charles* to the French-men did transport,
Learning and Tutors for the younger sort.

Which howbeit it be by the Author applyed to his owne Country, yet is it by the venerable Archbishop of *Armach*, in the preface to his *Sylloge veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum*, upon better reason referred to *Ireland*. And it may seeme, that the *English Saxons* borrowed from them the manner of forming their letters, since they used the same character which the *Irish* use at this day, yet now whē learning is as it were revived againe from the grave, thorow all Christendome, onely this part of it (which was then as another *Goshen* in *Egypt*) remaines for the most part unlightned, in the darkenesse of *ignorance*, *incivility*, and *superstition*, save that Dr *Vsher* the Reverend and Worthy Primate thereof, and some other of their learned and grave Divines shine there as cleare lights, and give some hope of reducing their former glory. Thus Almighty *God* in sundry ages and in severall places, casts abroad the seeds of *learning* and *knowledge*, which in their due time grow up and spread abroade to the glory of his owne name, and the behoofe of mankinde. Neither can I here let passe the words of *Bodin* to like effect, touching the *Arts* and *Inventions* of wit, as were those before alleaged touching *vertue* and *vice*; *Hac illa est*, (saith he) *rerum omnium tam certa conversio, ut dubitare nemo debeat quin idem in hominum ingeniis, quod in agris eveniat, qui majori ubertate gratiam quietis referre solent.* This is that certaine wheeling about of all things, so that no man neede doubt but the same befalls mens wits that doth their grounds, which are wont to recompence the favour of their rest, with the more plentious croppe.

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CHAP. 2.

Touching this pretended decay in regard of the duration of mens lives, their ſtrength and ſtature.

THe ſame viciſſitude and revolution as is in *Arts* and *Wits*, is likewiſe to be found in the *ages* of men, and the *duration* of their lives; as my Lord of S. *Alban* hath truely noted, *decurſus ſeculorum & ſucceſsio propaginũ nihil videntur omnino demere de diuturnitate vitæ.* The courſe of times and ſucceſſion of progenies ſeeme to abate nothing from the laſting of mens lives. Certaine times there are in all Regions in which the thread of mens lives is either drawne up longer, or contracted to a ſhorter ſcantling. For the moſt part they live *longer* when the times are more *barbarous*, *their diet* more ſimple, and the *exerciſe* of mens bodies more in uſe: but *ſhorter* when the times are more *civill*, and men more given to *luxury* and *eaſe*, which paſſe and returne by turnes, *Succeſsion* it ſelfe effects nothing therein, alone: in caſe it did, the *firſt man* in reaſon ſhould have lived longeſt, and the ſon ſhould ſtill come ſhort of his fathers age: ſo that whereas *Moſes* tells us that *the dayes of mans age* in his time *were threeſcore yeares and ten*, by this reckoning they might well enough by this time be brought to *ten* or *twenty*, or *thirty* at the moſt. It cannot be denyed but that in the firſt ages of the world, both before and after the *floud*, men uſually lived longer then wee finde they have done in later ages: But that I ſhould rather chooſe to aſcribe to ſome *extraordinary priviledge*, then to the *ordinary courſe of nature*. The World was then to be repleniſhed with inhabitants, which could not ſo ſpeedily bee done but by an extraordinary multiplication of mankinde: neither could that bee done, but by the long lives of men. And againe Arts and Sciences were then to be planted, for the better effecting whereof, it was requiſite, that the ſame men ſhould have the experience and obſervation of many ages. For as many *Senſations* breed an *experiment*, ſo do many *experiments* a *Science*.

Hiſtoria vitæ & mortis. pag. 156.

Pſal. 90. 10.

Ariſt. Analyt. 2. cap. ult.

Per varios uſus artem experientia fecit,
Exemplo monſtrante viam.

Manilius lib. 1.

Through much experience Arts invented were,
Examples ſhewing way.

Specially it was requiſite men ſhould live long for the perfecting of *Aſtronomy*, and the finding out of the ſeverall *motions* of the heavenly bodies, whereof ſome are ſo ſlow, that they aske a long time preciſely to obſerve their periods and revolutions. It was the complaint of *Hippocrates*, *Ars longa vita brevis*. And therefore Almighty *God* in his wiſedome then proportioned mens lives to the length of *Arts*; and as God gave them this ſpeciall priviledge to live long: ſo in likely-hood hee gave them withall a temper and conſtitution of body anſwerable thereunto. As alſo the *foode* wherewith they were nouriſhed, ſpecially before the *floud*, may well be thought to have beene more *wholeſome* and nutritive, and the Plants more *medicinall*: And happily the *influence* of the

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the heavens was at that time, in that clymate where the *Patriarches* lived, more favourable and gratious. Now such a *revolution* as there is in the *manners*, *wit*, and *ages* of men, the like may well be presumed in their *strength* and *stature*. *Videtur similis esse ratio in magnitudine corporum sive staturâ, quæ nec ipsa per successionem propaginis defluit.* There seemeth to be the like reason in the growth and bigneſſe of mens bodies, which decreaseth not by succession of offspring; but men are sometimes in the same nation taller, sometimes of a shorter stature, sometimes stronger, and sometimes weaker; as the times wherein they live, are more temperate or luxurious, more given to labour or exercise, or to ease and idleneſſe. And for those narrations which are made of the *Gyantlike* statures of men in former ages, many of them were doubtleſſe merely *poeticall* and fabulous. I deny not but such men have beene, who for their *strength* and *stature* have beene the *miracles* of nature, the worlds wonders, *whom God would therefore have to bee*, (saith S. *Austine*) *that he might shew, that as well the bigneſſe as the beautie of the body, are not to be ranged in the number of things good in themselves, as being common both to good and badde.* Yet may wee justly suspect that which *Suetonius* hath not spared to write, that the *bones of huge beasts, or sea-monsters, both have and still do, passe currant for the bones of Gyants.* When *Claudius* with great strength entred this Iland, hee brought with him a mightie armie both of horse and foote, as also elephants a beast of great bigneſſe and burthen, whose strangeneſſe then amazed the Brittaines, and whose carcases falling in this land, their late found bones (no doubt) have bred our errour, being supposed to be of men and not of beasts; which is the conjecture of one of our last and best Chroniclers, and that (as I conceive) very probable. A very notable story to this purpose have wee recorded by *Camerarius*, who reports that *Francis* the first, King of *France* who raigned about an hundred yeares since, being desirous to know the truth of those things, which were commonly spread touching the *strength* and *stature* of *Rouland*, nephew to *Charlemaine*, caused his sepulchre to be opened, wherein his bones and bow were found rotten, but his armour sound, though covered with rust, which the King commanding to bee scoured off, and putting it upon his owne body, found it so fit for him, as thereby it appeared that *Rouland* exceeded him little in bigneſſe and stature of body, though himselfe were not exceſſive tall or bigge.

Hist. vitæ & mortis p. 156.

In August. c. 72.

Dion. Cass. l. 60.

I. Speed.

Medit. hist. cap. 82.

SECT. 6.

The precedents of this Chapter summarily recollected, and the method observed in the ensuing treatise proposed.

NOw briefely and summarily to *recollect* and as it were to winde up into one clue or bottome what hath more largely beene discourſed thorow this *Chapter*, I hold first that the *heavenly bodies* are not at all, either in regard of their *substance*, *motion*, *light*, *warmth*, or *influence* in the *course of nature* impaired, or subject to any impairing

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or decay: *Secondly*, that all *individuals* (under the Cope of heaven) mixed of the elements are subject to a *naturall declination* and *dissolution*: *Thirdly*, that the *quantity* of the *Elements* themselves is subject to impairing in regard of their *parts*, though not of their *intire bodies*: *Fourthly*, that the *ayre* and *earth* and *water*, are at diverse seasons diversely affected, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse, and that either by some speciall *favour* or *judgement* of *God*, or by some *cause in nature*, *secret* or *apparent*: *Fiftly*, that the severall kindes of *beasts*, of *plants*, of *fishes*, of *birds*, of *stones* of *mettals*, are as many in *number*, as at the Creation, and every way in Nature as *vigorous*, as at any time since the *floud*: *Sixtly*, and *lastly* that the *manners*, the *wits*, the *health*, the *age*, the *strength*, and *stature* of men do daily vary, but so as by a *vicissitude* and *revolution* they *returne* againe to their former points from which they declined, and again *decline*, and again *returne*, by alternative and interchangeable course, *Erit hic rerum in se remeantium orbis, quamdiù erit ipse orbis.* This circle and ring of things returning alwaies to their principles will never cease as long as the world lasts.

Lipsius de constant. 1. 16.

Boetius lib. 3. *Met.* 2.

Repetunt proprios cuncta recursus
Reditumque suo singula gaudent:
Nec manet ulli traditus ordo
Nisi quod fini junxerit ortum
Stabilémque sui fecerit orbem.

To their first spring all things are backward bound
And every thing in its returne delighteth:
Th'order once setled can in naught be found
But what the end unto the birth united
And of its selfe doth make a constant round.

And consequently there is no such universall and perpetuall decay in the frame of the Creatures as is commonly imagined, and by some strongly maintained.

The *method* which I propose is first to treat hereof in *generall*, that so a cleare way, and easier passage may be opened to the *particulars*; then of the *Heavens*, as being highest in *situation*, and the noblest in outward *glory* and *duration*, as also in their *efficacie*, and *universalitie* of operation, and therefore doth the *Prophet* rightly place them next *God* himselfe, in the order of *Causes*, *it shall come to passe in that day, saith the Lord, that I will heare the heavens, and they shall heare the earth, and the earth shall heare the corne, and the wine and the oyle, and they shall heare Israell.* From that wee may descend to the foure *Elements*, which as a musicall instrument of foure strings is both tuned and touched by the hand of heaven: and in the next place those bodies, which are mixed and tempered of these Elements offer themselves to our consideration, whether they bee without life, as *stones* and *mettals*, or have the life of *vegetation* onely, as *plants*; or both of *vegetation* and *sense*, as *beasts* and *birds* and *fishes*; and in the last place, *man* presents himselfe upon this *Theater*, as being created last, though first intended, the *master* of the whole family, & chiefe Com mander in this great house, nay the master-peece, the abridgement, the mappe and modell of the *Vniverse*. And in him

Hosea.

wee

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wee will examine this pretended decay, *first* in regard of *age* and length of yeares, *secondly* in regard of *strength* and *stature*, *thirdly* in regard of *Wits* and *Arts*, and *fourthly* and *lastly* in regard of *manners* and *conditions*, to which all that is in man is or should be finally referred, as all that is in the world is, under God, finally referred to man. And because it is not sufficient to possesse our owne fort, without the dismantling and demolishing of our enemies, a principall care is to be had throughout the whole worke, to answer, if not all, at least the principall of those *objections* which I have found, to weigh most with the adverse part. And in the last place, lest I should any way bee suspected to shake or undermine the ground of our *Christian* religion, or to weaken the *Article* of our Beliefe touching the *consummation* of the World, by teaching that it decaies not; to wipe off that aspersion, I will endeavour to prove the *certaintie* thereof, not so much by *Scripture*, which no *Christian* can be ignorant of, as by force of *Reason* and the testimony of *Heathen* Writers; and finally I will conclude with an *exhortation* grounded thereupon for the stirring of men up, to a preparation of themselves against that day, which shall not onely *end the World*, but *judge their actions*, and dispose of the everlasting estate of their persons.

CHAP. 4.

Touching the Worlds decay in generall.

SECT. 1.

The three first generall reasons that it decayes not.

THe same *Almighty* hand which created the Worlds massie frame, and gave it a beeing out of *nothing*, doth still support and maintaine it, in that beeing, which at first it gave, *for by him all things consist.* Col. 1. 17.

Bellarmine in his Commentaries upon those words of the Psalmist, *Congregans sicut in utre aquas maris, ponens in thesauris abyssos. Dicit Propheta*, saith hee, *in præsenti Congregans & Ponens, cum tamen ab initio hæc facta sint, quia Deus ita semper Conservat quod ab initio facit, ut verè dici possit semper id facere.* The Prophet saith in the present tense, *gathering* and *laying up*, though these things were made from the beginning, because God so still conserves that which at first hee made, that hee may bee said still to make it; and should hee with-draw himselfe but for a moment, the whole frame would instantly returne into *nothing*, which before the Creation it was, as *Gregory* hath rightly observed, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nullo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa.* *God* by his presentiall Essence gives unto all things an Essence, so that if hee should with-draw himselfe from them, as out of nothing they were first made, so into nothing they would be againe resolved. To which testimony of *Gregory* wee may adde that of *Iustin Martyr*, *Vt id quod ortum est nunquam extitisset nisi* Psal. 32. v. 7.

ipse

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ipse jussisset, Fiat: Sic neque permanerent nisi idem præcepisset ijs quidem quæ non intereunt ut semper starent, ijs qui oriuntur & intereunt ut semper crescerent & multiplicarent: As that which is made had never beene, had not he commanded, *let it bee:* so neither had they continued, unlesse he had given the charge to those which perish not, that they should still remaine, to those which rise and fall, that they should increase and multiply. And herein with *Iustin Martyr* doth S. *Augustine* accord in his fourth booke and 12. chap. *de Gen. ad literam: Creatoris potentia, & omnipotentis atque omnitenentis virtus, Causa est subsistendi omni Creaturæ, quæ virtus si ab eis quæ Creata sunt aliquando cessaret, simat cessarent eorum species omnisque natura concideret:* The power of the Creator, and the strength of him who is able to doe all things and supports them all, is the cause of subsistence to every Creature, which power should it cease from those things which are created, their kindes likewise would instantly cease, and their whole nature come to nothing. Now this dependance of the Creature upon the Creator, *Thomas* resembles to the light in the aire, which upon the removall of the Sunnes inlightning is presently extinct; *Contarenus* to the figure of a seale imprinted upon the water, which being withdrawne, the impression is instantly defaced. *Gerson* to a vessell containing and figuring the water which it containes, by meanes whereof it is kept from fleeting abroade, and so from spilling: *Sic Deus in se Creaturæ labilitatem continet, ita ut ejus actio conservetur, ne pereat in nihilum recidendo.* So God supports the weakenes of the Creature, that being by him conserved, it perish not by relapsing into nothing. In the preservation then of the *Creature*, we are not so much to consider the *impotencie*, and weakenesse thereof, as the *goodnesse*, *wisedome*, and *power* of the *Creator*, in *whom*, and by *whom*, and for *whom*, they *live*, and *move*, and *have their being*. *The spirit of the Lord filleth the world*, (saith the Author of the *wisedome of Solomon.*) And againe, *Think incorruptible Spirit is in all things:* and the secret working of this spirit, which thus pierceth through all things, hath the *Poet* excellently expresst,

Contra Gent. 3. cap. 24.
De perf. rerum lib. 2. cap. 5.
De vita Spiritu lib. 1.
Cap. 1. 7.
Æneid. 6.

Principio cœlum ac terras camposque liquentes
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heaven, the Earth, and all the liquid maine,
The Moones bright globe, and Starres Titanian
A spirit within maintaines, and their whole masse
A minde which through each part infus'd doth passe
Fashions and workes, and wholly doth transpierce,
All this great body of the Universe.

This *Spirit* the *Platonists* call the *Soule* of the World, because by it, it is in some sort quickned and formaliz'd, as the body of man is by its reasonable *Soule*. There is no question then, but this *Soule* of the World, (if we may so speake) being in truth none other then the *immortall Spirit* of the *Creator*, is able to make the body of the World *immortall*, and to preserve it from dissolution, as he doth the *Angels*, & the *Spirits* of *men*: and

and were it not that he had determined, to dissolve it by the same *supernaturall* and extraordinary power, which at first gave it existence, I see not but by the *ordinary* concurrence of this spirit it might everlastingly endure: and that consequently (to drive it home to our present purpose) there is no such *universall* and *perpetuall decay* in the *course* of *Nature*, as is imagined: and this I take to be the meaning of *Philo*, in that booke which hee hath composed *De Mundi incorruptibilitate*, of the Worlds incorruptibility; there being some who have made the World eternall without any beginning or ending, as *Aristotle*, and the *Perspatetickes*; others give it a beginning, but without ending, as *Plato* and the *Academickes*, whom *Philo* seemes to follow; and lastly others both beginning and ending; as *Christians* and other Sects of Philosophers, whom *Aristotle* therefore flouts at, saying that he formerly feared his house might fall downe about his eares, but that now he had a greater matter to feare, which was the dissolution of the world. But had this pretended universall and perpetuall decay of the World beene so apparant as some would make it, his flout had easily beene returned upon himselfe, and his opinion by dayly and sensible experience as easily confuted, which wee may well wonder none of those Philosophers who disputed against him, (if they acknowledged and beleeved the truth thereof) should any where presse in defence of their owne opinions, it being indeed the most unanswerable and binding argument that possibly could be inforced against him, were there that evident certainty in it as is commonly imagined, whereas he in the sharpenesse of his wit seeing the weakenesse thereof, would not so much as vouchsafe it a serious answer, but puts it off with a jeast. For mine owne part I constantly beleeve that it had a beginning, and shall have an ending, and hold him not worthy the name of a Christian who holds not as much: yet so as I beleeve both, to be matter of *faith*; *through faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God*; and through the same *faith* wee likewise understand that they shall be againe *unframed* by the same word. *Reason* may grope at this truth in the darke, howbeit it can never clearely apprehend it; but inlightned by the beame of *faith*. I deny not but *probable*, though not *demonstrative* and convincing arguments, may be drawne from discourse of reason to prove either the one or the other, and among the rest that taken from the Worlds *decay*, to prove the finall consummation thereof, I take to be most *unsound*, in as much as it begges a *principle*, which is not to be granted, and supposeth such a *decay*, which in my judgement to the Worlds end and the day of Judgement will never be soundly and sufficiently proved.

Heb. 11. 3.

I remember the *Philosophers* propose a question, *Vtrum Mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuò durare possit?* Whether the World by the ordinary and generall cooperation of Gods power and providence could still last or no? and for the most part they hold it affirmatively, even such as professe the Christian Religion, and for proofe of their assertion they bring in effect this reason: The Heavens, say they, are of a nature which is not capable in it selfe of *corruption*, the losse of

Rubio de cœlo & mundo lib. 1. cap. 12.

Elements

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Elements is recovered by *compenſation* of mixt bodies without life by *accretion*, of living Bodies by *ſucceſſion*, the fall of one being the riſing of the other, as *Rome* triumphed in the ruines of *Alba*, and the depreſſion of one *Scale* is the elevation of another, according to that of *Solomon*, *One generation paſſeth away, and another generation commeth, but the earth abideth for ever.* Eccleſ. 1. 4.

Pontanus cap. 48 Meteor.

---Mutantur in ævum
Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,
Quodque dies antiqua tulit, poſt auferet ipſa.
Each thing in every age doth vary,
And Nature changeth ſtill the courſe ſhe hath begun,
And will eftſoones undoe what ſhee erewhile hath done.

Againe, all ſuch celeſtiall bodies (as is evident) conſiſt of *matter* and *forme*; Now the *firſt matter* having nothing contrary unto it, cannot by the force of nature be deſtroyed, and being created immediately by God, it cannot be aboliſhed by any inferiour agent. And as for the *formes* of naturall bodies, no ſooner doth any one abandon the matter it informed, but another inſtantly ſteps into the place thereof; no ſooner hath one acted his part and is retired, but another preſently comes forth upon the ſtage, though it may be in a different ſhape, and to act a different part; ſo that no portion of the matter is, or at any time can be altogether void and emptie, but like *Vertumnus* or *Proteus* it turnes it ſelfe into a thouſand ſhapes, and is alwaies ſupplyed and furniſhed with one forme or other.

Lucret. lib. 2.

Nec ſic interimit mors res, ut materiai
Corpora conficiat, ſed cœtum diſſipat ollis:
Inde alii alind conjungit & efficit, omnes
Res ut convertant formas, mutentque colores,
Et capiant ſenſus, & puncto tempore reddant:
Vt noſcas referre eadem primordia rerum.
Death doth not ſo deſtroy things
As it the matter to naught brings.
It onely doth diſſolve the frame,
And ſo it leaves to be the ſame.
And joyning other things it changeth,
Their ſhape, forme colour, and ſo rangeth
Their being at times, that you may know
They all from like principles do flow.

Philo in his booke of the worlds *incorruptibilitie* alleageth to this purpoſe the verſes of a *Greeke Tragick Poet*, whom I take to be *Euripides*, which the Tranſlator thus renders,

---genitum nihil emoritur.
Sed tranſpoſitum ultro citroque
Formam priorem alterat.
Nothing that borne is doth die,
But being removed too and fro
Puts on another forme and ſhow.

Neither in truth in the courſe of *Nature* can it poſſibly be otherwiſe, ſince

since it intends not the *abolition* of any thing, as being a defect, and contrary to it's owne good, but for the succession and *generation* of some other thing in the roome thereof. As *Nature* then cannot *create* by making something out of nothing; so neither can it *annihilate* by turning something into nothing. Whence it consequently followes, as there is no *accesse*, so there is no *diminution* in the universall, no more then in the Alphabet by the infinite combination and transposition of letters, or in the waxe by the alteration of the seale stamped upon it. If a man should but take one drop of water in the whole yeare from the Ocean, or but one sand from the sea shore, or but one grasse from the earth without any new supply, nay without a supply proportionable, that the addition may fully countervaile and repaire the substraction, their store must in continuance of time of necessitie be emptied and utterly exhausted, and in like manner the world being finite and there being no accesse to the whole, if there should be any such perpetuall and universall decay and decrease in all the parts thereof, as is pretended, it must needes at last by degrees be annihilated and brought to nothing, which is both in reason, and by the consent of the Divines, as incommunicably the effect of a power divine and above nature, as is the worke of the Creation it selfe, *Vt Deus ex nihilo contra rationis & naturæ leges cuncta creavit: ita in nihilum abire rerum creatarum aliqua nunquam potest, nisi contra rationis naturæque leges per supernaturalem Dei potentiam fiat.* As God against the lawes of reason and nature created all things out of nothing, so can nothing returne backe againe into nothing, but by the supernaturall power of God against the same lawes of reason and nature. So as whatsoever is taken from one, must of necessitie be given to another.

D. Dee de præst. naturæ virtutibus Aphoris. 1.

Ne res ad nihilum redigantur protinus omnes. *Lucret. lib. 2.*

Lest things ere long to nothing should be brought.

Put the case then that some principall part of the World should still decrease, surely some others must thereupon continually increase, or there would follow some diminution, and consequently some annihilation in respect of the whole, and if upon the continuall decrease of some, others should still increase, there would likewise thereupon follow such a disproportion, and jarring, as they could never well accord, and in the end the whole would be turned into those which gained by the losse, and grew great by the fall of others, & consequently they would prove the ruine both of others and themselves; as the splene growing and swelling to an immoderate bignes upon the pining of other parts, in the end ruines both it selfe and them: as then a due proportion is held betwixt the parts as well in the naturall body of man as the body politique of the state for the upholding of the whole, so is there likewise by the divine providence in this vast body of the World; not that any of the limbs or members thereof (the heavens onely excepted) remaine without their alteration or diminution, but because they mutually by turnes and exchanges both take one from another, and again repay one to another what they formerly tooke, by which meanes neither is any thing lost in the whole, nor any one part so either infeebled by decrease,

or by increaſe over ſtrengthened as they looſe that proportion which makes the muſicke of the whole, or that uſe and ſervice which to the whole they all ſtand obliged to performe, and to this purpoſe it is ſurely as a divine oracle, for the wiſedome and truth thereof, which the Poet hath put into the mouth of *Pythagoras*:

Ovid. Met. 15
Nec ſpecies ſua cuique manet: rerumque novatrix
Ex aliis alias reparat natura figuras.
Nec perit in tanto quidquam (mihi credite) mundo,
Sed variat, faciemque novat: naſcique vocatur
Incipere eſſe aliud, quàm quod fuit ante: morique
Deſinere illud idem: cum ſint huc forſitan illa,
Hac tranſlata illuc, ſummâ tamen omnia conſtant.

They hold not long their ſhapes, but ſoone *Dame Nature*,
Of one ſhape loſt, brings forth another feature;
Beleeve it, in ſo great and huge a maſſe
Nothing doth periſh, but change and vary face;
Wee ſay a thing then new borne is, when as
It doth become another then it was:
And ſo wee ſay, a thing doth ſuffer death
When it the forme forſakes; as men their breath.
And though the counters be plact lower or higher,
Yet ſtill the totall ſumme doth ſtand entire.

Cauſabon likewiſe in his firſt exercitation againſt *Baronius*, ſheweth from the teſtimony of *Hippocrates*, *Apollonius*, *Seneca*, *Antonine* the Emperour, and others, *nihil in rebus creatis perire, ſed mutari duntaxat*, that nothing periſheth, but is onely changed.

SECT. 2.

Fourth reaſon for that ſuch a decay as is ſuppoſed would in time point out the very day of the Worlds expiration, and conſequently of the ſecond comming of Chriſt.

ANother ſpeciall *reaſon* moving me to beleeve that the *Worlds ſuppoſed decay* is but *imaginary*, is *that it would in time point out the very date of its expiration*, ſo that men ſhould bee able from the extremity of the diſorder and confuſion (into which it would by degrees degenerate) by the rule of proportion, as it were by the even decreaſe of ſands or water in an hour-glaſſe, to prognoſticate the inſtant beyond which it could not long ſubſiſt; whereas before the *Vniverſall Deluge*, which ſwept away every living ſoule breathing upon the face of the Earth, (except *Noah* and his Family, and the beaſts which lodged with him under the roofe of the ſame *Arke*) wee read of no ſuch *fore-running declination*, which was the reaſon that men tooke no notice of it till it overtooke them, and as it was then, ſo ſhall it be at the ſudden, and
Matth. 24. 38. unexpected comming of the ſecond *deluge by fire*. *For as in the dayes which*

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which were before the floud, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giuen in marriage, untill the day that Noah entred into the Arke, and knew not untill the floud came and swept them all away: so shall also the comming of the sonne of man bee: it shall bee like the comming of the theefe in the night, when men shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction shall come upon them. 2 Pet. 3. 10. 1 Thess. 5. 3.

The more I wonder what should make the Author of the *Scholastic call History* thus to write, *Tradunt Sancti quod quadraginta annis ante iudicium non videbitur arcus cœlestis, id quod etiam naturaliter ostendet desiccationem aeris.* Holy men affirme that forty yeares before the day of Judgment no rainebow shall appeare, which shall serve as a naturall signe of the drought in the aire already begun. Those *Holy men* he names not, neither can I so much as conjecture who they should be, since no such opinion, nor any mention thereof (as I presume) is to be found in the writings of any of the Ancient *Fathers* now extant, neither in truth is it any way grounded, either upon *Scripture* or shew of *reason* drawne from thence. And besides it assumes that as yeelded, which is not onely *uncertaine*, but *certainely false*, that *the conflagration of the World shall bee wrought, or at leastwise prepared by second and naturall causes, whereas it shall doubtlesse bee the supernaturall worke of Gods omnipotencie, as was likewise the drowning of it.* Howbeit *Henricus Mechlinensis* scholler to *Albertus Magnus* in his *Commentaries* upon the great *Conjunction* of *Albumazer*, seemes to referre it to the *watery constellations* then reigning, as some others doe, the future generall combustion to the predominance of *fiery constellations*: whereas notwithstanding they ascribe the universall *declinations* and dotage of nature to the *want of that warmth* which former age enjoyed: So that according to their grounds following the course of nature, the world should rather have beene *burned* in *Noahs* time, it being then in the prime & strength of naturall heate, and reserved for a *floud* at the last day, it being now according to their opinion seazed upon with cold & watrish humours, as at least their feigned fiery constellations would better have suted with those times, and the waterish with ours. But thus we see how curiositie intangleth, and errour ever crosseth and contradicteth it selfe. *Hæc est mendaciorum natura ut cohærere non possint* (saith *Lactantius*.) Such is the property of falshoods that they can never hang together. In Libr. Gen. Cap. 35. §. 3.

At nulla est discordia veris,
Semperque sibi certa cohærent.
In true things discord is there none,
They friendly still agree in one. *Boethius lib. 5. Metr. 3.*

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SECT. 3.

Fift reason, that upon the supposition of such a decay, the vigour of the World must needes long since have beene exhausted and worne out.

A *Fift reason* which makes mee thinke that *Nature* neither hath nor doth *degenerate* and pine away in the severall kindes of Creatures in regard of their *number, dimensions, faculties or operations*, is, that in the course of so many ages already past, the vigour and strength of it must needes have beene *utterly exhausted and worne out*. If in every *Centenary* of yeares from the *Creation*, or since the *floud*, some small abatement onely should have beene made, (which notwithstanding the *Patrons* of the adverse opinion hold to be great, as will appeare when we come to the examination of the particulars,) and if we should question a man of *an hundred yeares of age* about this point, what a wonderfull change will hee tell you of, since his remembrance: so that if we should goe backward and proportionably allow the like change within the like *compasse of yeares* since the beginning of the World, it could not possibly subsist at this day. But put the case as, I say, that not so great as is imagined, but some small abatement should be made for every *Centenary*, surely even in that *proportion* nothing else could now be left unto us but the very *refuse* and *bran*, the *drosse* and *dregges* of *nature*: and as heavy things sinke in rivers, but strawes and stickes are carried downe the streame; so in this long current of time, the *kernell* and *pith* of *Nature* must needes have beene spent and wasted, onely the *rinde* and *shells* should have beene left to us. The *Heavens* could not by their warmth and influence have beene able sufficiently to cherish the *earth*, nor the *earth* to keepe the plants from starving at her breasts, nor the *plants* to nourish the *beasts*, nor could the beasts have beene serviceable for the use of *man*, nor *man* himselfe of abilitie to exercise the right of his dominion over the *beasts* and other *Creatures*. The *Sunne* by this time would have beene no brighter then the *Moone* or *Starres*, *Cedars* would have beene no taller then *shrubs*, *Horses* no bigger then *Dogges*, *Elephants* then *Oxen*, *Oxen* then *Sheepe*, *Eagles* then *Pigeons*, *Pigeons* then *Sparrowes*, and the whole race of mankind must have become *Pigmies*, and mustered themselves to encounter with *Cranes*.

If we should allow but *one inch of decrease* in the growth of men for every *Centenary* (and lesse cannot well be imagined) there would at this present be abated almost *five foote* in their *ordinary stature*, which notwithstanding was held the *competent height of a man*, above *sixteene hundred yeare since*, & so still continues; so that the *ordinary stature* of the men of the *first age* should by this rule have beene about *ten foote*; which exceedes that of *Goliah* by some *inches*. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who in sundry places positively defends *Natures universall decay* (which (I must confesse) I somewhat marvell at, in a man of that piercing wit and cleare judgment, but that as others, he tooke it up upon trust, without bringing it to the touchstone) to prove men to be but reedes nowadaies, as hee termeth

History of the World *part.* 1. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

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termeth them, in comparison of the *Cedars* of former ages, gives us an instance, drawne from the times and practise of *Galen* in comparison of ours, telling us that *Galen* did ordinarily let blood, *sixe pound weight*, whereas wee (saith hee) for the most part stop at *sixe ounces*. The truth of his allegation touching *Galens* practice, I shall hereafter have fitter occasion to examine, in the chapter purposely dedicated to the consideration of *mens decay in strength*; at this time I will onely touch the matter of *proportion*. There is some doubt among *Chronologers*, of the precise time wherein *Galen* lived, as appeares by *Gesner* in his life; but in this they all agree, that hee practised at least *two hundred yeares* since *Christ*, so that taking our levell from thence, we may safely affirme, that hee flourished about *fourteene hundred yeares* since; in the compasse of which time, men have lost by that account almost halfe a pound of blood for every *Centenary*, which proportion of losse, if wee should observe in the like distances of time before *Galen* from the *Creation*, it were not possible that so much as a *drop of blood* should bee left in any mans body at this day. From these *particulars* wee may guesse at the rest, as retailers do of the *whole piece*, by taking a view of the *ends* thereof, or as *Pythagoras* drew out the measure of *Hercules* whole body from the *scantling* of his *foote*.

SECT. 4.

Sixth Argument taken from the authoritie of Solomon, and his reason drawne from the Circulation of all things as it were in a ring.

TO these *reasons* may be added the weightie *authority* of the *wisest* man that ever lived, of a *meere man*; how often doth hee beat upon the *circulation* and *running round of all things as it were in a ring*: how earnestly and eloquently doth he *presse* it, and *expresse* it as it were in lively colours in that most divine booke of the *Preacher*. *The Sunne ariseth* (saith hee) and *the Sunne goeth downe*, and hasteth to the *place where he arose*. Which *Baesius* discoursing upon the same Theme, hath elegantly set forth: Cap. 1. & 2. 5. 6. 7.

Cadit Hesperius Phœbus in undas
Sed secreto tramite rursus
Cursum solitos vertit ad ortus. Lib. 3. Met. 2.

The Sunne doth set in Westerne maine,
But yet returnes by secret waies
Unto his wonted rise againe.

But the *Preacher* staies not there. *The winde goeth toward the South, and turneth about toward the North, it whirleth about continually, and returneth againe according to his circuites. All the rivers runne into the Sea, yet the Sea is not full. Vnto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they returne againe.* Whereupon hee inferres, *the thing that hath beene, it is that that shall bee, and that which is done, is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the Sunne. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, behold this is new? it hath beene already of old time before us*, and againe, *that which hath* v. 9. 10.

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Cap. 3. 15. *beene, is now; and that which is to bee hath already beene, and God requireth that which is past.* Now this *wheeling* about of all things in their ſeaſons and courſes, and their ſuppoſed *perpetuall decreaſe*, are in my underſtanding *incompatible*, they cannot poſſibly ſtand together, nor be truly affirmed of the ſame ſubject. For if they returne againe to their times and turnes, to the ſtate from which they declined, as *Boetius* ſpeakes of a bowed twigge;

Lib. de Con. Phil. 3. Met. 2.

Validis quondam viribus acta
Pronum flectit virga cacumen:
Hanc ſi curvans dextra remiſit
Recto ſpectat vertice cælum.

The tender plant by force and might
Conſtrain'd its top doth downeward bend:
Remove the hands which bowed it,
And ſtraight to heav'n-wards will it tend.

Louys le Roy. If (I ſay) they thus returne to their former condition, as it hath bin more at large proved by *Ludovicus Regius*, a *French* man, in a booke which he purpoſely intitles, *De la Viciſſitude des choſes*, and dedicates it to *Henry* the third King of *France*, then can it not be they ſhould alway grow *worſe and worſe*; as on the other ſide, if they alway degenerate and grow *worſe and worſe*, it cannot be they ſhould have ſuch *returnes*, as *Solomon* ſpeakes of, *wiſe* and learned men in all ages have obſerved, and experience daily confirmes. The Poëts faigne, that *Saturne* was wont to devour his ſonnes, and then to vomit them up againe, which fiction of theirs (ſaith *Rhodogin*) the wiſer ſort underſtand to be referred to time, ſhadowed under the name of *Saturne*, *à quo vicibus cuncta gignantur & abſumantur quæ renaſcantur denuò*, becauſe as all things ſpring from time, and by it are conſumed, ſo in it they are renewed and reſtored againe. And by this meanes the world for the intire is ſtill preſerved ſafe and ſound,

Lib. 7. cap. 42.

Manilius l. 1.

Exutæ variant faciem per ſecula gentes,
At manet incolumis mundus, ſuaque omnia ſervat
Quæ nec longa dies auget, minuitque ſenectus:
Nec motus puncto currit, curſuve fatigat.
Idem ſemper erit, quoniam ſemper fuit idem,
Non alium vidêre patres, aliumve nepotes
Aſpicient.

The people chang'd, at times the face doth vary,
The world ſtands ſound, and alwaies holds it owne,
Nor by long daies encreaſ'd, nor age leſſe growne,
Runnes round yet moves not, nor by running's weary,
Was ſtill the ſame, and ſtill the ſame ſhall bee,
That which our grandſires ſaw, our ſonnes ſhall ſee.

And from hence it is, that a minde well ſeaſoned, like a ſquare body, ſtands upright in all fortunes.

Hor. car. lib. 2. od. 10.

Sperat infeſtis metuit ſecundis
Alteram ſortem, bènè præparatum

Pectus,

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Pectus, informes hyemes reducit
Iupiter, idem
Summovet, non si malè nunc, & olim
Sic erit.

It hopes in ſtormes, in calmes it feares
A breaſt well arm'd, and both it beares,
As Jove the Winter backe doth bring,
And then removes it by the Spring,
Though now the chance that fall be hard,
Yet art thou not from better barr'd.

SECT. 5.

The ſeventh and laſt generall argument that the ſeedes of decay were not infuſed into the World before the fall, nor after, and conſequently not at all.

IF the decay of the World be an effect of the fall of man, and a puniſhment of ſinne as ſome would have it, it could not bee created ſubject to decay, except we ſhould make the effect before the cauſe, and the puniſhment before the offence, in as much as the world was built and furniſhed before man was made, and conſequently before he had ſinned, by which meanes it cannot be, but that even in the ſtate of integrity before his fall, he muſt of neceſſity actually ſuffer as a ſinner: which how it can ſtand with the juſtice of the Creator, I muſt profeſſe that for mine owne part I cannot underſtand. Beſides, when Almighty God had finiſhed the worke of the Creation, he ſaw and pronounced both the whole and all the parts thereof to be exceeding good; which could not be if he had originally ſowne in it the ſeeds and principles of corruption; for as S. *Auguſtine* ſpeakes in his book *de natura boni. cap.* 4. *ipſa corrupta in quantum natura eſt, bona eſt: in quantum corrupta eſt, mala eſt.* And if it be evill as it is corrupted, and cannot be from God as it is evill, neither can it bee from him as it is corrupted, from whom being goodneſſe it ſelfe, nothing can flow but what is good. He being moſt pure and incorruptible in himſelfe, can no more be the Author of corruption, then hee can of ſinne: both which he permitted, and according to his excellent wiſedome and power ordereth both, but directly and for themſelves ordained neither; hee being ſo good and ſo juſt as hee would not ſo much as have permitted either, had hee not withall beene ſo wiſe and ſo powerfull, as out of both to draw ſome good for the advancement of his owne glory, the advantage of his children that ſerve him, and the confuſion of ſuch as rebell againſt him.

A very memorable paſſage we have to this purpoſe in the firſt chapter of the *Wiſedome of Solomon, verſ.* 13. 14. *God made not death, neither hath he pleaſure in the deſtruction of the living; for he created all things that they might have their beeing, and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyſon of deſtruction in them, nor the Kingdome of death upon the earth.* There is in them no poyſon of deſtruction, which the vul-

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gar Latine renders, *Medicamentum exterminij*; *Arias Montanus*, *medicamentum perditionis*; *Iunius*, *pharmacum exitiale*, and gives this note upon it, *Ad salutem spectabant omnia creationis lege, ut quæ carerent injustitiâ, quæ exitiale pharmacum appellatur.*

Now for the second opinion, which is, that this decay came in after the fall, by making it the just punishment of sinne, it cannot stand with the former position of the inbred and naturall principles of corruption, nor yet with that other assertion, that it happens not from any forraine or accidentall cause; in as much as sinne in regard of the world (men and Angels onely excepted) can bee none other then a forraine cause, nor yet other then accidentall as it is opposed to necessary; And if then this decay be not introduced by any forraine or accidentall cause, how can sinne bee the cause thereof? or if it be onely occasioned by sinne, what other cause shall wee finde out of power sufficient to alter and deprave those principles of nature, which the Author of her had planted in her?

Here the *Manichees* would have recourse to their Idoll the God of evill; but the truth is that no created power (as all power is created, save onely that of the Creator himselfe) were all the power of men and Devills and Angels combined in one, is of force sufficient any way to change or alter, much lesse to abolish or utterly corrupt the principles of nature. True it is that men and Angels being the onely rationall creatures that God made, indued with understanding and freedome of will, have both corrupted their owne wayes, and feele the smart thereof, and the other creatures by the abuse of them; but neither of them have, or possibly can alter the fundamentall lawes of nature in themselves, much lesse in the other creatures; from whence it inevitably followes, that if upon the fall of man the principles of nature be corrupted, they are undoubtedly corrupted by the Author of them, there being none other power of sufficient ability to produce such an effect.

And this indeed is the common opinion grounded upon the curse of the earth, *Gen.* 3. but that this curse extended to the changing of the principles of nature in the earth it selfe, wee finde not, much lesse that it reached unto the heavens, the other Elements, or the mixt bodies. *Manet in illis primigenia illa natura, in nobis degeneravit in pejus*, saith *Ludovicus Vives*, *de ver. Fid. Christ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. Nay a greater then *Vives* hath told us, *They continue this day according to thine ordinance. Psal.* 119. 91. And againe, *Hee hath established them for ever and ever; hee hath given them a Law which shall not be broken. Psal.* 148. 6. but this point hath and shall be so fully cleared by the testimonies of S. *Augustine*, *Abulensis*, *Arias Montanus*, S. *Basil*, *Theodoret* and others, as here it shall need no farther proofe.

CHAP. 5.

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CHAP. 5.

Generall arguments making for the Worlds decay, refuted.

SECT. 1.

The first generall objection drawne from reason, answered.

HOwbeit, as the great *Patriarchs* of *Philosophers* have taught us, that *Verum est index sui & obliqui*, Truth may serve as a square or rule both for it selfe and falshood, as a right line discovers the obliquity of a crooked, yet because

Qui statuit aliquid parte inauditâ alterâ, Sen. Medea. Act. 2.
Æquum licèt statuerit, haud æquus fuit:
Who but one party heares, yet doth decree,
Just is he not, though just his sentence bee.

Let us see what the *Adverse part* can say for themselves. Their *generall arguments* then for the Worlds decay are drawne, partly from *reason*, and partly from *authority*. The *maine argument* drawne from *reason*, upon which all the rest, in a manner, depend, so as I may call it, the *Pole-deede* of their evidence, is this, *That the Creature the nearer it approaches to the first mould, the more perfect it is, and according to the degrees of its removeall and distance from thence, it incurres the more imperfection and weakenesse, as streames of a fountaine, the farther they runne thorow uncleane passages, the more they contract corruption.* For the loosing of which knot, I shall crave pardon if I inlarge my selfe, and make a *full answer* thereunto, considering that in the striking off of this head, the *body* of the opposite reasons fall to the ground, and at the shaking of this foundation, the whole building totters. *First* then I will examine the truth of this proposition, *whether every thing the farther it departs from its originall, the more it loses of its perfection*, *because* upon it the weight of the argument is grounded; and *secondly I will consider how justly it is applyed to this present purpose.* For the *first*, whether wee behold the workes of *Art*, or *Nature*, or *Grace*, wee shall finde that they all proceed by certaine steps from a more imperfect & unpolished beeing, to that which is more absolute and perfect. To begin with the workes of *Grace*, in the course of Christianity wee grow both in *knowledge* and *vertue*, in *illumination* and *sanctification*, as the blinde man in the *Gospell* having recovered his sight, first saw men walking like trees confusedly and indistinctly, but afterwards more clearely: in *knowledge* we grow, *by leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, and going on unto perfection, by leaving milke fit for babes, and using stronger meate belonging to them that are of a full age, who by reason of an habite, have their senses exercised to discerne both good and evill.* Heb. 6. 1. Heb. 5. 13. 14. In *vertue* wee grow, not onely by adding vertue to vertue, as it were linke to linke, but by increasing in those vertues, as it were by inlarging the linke, *that the man of God may be made perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good worke.* 2 Pet. 1. 5. 2 Tim. 3. 17. For the workes of *Art*, wee see the *Limmer* to begin with a rude draught, and the *Painter* to lay his grounds with shadowes and

and darkeſome colours, the *Weaver* out of a ſmall thread, makes a rich & faire peece, and the *Architect* upon rubbiſh layes a goodly pile of building, which at firſt conſiſts of naked walles, but at laſt is furniſhed with variety of houſhold-ſtuffe, and garniſhed with hangings and pictures. Laſtly for the workes of Nature, out of what a confuſed *Chaos* was the goodly Frame of this *World* raiſed? out of what unworthy little *ſeedes* ſpring the talleſt *trees*, & moſt beautifull *flowres*, nay what a baſe beginning at the firſt Creation had and ſtill hath *Man* himſelfe the *Lord* of the Creatures? ſo as himſelfe even bluſhes to mention it, how impotent and unable to helpe himſelfe, is he brought into the world? how ſlowly doth he come forward to the uſe of his ſenſes, his ſtrength, his reaſon? yet at length by degrees if he live and be of a ſound conſtitution, he arrives unto it. By which it appeares, that at leaſtwiſe individuals, in the ſeverall workes both of *Grace*, and *Art*, and *Nature*, the farther they proceede from their originall, the more perfect they are, till they arrive to their ſtate of *perfection*, though herein they *differ*, that *Art* and *Nature* then decline, but *Grace* is turned into *Glory*.

And for the *ſpecies* or *kindes* of things, which is it that ſpecially concernes our preſent queſtion, as I cannot affirme that by degrees they grow on ſtill to greater perfection, ſo neither can I finde that they dayly grow more imperfect. For *Grace*, we know, it was more abundantly powred out by the *incarnation* and *paſsion* of the *Sonne of God* in this *latter age* of the world, then at any time before ſince the *firſt creation* thereof. And of *Art* it is commonly thought that neere about the ſame time the *Roman Empire* was at the heigheſt; *Souldiers*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Philoſophers*, *Hiſtorians*, *Politicians*, never more excellent, which withall ſhould argue, that *Nature* was at this time rather *ſtrengthened* then *enfeebled*, in as much as both Art and Grace are built upon *Nature*, I meane the *naturall faculties* of the ſoule, which commonly follow the temper of the body, and the more vigorous they are, the more happily are both *Art* and *Grace* exerciſed by them.

Now for the *application* of the propoſition to the preſent purpoſe touching the Worlds decay, it is evident, that if it were indeed of that force as is pretended, it would thereupon follow, that in the courſe of *Nature*, *Adam* ſhould have beene the *talleſt* and *longeſt-liv'd* man that ever breathed upon the face of the earth; whereas notwithſtanding we read not of any *Gyants* till a little before the *floud*; and *Noah* who lived after the *floud*, ſaw *twenty yeares* more then *Adam* himſelfe did, the latter being *nine hundred and fifty*, and the former but *nine hundred and thirty* yeares olde when he died. Nay *Methuſaleth* the eight from *Adam*, out-ſtripped him by *forty yeares* wanting but one; and we ſee by daily experience, that a weake or fooliſh father, often begets a ſtrong and a wiſe ſonne, and that the grand-childe ſometimes equalls the age of the father and grand-father both together. If a thouſand *candles* or *torches* ſhould be ſucceſſively lighted one from another, it cannot be diſcerned by their dull or bright burning, which was firſt or laſt lighted, nay the laſt ſometimes yeelds a brighter light then the firſt, if it meete with matter accordingly prepared. The *water* which runnes a thouſand miles

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miles thorow *cleane passages*, is every whit as wholesome and sweet at its journeyes end, as when it first issued from the fountaine. The *seed* that is cast into the earth seldome failes to bring forth as good as it self, and sometimes better, and if at any time it prove worse, it is not because it is further distant from its originall, (which is the very point in controversie) but because it meetes with a *worse soyle*, or a *worse season*, and the soyle and season are worse perchance then in *former times*, not by reason of the revolution of so many ages since the Creation, but either by reason of *Gods Curse* upon sinne, or some other *accidentall cause*, which being removed, they returne againe to their native & *wonted properties*. For, did they grow worse and worse, onely by a *further distance* from their first beeing, then would the *Creatures* have decayed in *processe of time*, whether *man* had *sinned* or no, and *man* himselfe should have beene of lesse *strength* and *stature* and *continuance*, though he had not failed in the *temperate* use of the *Creature*, or of any other meanes making for the *preservation* of his life and health, which I suppose the *Patrons* of the adverse part, will not maintaine; once I am sure that the *common tenet* of *Divines* is, that whatsoever *defect* or swarving is to be found, in the *nature* either of man himselfe, or the *Creature* made to serve him, ariseth from the *sinne* of *man* alone, as being the onely cause of all the jarre and disorder in the *world*. Now to impute it to *sin*, and yet withall to affirme that it is occasioned by the *removeall* of the *Creature* from its *primordiall existence*, implyes (in my judgment) a manifest and irreconcileable *contradiction*.

To conclude this answer, this *axiome*, *unumquodque quò magis elongatur à suo principio, eò magis deficit & languescit*: Every thing the farther it is remov'd from its originall, the more faint and feeble it growes, in *violent motions* is most true. As an *arrow* shot out of a bow, or a dart flung upward from the hand of a man, the higher they mount, the slower they move; and so conceive it to have beene meant by *Aristotle*: but in *naturall motions*, as the moving of a stone downeward, (and such is rather *Natures* motion in the course of the *world*,) the *contrary* is undoubtedly true, *Crescit eundo*, the farther it moves, the more strength it gathers, and fortifies it selfe in going. Besides, if the strength of the *hand* could goe along with the *dart*; or if the *bow* with the *arrow*, as the hand and power of GOD leades and preserves *Nature* in her course, keeping it a working, as the *spring* doth the wheeles in a Watch or Clocke; there is no question, but their motions would prove as quicke and forcible in the end as at the beginning, and not cease at all before the strength of the *hand* or *bow* which carry them forward, were removed from them: Finally, if this *axiome* were not to be limited, it should equally extend to the *Angels* and the *soules of men*, and the *first matter*, and the *heavens*, as well as to the sublunary mixt bodies: but the same power which upholds and maintaines them, in their *originall state*, supports likewise the whole body of this inferiour World, together with all the severall *species* or *kindes* thereof, & did it not so do, all the *absurdities* already touched, as *impotency* in that *spirit*, which *animates* the *World*, to support it; *annihilation* in the course of *Nature*, *defect* and *swarving* in the *Creature* without

without the *ſin of man*, *fore-knowledge* of the *Worlds end*, and *the end* of it long before this time, would *infallibly* follow thereupon.

SECT. 2.

The ſecond generall objection anſwered, which is that the ſeverall parts of the World decaying, it ſhould argue a conſumption in the whole.

ANother argument drawne from *reaſon*, for the *Worlds decay*, is, that *all the parts of it decay, and by degrees grow to diſſolution, which ſhould likewiſe argue a waſting and lingring conſumption in the whole, ſince there ſeemes to bee the ſame reaſon of the whole, which is of all the parts whereof it conſiſts.* But the *anſwer* hereunto will eaſily appeare out of that which hath already beene delivered, and by taking a review of the ſeverall parts of the *Vniverſall*. *Firſt* then for the *heavens*, undoubtedly they feele not ſuch *decay*, either in *ſubſtance*, *quantity*, *motion*, *light*, *warmth* or *influence*, as I hope I ſhall make it manifeſt in the next booke; and for the *Elements* what they looſe in regard of their *quantity*, is againe made up by *equivalence* or *compenſation*, & that in reſpect of their quality they decay no either by being of *leſſe efficacie*, or more *malignant diſpoſitions*, then in former ages, remaines to be ſhewed in their proper place; and *laſtly* for the *bodies mixed* and tempered of the Elements, though it be granted, that all *individuals* or *particulars* in time decay or periſh, yet doth it not follow, that the ſame condition ſhould likewiſe be annexed to the *ſpecies* or kinde which is ſtill preſerved by a new *ſupply* and ſucceſſive propagation of particulars, not alwayes inferiour to their predeceſſours, which this argument preſumes, but ſometimes excelling, and commonly equalling them in goodneſſe, as hath already beene touched in part, and ſhall hereafter by Gods helpe be more fully and diſtinctly proved.

SECT. 3.

The third generall objection anſwered, taken from the authority of S. Cyprian.

THe arguments drawne from *authority*, are either *humane* or *divine teſtimonies*. Among *humane* is that of *Origen tract.* 28. *ſuper Math.* of *Ambroſe* in *Luc. cap.* 21. of *Gregory Homil.* 1ª *in Evang.* who all make the calamities of their times through the world, the infallible ſymptomes and preſages of the great feebleneſſe, and approaching diſſolution thereof, which had it beene ſo, wee had not beene here at this preſent to examine the validitie of their allegations: but the teſtimony moſt of all ſtood upon, is that of S. *Cyprian*, as well in regard of his great piety and learning, as his neereneſſe to the pure and primitive times of the Church of *Chriſt*. This holy *Martyr* then, and venerable *Biſhop*, grieving that the *Chriſtian* Religion ſhould be charged with thoſe

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thoſe lamentable accidents, wherewith the World at that time was preſſed and ſhaken, ſhapes this replie to *Demetrianus* the Accuſer: *Illud primo loco ſcire debes ſenuiſſe jam mundum; non illis viribus ſtare quibus priùs ſteterat, nec vigore & robore eo prævalere, quo antea prævalebat, hoc enim nobis tacentibus, & nulla de Scripturis ſanctis prædicationibuſque divinis documenta promentibus, mundus ipſe jam loquitur, & occaſum ſui rerum labentium probatione teſtatur. Non hyeme nutriendis ſeminibus tanta imbrium copia eſt, non frugibus æſtate torrendis ſolis tanta flagrantia eſt, nec ſic verna de temperie ſuâ læta ſata ſunt, nec adeò arbores fœtibus autumno fœcundæ ſunt, minùs de effoſſis & fatigatis montibus eruuntur marmorum cruſta, minùs argenti & auri opes ſuggerunt, exhauſta jam metalla, & pauperes venæ tenuantur in dies ſingulos & decreſcunt, deficit in agris agricola, in amicitijs concordia, in artibus peritia, in moribus diſciplina. Putaſne tu poſſe tuniã ſubſtantiam rei ſeneſcentis exiſtere, quantum priùs potuit novellâ adhuc & vegetâ juventute pollere? Minuatur neceſſe eſt quicquid fine jam proximo in occidua & extrema divergit; ſic ſol in occaſu ſuo radios minùs claros & igneo ſplendore jaculatur, ſic declinante jam curſu exoletis cornubus Luna tenuatur, & arbor quæ fuerat anteà viridis & fertilis creſcentibus ramis, ſit poſtmodum ſterili ſeneſtute deformis, & fons qui exundantibus priùs venis largiter profluebat, vix modico ſudore diſtillat. Hæc ſententia mundo data eſt, hæc Dei lex eſt, ut omnia orta occidant, & aucta ſeneſcant, & infirmentur fortia, & magna minuantur, & cùm infirmata & diminuta fuerint, finiantur.* You ought firſt to have knowne this, that the World is now waxen old, that it hath not thoſe forces which formerly it had, neither is indued with that vigour and ſtrength wherewith it formerly was, & thus much, though we held our peace, and brought no proofe thereof from holy Scripture and divine Oracles, the World it ſelfe proclaimes, and teſtifies its declination by the experience of all things declining in it. Wee have not now ſo great ſtore of ſhowres for the nouriſhing of our ſeedes in the Winter, nor in Summer ſo much warmth of the Sunne for the ripening of our corne. In the Spring our fields are not ſo freſh & pleaſant, nor in Autumne our trees ſo loaden with fruits. leſſe pieces of marble are hewed out of the exhauſted and tyred Mountaines, and the emptied Mines yeeld leſſe quantity of gold and ſilver, their veines daily diminiſhing and decreaſing. The Husbandman is defective in manuring the Earth, concord failes in friendſhip, skill in Arts, & diſcipline in manners. Can you imagine that the ſtate of a thing waxing old, ſhould be ſo firme and ſound, as when it flouriſhed in its youth? That muſt needes be weakened, which (the finall period of it approaching) haſtens to the laſt end. So the Sun when it is ſetting, darts not forth ſo fiery and cleare beames; So the Moone drawing toward the end of her race, drawes in her horns and growes leſſe; and the tree which was formerly greene and fruitfull; her boughes withering, becomes deformed by barren old age, and the well-ſpring which formerly flowed abundantly with full ſtreames, being dryed up through age, hardly diſtills a drop of moiſture. This ſentence is paſſed upon the World, this is the Law which God hath ſet it; that all things that are borne, ſhould die; all that increaſe, ſhould decreaſe; that ſtrong things ſhould be weakned, and great leſſened; and

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being thus weakned and leſſened, they ſhould at laſt be utterly diſſolved.

This diſcourſe of *Cyprian*, and the excellent flowres of *Rhetorique* in it, ſhew him to have been a ſweet and powerfull *Orator*, of a great wit, and flowing eloquence: but whether in this he ſhew himſelfe ſo deepe a *Philoſopher* or ſound *Divine*, I leave that to the Reader to judge, and referre his judgement to the future examination of the particulars: onely by the way it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, that the *Chriſtians* of thoſe times (happily by reaſon aſwell of the bloody perſecutions which preſſed them ſore, as the frequent paſſages both in the Goſpell and Epiſtles, which ſpeake of the ſecond comming of Chriſt, as if it had beene then hard at hand) ſtood in continuall allarums and expectation of the day of Judgment, and the end of the world, as evidently appeares by the very words of *Cyprian* himſelfe in his diſcourſe, and their thoughts ſtill running thereupon, all things ſeemed ſutable thereunto, and to draw towards that end. It cannot bee denyed but thoſe times wherein *Cyprian* lived, were indeed very bitter and miſerable in regard of famine, and warre, and mortality; as moſt clearely it appeares in that excellent Booke of his *De Mortalitate*; yet about forty yeares after, it pleaſed *Almighty God* to pacifie thoſe ſtormes, and diſpell thoſe clouds by the converſion of the renowned *Conſtantine* to the *Chriſtian* Religion, as it had beene by the breaking forth of the Sun beames, ſo as they who ſowed in teares, reaped in joy, at which time had *Cyprian* lived, no doubt he would have changed his note, his pen vvould have as much triumphed in the tranquillity and flouriſhing eſtate of the Church under that noble Emperour, as it deplored the torne ſtate of the World in the time wherein himſelfe lived. The former *famine*, and *warre*, and *mortality*, being then by Gods gratious bleſſing, happily turned into *health*, and *peace*, and *plenty*. Hee would then have told you, that whereas before, ſhowres of their blood were powred out for *Chriſt's* ſake; now it pleaſed God to open the windowes of Heaven for the moiſtning and nouriſhing of their ſeedes, that as *Chriſt* the *Sonne* of *Righteouſneſſe* was acknowledged as the *Saviour* of the World, and the ſhining beames of the *Goſpell* diſplayed themſelves: ſo the Sunne in the firmament had recovered its warmth and ſtrength for the ripening of their corne; that as the outward face of the *Church* was become beautifull and glorious, ſo the very fieldes ſeemed to ſmile, and to receive content therein by their freſh & pleaſant hue; that as men brought forth the fruits of *Chriſtianity* in greater abundance, ſo their trees were more plentifully loaden with fruits; that as the rich mines of *Gods word* were farther ſearched into, ſo new veines of marble, and gold, and ſilver were diſcovered; that *Chriſtian* Religion having now gotten the upper hand, had made the *Husbandman* and *Artificer*, more carefull and induſtrious in their callings, had opened the *Schooles* for *Profeſſours*, in all kinde of learning, had reſtored wholeſome *diſcipline* in manners, & *faithfulneſſe* in friendſhip. Finally, he would have told you, that the world with the *Eagle* had now caſt her worne bill and ſicke feathers, and upon the entertainment of *Chriſt* and his *Goſpell*, was growne young againe. Which I

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am the rather induced to beleeue, for that *Cyprian* himselfe in the same discourse against *Demetrianus*, in another place referres the disasters of those times to the obstinacie of the world, in not receiving the truth of *Christianity*, and submitting it selfe to the yoake of *Christ Iesus*. A more likely and certaine cause doubtlesse then that other of the worlds imaginary olde age and decay: His words are these. *Indignatur ecce Dominus & irascitur, & quod ad eum non conversationi comminatur, & tu miraris & quereris, in hac obstinatione & contemptu vestro si rara desuper pluvia descendat, si terra situ pulveris squalleat, si vix jejunas & pallidas herbas sterilis gleba producat, &c.* Beholde, the Lord is angry, and threatens, because you turne not vnto him, and dost thou wonder or complaine, if in this your obstinacie and contempt, the raine seldome fall, the earth be deformed with dust, & the land bring forth hungry & starved grasse, if the haile falling doe spill the vine, if the over-turning whirle-winde doe marre the Olive, if drought dry vp the springs, if pestilent dampes doe corrupt the aire, if diseases consume men, when all these things come by sins provoking, & God is the more offended, since such and so great things doe no good at all. And the same reason is vpon the like occasion yeelded by *Lactantius*, *Discite igitur si quid vobis reliquæ mentis est, homines ideo malos & injustos esse quia dij colantur: & ideo mala omnia rebus humanis quotidie ingravescere, quia Deus mundi hujus effector & gubernator derelictus est, quia suscepta sunt contra quàm fas est impiæ religiones: postremò quia ne vel à paucis quidem coli deum sinitis.* Learne thus much then (if you have any vnderstanding left) that men are therefore wicked & unjust, because such Gods are worshipped, and that such mischiefe dayly befall the, because God the Creator & Governour of the world is forsaken by the, because impious religions against all right are entertained of them, finally, because you will not permit the worship of the true God so much as to a few. Here then was the true cause of their bloody warrs, that they shed the innocent bloud of Christians, & trampled under foote the precious bloud of *Christ*; as their warres, together with the unkindly season, were the cause of dearth and famine, & both *famine* & *warre* of *pestilence* and *mortalitie*: how frequently and fervently doth the Scripture beate upon this cause, *God* every-where promising to reward the obedience of his people with plenty and peace, and kindly seasons, & their rebellion with scarcitie & sicknes, & the sword. But that these scourges of the world were at any time cauſed by, or imputed to the old age or decay thereof, to my remembrace we no where reade. As then the referring of these plagues with *Demetrianus* and the Gentiles to the curse of God vpon Christian Religion, was a blasphemous wrong to Gods truth: So with *Cyprian*, to referre them to the old age and naturall decay of the world, (bee it spoken with all due reverence to so great a light in the Church of God) is in my judgment an asperſion vpon the *Power and providence*, and *justice of God*. And *Pamelius* in his annotations to excuse *Cyprian* herein (conceiuing belike that he was not in the right) tells us that therein he alludes to the opinion of the ancient *Philosophers & Poets*: perchance thereby intending *Lucretius* the great admirer and sectary of *Epicurus*, who of all the Poets I have

met with hath written the moſt fully in this argument.

Iamque adeò effœta eſt ætas, effœtaque tellus:
Vix animalia parva creat, quæ cuncta creavit
Sæcla, deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.
Haud (vt opinor) enim mortalia ſæcla ſuperne
Aurea de cælo demiſit funis in arva:
Nec mare, nec fluctus plangentes ſaxa creârunt:
Sed genuit tellus eadem, quæ nunc alit ex ſe.
Præterea nitidas fruges, vinetaque læta,
Sponte ſuâ primum mortalibus ipſa creavit:
Ipſa dedit dulces fœtus, & pabula læta.
Quæ nunc vix noſtro grandeſcunt aucta labore.
Conterimuſque boves, & vires agricolarum:
Conficimus ferrum vix arvis ſuppeditati:
Vſque adeò parcunt fœtus, augentque labores.
Iamque caput quaſſans grandis ſuſpirat arator
Crebriùs incaſſum magnum cecidiſſe laborem:
Et cum tempora temporibus præſentia confert
Præteritis, laudat fortunas ſæpè parentis:
Et crepat antiquum genus vt pietate repletum
Perfacile angustis tolerârit finibus ævum,
Cum minor eſſet agri multo modus ante viritim:
Nec tenet, omnia paulatim tabeſcere, & ire
Ad ſcopulum ſpacio ætatis defeſſa vetuſto.

The world with age is broke, the earth out-worne,
And ſhee of whom what ever liues was borne
And once brought forth huge-bodied beaſts, with paine
A ſmall race now begets. No golden chaine
Theſe mortalls downe from Heauen to earth did let,
As I ſuppoſe: nor ſea, nor waues that beat
The rockes did they create, t'was earth did breed
All of her ſelfe, which now all things doth feede.
The chearefull vine ſhee of her owne acord,
Shee corne to mortall wights did firſt afford:
Sweete fruites beſide and food did ſhee beſtow,
Which now with labour great doe hardly grow:
The plough-ſwanes ſtrength wee ſpend, our oxen weare,
When we our fields have ſowne, no crop they beare,
So wax our toyles, ſo waneth our reliefe,
The husband ſhakes his head, and ſighes for griefe,
That all his travels fruſtrate are at laſt.
And when times preſent he compares with paſt,
Hee his Sires fortune raiſes to the skie,
And much doth talke of th'ancient pietie,
And how though euery man leſſe ground poſſeſt,
Yet better liv'd with greater plenty bleſt.
Nor markes how all things by degrees decay
And tir'd with age towards the rocke make way.

But

But heerein *Lucretius* likewiſe contradicted himſelfe in other places of the ſame booke, and had the world beene indeede ſo neare its laſt breathing as it were, and giveing up of the Ghoſt, as *Cyprian* would make it in his time, much more as *Lucretius* in his: undoubtedly it could neuer have held out by the ſpace of almoſt fourteene hundred yeares ſince the one, and aboue ſixteene hundred ſince the other, and how long it is to laſt, he only knowes, who hath put the times and ſeaſons in his owne power.

SECT. 4.

The ſame authority of Cyprian *farther anſwered by oppoſing againſt it the authority of* Arnobius, *ſupported with ponderous and preſſing reaſons.*

NOw becauſe this authority of *Cyprian* is it which preuailes ſo much with ſo many, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to oppoſe thereunto that of *Arnobius*, not naked and ſtanding upon bare affirmatiõ as doth that of *Cyprian*, but backt with weighty and forcible arguments: A very renowned both Oratour and Philoſopher he was, the Maſter of *Lactantius*, and diuerſe other very notable and famous men, and being preſſed by the *Gentiles* of his time with the ſame objection againſt Chriſtian Religion, as was *Cyprian* by *Demetrianus*, hee ſhapes unto it an anſwere cleane contrary, by ſhewing that all the fundamentall and primordiall parts of the world, as the heavens and elements remained ſtill entire ſince the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, as before they were; and for other calamities of famine and warres, and peſtilence, and the like, the common ſcourges of the World, they had beene as great or greater in former ages, and that before the name of Chriſtianity was heard of in the World, then at that time they were. His Latine, becauſe the allegation is long, and in ſome places it ſauours of the African harſhnes, I will ſpare, and only ſet downe the Engliſh. *Aduerſus Gentes non procul à principio.*

And firſt of all in faire and familiar ſpeech this we demaund of theſe men: ſince the name of Chriſtian Religion began to be in the World, what uncouth, what unuſuall things, what againſt the Lawes inſtituted at the beginning hath Nature, as they terme and call her, either felt or ſuffered? Thoſe firſt Elements whereof it is agreed that all things are compounded, are they changed into contrary qualities? Is the frame of this engine and fabricke which covereth and incloſeth us all in any part looſed or diſſolved? Hath this wheeling about of Heaven ſwarved from the rule of its primitive motion either begun to creepe more ſlowly, or to be carried with headlong volubility? Doe the Starres begin to raiſe themſelues up in the Weſt, and the Signes to incline towards the Eaſt? The Prince of Stars the Sun whoſe light cloatheth, and heat quickneth all things, doth he ceaſe to be hot, is hee waxen cooler, and hath hee corrupted the temper of his wonted moderation into contrary Habits? Hath the Moone left off to repaire herſelfe, and by continuall reſtoring of new to transforme herſelfe into her old ſhapes? Are colds, are heats, are temperate warmths betweene them both by confuſion of unequall times gone? Doth Winter beginne to have long

dayes, and Summer nights to call backe the ſloweſt lights: Have the winds breathed forth their ſpirits as having ſpent their blaſts? Is not the aire ſtraitned into clouds, and doth not the field being moiſtned with ſhowres wax fruitfull? Doth the Earth refuſe to receiue the ſeedes caſt into her? Will not trees budde forth? Have fruites appointed for foode by the burning up of their moiſture changed their taſte? Doe they preſſe gore bloud out of olives? Are lights quenched for want of ſupplie? The Creatures enured to the land, and that liue in waters, do they not gender and conceiue? The young ones conceiued in their wombs doe they not after their owne manner and order conſerue? To conclude, Men themſelues whom their firſt and beginning nativity diſperſed through the unhabited coaſts of the Earth, doe they not with ſolemne nuptiall rights couple themſelues in wedlocke? Doe they not beget moſt ſweete offſprings of children? Doe they not manage publicke, priuate, and domeſticall buſineſſes? Doe they not every one as he pleaſeth by diuerſe ſorts of arts and diſciplines direct their wits, and ſtudiouſly repay the uſe of their nativity? Doe they not reigne, doe they not command to whom it is allotted? Doe they not every day more increaſe in the like dignities and power? Doe they not ſit in judgment to heare cauſes? Doe they not interpret Lawes and Statutes? Doe they not publickely uſe all other wayes whereby the life of man is held in and kept in compaſſe, all according to the orders and cuſtomes of the Countrey in their ſeverall nations? theſe things therefore being ſo, and that no novelty hath broken in to interrupt the perpetuall tenor of things by ſevering and diſcontinuing them: What is it that they ſay, Confuſion is brought upon the World ſince Chriſtian Religion entred into it, and diſcovered the miſteries of hidden verity? But the Gods, ſay they, exaſperated with your injuries and offences bring upon us peſtilences, droughts, ſcarcity of corne, locuſts, mice, haile, and other hurtfull things aſſaulting the affaires of men. Were it not follie longer to inſiſt upon things evident and needing no defence, I would ſoone by unfolding former times demonſtrate that the evills yee ſpeake of are neither unknowne nor ſudden, nor that theſe confuſions brake in, nor that mortall buſineſſes began to be infeſted with ſuch varietie of dangers, ſince our Society obtained the happineſſe of this name to bee beſtowed upon them. For if wee bee the cauſe, and for our demerits theſe plagues were invented, whence knew antiquity theſe names of miſeries, whence gave it ſignification to warres? With what knowledge could it name the Peſtilence and Haile? or aſſume them into the number of thoſe words wherewith they uttered their ſpeech? For if theſe evills be new, and draw their cauſes from late offences, how could it bee that it ſhould forme words to thoſe things whereof it ſelfe neither had experience, nor had learnt that they were in any time done? Scarcitie of corne and extreame dearth diſtreſſeth us. What? were the ancient and eldeſt ages at any time free from the like neceſſity? Doe not the very names by which theſe evills are called teſtifie and crie that never any mortall man was priviledged from it? Which were it a matter ſo hard to beleeve, I could produce the teſtimonies of authours, what Nations, how great, how often have felt horrible famine, and have beene deſtroyed with a great deſolation. But ſtormes of Haile fall very often, and light on all things. And doe we not ſee it regiſtred and recorded in ancient writings that Countries have often beene battered with ſhowres of ſtones? Want of raine killes up the corne, and makes the earth unfruitfull; And was antiquity free from theſe evills, eſpecially

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seeing wee know that huge rivers have beene dryed up to the very bottome? The contagion of pestilence vexeth Mankinde; Runne over the Annals written in severall tongues, and yee shall learne that whole Countries have oftentimes beene made desolate, and emptyed of inhabitants. All kinde of graines are destroyed and devoured by locusts, by mice: Passe through forraine histories, and they will informe you how often former times have been troubled with these plagues, and brought to the miseries of poverty, Cities shaken with mighty earthquakes tottered even unto ruine. What? have not former times seene Cities together with the inhabitants swallowed up in huge gaping clefts of the earth? Or have they had their estate free from these casualties? when was mankinde destroyed with deluges of water? not before us? when was the world burnt and dissolved into embers & ashes? not before us? when were mighty Cities overwhelmed by the Seas inundation? not before us? when did they make warre with wilde beasts, and encounter with Lyons? not before us? when were people plagued with venomous serpents? not before us? For that yee use to object unto us the causes of so often warres, the laying wast of Cities, the irruption of Germans and Scythians, I will by your good leave and patience bee bold to say, that yee are so transported with desire to slander, that yee know not what it is yee say. That upward of ten thousand yeares agoe a huge swarme of men should breake out of that Iland of Neptune, which is called Atlantick, as Plato declares, and utterly destroy and consume innumerable nations, were wee the cause? That the Assyrians and Bactrians sometimes under the leading of Ninus and Zoroastres should warre one against the other, not onely with sword and strength, but also by the hidden artes of Magicke, and the Chaldeans, was it our envy? That Helena by the direction and impulsion of the Gods was ravished and became a fatall calamity, both to her owne and future times, was it attributed to the crime of our religion? That the great and mighty Xerxes brought in the Sea upon the land, and past over the seas on foote, was it done through the injury of our name? That a young man rising out of the borders of Macedon, brought the kingdome and people of the East under the yoke of captivity and bondage, did wee procure and cause it? That now the Romans should like a violent streame drowne and overwhelme all nations, did wee forsooth thrust the Gods into the fury? Now if no man dare to impute to our times the things that were done long since: how can wee be the causes of the present miseries, seeing there is no new thing fallen out, but all are ancient and not unheard of in any antiquity? although it bee not hard to prove that the warres which yee say, are raised through the envie of our Religion, are not onely increased since Christ was heard of in the world, but also for the greater part (by repressing mans furiousnesse) lessened. For seeing we so great a multitude of men have learned by his instruction and lawes, that wee are not to requite evill for evill, that it is farre better to suffer then to doe wrong, rather to shed a mans owne, then to pollute his hand and conscience with the bloud of another: the ungratefull world hath ere while received this benefit from Christ, by whom the fiercenesse and wildenesse of nature is tamed, and they have begun to refraine their hostile hands from the bloud of the Creature kinne unto them. Certainely if all who know, that to bee men stands not in the shape of bodies, but in the power of reason, would listen a while unto his wholesome and peaceable decrees, and not puffed up with arrogance and selfe-conceit, rather beleeve

their owne opinions then his admonitions: the whole World long agoe (turning the use of iron unto milder workes) should have lived in most quiet tranquillity, and have met together in a frame and indissoluble league of most safe concord. But if, say they, through you the state of man suffereth no disaduantage, whence are those evils wherewith now a long time miserable mortality is afflicted and oppressed? You aske my opinion in a matter not necessary to this businesse. For the present disputation now in hand was not undertaken by mee to this end, to shew or proue upon what causes or reasons each thing was done, but to manifest that the reproch of so great a crime as wee are charged with, is farre from us, which if I performe, and by deedes and euident remonstrances unfold the truth of the matter, whence these evils are, or out of what fountaines or principles they proceede, I care not. For what if the first matter, digested into the foure elements of all things, containe wrapped up in its rotations the causes of all miseries? what if the motions of the starres by certaine signes, parts, times, lines produce these evils, and bring upon things subject unto them necessities of diuerse sorts? what if in set times the vicissitude of things fall out, and as it is in the motions of the sea, sometime there is a flow of prosperity, sometime it ebbeth backe againe, and evils returne in the roome thereof; What if the dregges of this matter which wee tread under our feet have this law given unto it, to breath forth most noysome vapours, wherewith this aire being corrupted should both infect the bodies and disable the endeavours of men? what if (which indeede is neareſt unto truth) whatsoeuer seemeth crosse unto us, is not evill to the World it selfe: and that wee perswading our selves that all things are done for our benefits, doe by reason of our wicked opinions wrongfully accuse the event of nature? Plato the highest top and chiefest pillar of philosophers, maintaineth in his commentaries, that those fearfull inundations and conflagrations of the World, are the purging of the earth: neither was that wise man affraid to call the subversion, slaughter, ruines, destruction and funeralls of mankind, an innovation of things, and that thereby repareing their strength, they recouer a certaine youth againe. Heaven, saith hee, raines not, and wee labour of I know not of what scarcity of corne. What? dost thou require that the Elements serve thy necessities? and to the end thou mayst line more daintily and delicately, that the times obsequiously apply themselues to thy commodities? What if hee that is desirous of navigation complaine in the like sort that now a long time there are no windes, and that the blasts of Heaven are ceased, Must wee say therefore that such tranquillity of the World is pernicious, because it hinders the desires of passengers? What if any who hath beene accustomed to tosse himselfe in the sunne, and to procure drinesse to his body, should in like manner complaine that the pleasure of faire and cleare weather is by very often cloudinesse taken away? Must the clouds therefore bee sayd as enimies to hang and ouer-spread the skie, because thou canst not at thy pleasure frie thy selfe at the flames, and prepare occasions for drinking? All these events which come to passe and fall out under the cope of Heaven are to bee weighed not by our petty commodities but by the reasons and orders of nature it selfe. Neither if any thing happeneth which touch us and our affaires but with unwelcome succesſe, is it forthwith evill, and to be accounted noxious? Whether the World raine or not raine, it raineth or not raineth to it selfe, and which happily thou knoweſt

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knoweſt not, either it conſumes away the too much moyſture with the fervencie of drought, or tempers the drought of a very long time with the powring out of raine. It ſendeth peſtilences, diſeaſes, famines, and other formes of evills threatning deſtruction: how doſt thou know whether ſo it take away that which is ſuperfluous, and by its owne loſſes ſet a meaſure to the riot and exceſſe of things? Dareſt thou ſay this or that is evill in the world, the originall and cauſe whereof thou art not able to unfold and reſolve: and becauſe happily it hinders the pleaſures of thy delights and luſts, wilt thou ſay it is pernicious and cruell? what then? If cold bee contrary unto thy body, and uſe to congeale the heate of thy bloud, muſt not winter therefore bee in the World? And becauſe thou canſt not endure the fervent heate of the Sunne, muſt the Summer bee taken out of the yeare? and nature againe bee ordered by other lawes? Hellebore is poyſon unto men: ought it not for this cauſe to bee brought forth? The wolfe layes waite for the flocke of ſheepe: is nature in the fault which hath bred ſo troubleſome a beaſt unto thoſe fleecie creatures? The biting of the Serpent taketh away life: ſhall I therefore ſpeake evill of the firſt beginnings of things becauſe they have added ſo cruell monſters unto living Creatures? It is too arrogant a part, ſeeing thy ſelfe art not thine owne, and liveſt in poſſeſſion of another, to preſume to preſcribe to theſe that are mightier then thy ſelf, and to require that that be done which thou deſireſt, not that which thou findeſt by ancient conſtitutions already ſetled in things. Wherefore if you men will have your complaints to take place, it is requiſite yee firſt teach us whence or what yee are: whether this world be made and framed for you, or ye came as ſtrangers unto it out of other Countries. Which ſeeing you are not able to tell, & you cannot reſolve us for what cauſe you live under this hollow vault of heaven: leave off to ſuppoſe that any thing belongeth unto you, ſeeing the things that are done, are not alike done, but are to be reckoned & accounted in the ſumme intended in the whole. By reaſon of Chriſtians, ſay they, theſe evils are come, and the gods ſend theſe calamities upon corne. I demaund when yee ſay theſe things, do ye not ſee how deſperately with open and manifeſt lies yee ſlander us? It is now three hundred yeares more or leſſe, ſince wee Chriſtians began to be, and beare this name in the World: have there beene all theſe yeares continuall wars, continuall dearths? hath there bin no peace at all in the Earth, no cheapenes, no plenty of things? For he that accuſeth us muſt firſt of all demonſtrate that theſe calamities have beene perpetuall & continuall, that mortall men have neuer had any breathing time, & that without any holy-dayes, as they ſay, have endured the formes of manifold dangers. But do we not ſee in theſe middle yeares & middle times, that innumerable victories have beene obtained over conquered enemies? that the territories of the Empire have bin enlarged, & Nations whoſe names were neuer heard of, bin brought into ſubjection? that oftentimes the yeares have yeelded marveilous great increaſe, and ſuch cheapeneſſe and plenty of things, that there was no buying or ſelling at all, the prices of things being ſo much fallen? For how could things be done, and how could mankinde continue untill this time, if fertility & plenty did not ſupply all whatſoever neede required? But ſome times heretofore have beene in neede & neceſſity, and they have beene recompenced againe with abundance. Againe ſome warres have beene waged againſt our will, and they have afterwards beene corrected by victories and good ſucceſſe. What then ſhall we ſay? that the gods are ſometimes mindfull of our miſeries, and

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ſometimes againe vnmindfull? If at what time there is Famine it bee ſayd they are angry, it followeth that in time of plenty they are not angry nor diſpleaſed: and ſo all is brought to this iſſue, that by turnes they lightly lay aſide and take vp their angers, and by remembrance of offences returne afreſh vnto them againe. Although what that is which they ſay ſeemes to be inexplicable, and cannot be knowne or vnderſtood. If therefore they would have the Almans, Perſians, Scythians *ſubdued, becauſe Chriſtians did dwell and liue among theſe Nations: Why did they give the Romans the victory ſeeing Chriſtians dwelt and liued among their Nations alſo. If it were their pleaſure that mice and locuſt ſhould therefore ſwarme in* Aſia *&* Syria, *becauſe in the like manner Chriſtians dwelt in thoſe Nations: why did they not at the ſame time ſwarme in* Spaine *&* France, *ſeeing innumerable Chriſtians liued in theſe Provinces alſo? If for this very cauſe they ſend drought vpon the corne and barrennеſſe among the* Getulians *and them of* Aquitaine: *why did they the ſame yeare give ſuch plentifull harveſts to the* Moores *and* Numidians, *the like Religion being ſetled in theſe Countries alſo? If in any one Citty they have cauſe through the hatred of our name very many to periſh with famine: why in the ſame place haue they through the dearenеſſe of all proviſion made not onely thoſe that are not of our body, but even true Chriſtians alſo much more the richer & wealthier? It behoued therefore that either none ſhould haue had any thing that was comfortable, if wee be the cauſe of Evills, for wee are in all Nations: or ſeeing yee ſee that things profitable are mingled with thoſe that are incommodious, leane off at length to aſcribe that vnto vs which impeacheth your eſtates, ſince we be no hindrance at all to your wealth and proſperity.*

Oroſius likewiſe the ſcholler of Saint *Auguſtine* ſhapes in a manner to the ſame objection of the *Gentiles* the ſame anſwere as doth *Arnobius*, though ſhort yet full: *Recolant ſane mecum majorum ſuorum tẽpora bellis inquietiſſima, ſceleribus execrabilia, diſſenſionibus fœda, miſeriis contiuuatiſſima; quæ & meritò poſſunt horrere quia fuere, & neceſſariò debent rogare, ne ſint, eum ſane rogare ſolum deum, qui & tunc occultâ juſtitiâ permiſit ut fierent, & nunc apertâ miſericordia præſtat ut non ſint.* I wiſh that together with mee, they would recount the times of their anceſtours reſtleſſe in warres, hatefull in wickedneſſe, in diſſenſions ſhamefull, never without miſeries; which they may juſtly abhorre, becauſe they were; and have reaſon to pray that they may not bee, him I ſay they ought to pray who then by his ſecret juſtice permitted them to bee, and now by his notable mercy brings to paſſe that they be not.

Lib. 2. cap. 3.

SECT. 5.

The fourth objection anſwered, which is borrowed from the authority of Eſdras.

THat which yet farther diſables the validity of this teſtimony of *Cyprian*, is that in the opinion of *Sixtus Senenſis*, a learned Writer, he borrowed it frõ the *Apocryphall Esdras*. For *Canonicall Scripture* he ſeemes indeed to glance at the name thereof by the way, but alleages none, And if *Senenſis* had thought that any booke of the *Canon* had

Bibliotb. ſanct. lib. 1.

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had favoured this opinion of *Cyprian*, hee would never have sent us to *Esdras*, but since the appeale is made to *Esdras*, to *Esdras* let us goe. He then in his fourth booke and fifth Chapter, v. 51. 52. 53. 54. & 55. thus speakes of this matter. *Hee answered mee and said, aske a woman that beareth children; and shee shall tell thee: say unto her, wherefore are not they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but lesse of stature? and shee shall answer thee: they that be borne in the strength of youth, be of one fashion, and they that be borne in the time of age when the wombe faileth are otherwise. Consider thou therefore also, how that yee are lesse of stature then they that were before you, and so are they that come after you lesse then ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and have passed over the strength of youth.* Now as others depend upon the authority of *Cyprian*, so *Cyprian* himselfe depending upon this of *Esdras*, it will not I hope be thought either *unseasonable* or *impertinent*, if we a little examine the weight thereof. First then, it is certaine that this booke is not to be found either in *Hebrew* or *Greeke*, neither is it by the *Tridentine Councell* admitted into the *Canon*, & no doubt but upon very sufficient reason is it excluded both by them and us, in regard of the doctrines which it teacheth, manifestly repugnant to the rules of *orthodoxe faith*; as in the *fourth* and *seventh* Chapter it teacheth, that *the soules of the Saints departed this life, are detained as it were imprisoned in certaine cels & vents of the Earth, untill the number of the elect be accomplished, and that then they shall receive their Crownes of glory altogether, and not before.* In the sixth Chapter he tels us a most ridiculous unsavory tale, of two vaste Creatures made upon the fifth day of the Creation; the one called *Enoch*, or *Behemoth*, and the other *Leviathan*. In the *seventh* he derives his pedegree from *Aaron*, by *nineteene* generations, whereas the true *Esdras*, or *Esras* derives his but by *fifteene*. And to bring it home somewhat neerer to our purpose. In the *fourteenth* Chapter hee shewes himselfe manifestly a *false Prophet*, touching the *Consummation* of the *world*, which (saith hee) *hath lost his youth, and the times begin to waxe old: for the world is divided into twelve parts, and tenne parts of it are gone already, and halfe of a tenth part, and there remaineth that which is after the halfe of the tenth part.* So that by his computation dividing the whole time of the *Worlds duration* into twelve equall portions, onely one and a halfe were then remaining; which had it beene true, the world should have ended almost fifteene hundred yeares agoe. For the time from the worlds Creation to *Esdras*, according to the *Scriptures* calculation) containes about *three thousand foure hundred* and *seventy yeares*, and this summe of yeares containes *ten parts & an halfe* of the *twelve*, allotted for the whole duration of the world; whence it consequently followes, that the residue of the time from *Esdras* to the *Worlds end*, could not exceed the number of *five hundred yeares*: and yet from *Esdras* to the present yeare of the *Lord*, *one thousand six hundred twenty six*, we finde there are passed almost *two thousand yeares*.

Hereunto may bee added the sharpe, but well deserved, Censure of *Junius* in his preface to the *Apocryphall bookes*. *Nihil habet Esdra, quàm falsò emendicatum nomen & injuriâ maximâ: Authorem enim quem paduit sui operis, longè amplius debuerat paduisse cum suis sommis nomen tanti viri*

præfigeret,

præsigeret, & impudenter Ecclesiam vellet fallere. Hee hath nothing in him worthy of *Esdræ*, but only a borrowed name, and that most injuriously assumed. Hee was ashamed of his owne name, but hee should rather have shamed to prefixe the name of so worthy a man before his dreames, and thereby attempt the deceiving of the *Church*. And againe, in his *annotations* on the *first Chapter* of that booke, *Quis verò huic libro tantam fidem deinceps arroget, qui in ipsâ fronte nævos tam immanes & in re tam evidenti mendacia tam puerilia, ne quid gravius dicam, animadvertit? Quisquis es qui hunc librum legis, sume authoritatem probandi atque judicandi sermones ejus, non enim obstringit fidem tuam illius authoritas, siqua est in tam crassis erroribus.* Who will hereafter give credit to this booke, who obserues in the very forehead of it so notorious blemishes, and in a matter so evident, (not to say worse of it) so childish lyes? Whosoever thou art that readest this booke, take to thy selfe authority of trying and judging his speeches; for his authority cannot binde thy Credence, if there be any in such grosse errours. It shall not be amisse then to follow this advise of *Iunius*, and to bring this counterfeit to the touch-stone, whereby we shall easily discerne, that both the *ground* he assumes is *unsound*, and his *illation* from thence deduced *inconsequent*. His *ground is that children borne or begotten in old age, are alwayes weaker* Gen. 18. 11. *then those in youth:* Whereas *Isaack* borne of *Sarah* when she was now so old that she was thought both by others, and her selfe, to bee past conRom. 4. 19. ceiving, and begotten by *Abraham* when his body was now dead, was for any thing we finde to the contrary of as strong and healthfull a constitution as *Iacob* borne in the strength of *Isaack*, and *Rebecca*. And *Ioseph* or *Benjamin* as able men as *Reuben*, though *Iacob* in his blessing call him, Gen. 49 3. *The beginning of his strength and the excellencie of power*, as being his first begotten. Nay often wee see that the *youngest* borne in *age* not equalls onely, but excells both in wit and spirit, and strength and stature, the *eldest* borne in *youth*. So unsure and sandy is this *ground*; and for his *inference* drawne from thence, it is no lesse *unwarrantable* and *insufficient*: There being in the resemblance betwixt a *woman* and the *world* as large a difference, as in the dissimilitude betweene the fruit of the one, and the generations of the other: The one taking her beginning by the *course of nature* in weakenesse, and so growing to perfection & ripenesse, shee quickly declines and hastens to dissolution; Shee must necessarily expect the terme of certaine yeares before shee can conceive her fruite, and then againe at the end of certaine yeares shee leaves to conceive: Whereas the other being created immediately by a *supernaturall power*, was made in the very first moment (that it was fully made) in full perfection, which except it be for the sinne of man, it never lost, nor by any force of subordinate causes possibly could or can loose. The quickening efficacy of that word, *Crescite & multiplicamini*, though delivered many thousand yeares since, is now as powerfull in *beasts*, in *plants*, in *birds*, in *fishes*, in *men*, as at first it was. And thus much this *false Prophet* seemes himselfe to acknowledge in the Chapter following, Cap. 6. 6. where hee thus brings in the Lord speaking unto him; *All these things were made by mee alone, and by none other: by mee also they shall be ended, and*

by

by none other. And if they ſhall be ended *immediately* by the hand of the *Almighty*, as *immediately* by it they were made, then doubtleſſe there is no ſuch *naturall decay* in them, which would at laſt without the concurrence of any ſuch *ſupernaturall power*, bring them to a *naturall diſſolution*, no more then there was any *naturall* fore-running *preparation* to their *Creation*. And thus wee ſee, how this *Goliah* hath his head ſtricken off with his owne ſword, and this lying Prophet condemned out of his owne mouth. I have dwelt the longer upon this examination, becauſe I finde that the teſtimony drawne from this *Counterfeit*, was it that in appearance miſled both *Cyprian* and *Ambroſe* (who in his booke *de bono mortis, cap.* 10. in plaine termes alludes to the fore-alleaged paſſage of *Eſdras*) and all their teſtimonies together, that which hath yeelded the principall both *confidence* and *countenance* to the *Adverſe part*.

SECT. 6.

The laſt objection anſwered, pretended to be taken from the authority of holy Scripture.

AS the teſtimony taken from *Eſdras* wants *authority*: ſo thoſe which are drawne from *authority* of *ſacred* and *Canonicall Scriptures*, want right *explication* and *application*. Whereof the firſt that I have met with, are thoſe miſ-conſtrued words of the *Prophet Iſaiah, the world languiſheth & fadeth away*, or (as ſome other tranſlations read it,) *The world is feeble and decayed*. Which by *Iunius* and *Tremelius* are rendered in the future tence, *Languebit, Concidet orbis habitabilis*, and are undoubtedly to bee referred to the deſtruction and deſolation of thoſe Nations againſt which hee had in ſome Chapters precedent, denounced the heavie judgement of God, as the *Moabites*, *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, *Syrians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Æthiopians*, *Babylonians*, and the *Iſralites* themſelves. *Iunius* thus rightly ſumming the chapter, *Propheta ſummam contrahit judiciorum quæ ſupra denunciaverat*, The Prophet recapitulates or drawes into one head or ſumme, the judgements which before he had denounced at large, and in particular; which comming from the *juſtice* and *immediate* hand of *God* for *ſin* upon a *part* of the *world*, can in no ſort be referred to the *ordinary courſe of Nature*, in regard of the *Univerſall*. 24. 2.

That which carryes with it ſome more colour of Reaſon is, that by S. *Paul*, *The Creature is ſayd to bee ſubject to vanity, to the bondage of corruption, to groaning, and to travelling in paine*: All which ſeeme to imply a decay and declination in it: But in the judgement of the *ſoundeſt Interpreters*, the *Apoſtle* by *vanity* and *bondage of corruption*, meanes, *firſt*, that *impurity*, *infirmity*, and *deformity*, which the *Creature* hath contracted by the fall of man; *Secondly*, the daily *alteration* and *change*, nay *declination* and decay of the *Individuals* and particulars of every kinde under Heaven; *Thirdly*, the *deſignation* & haſting of the kindes or *ſpecies* themſelves to a *finall* & *totall* diſſolution by fire; And *laſtly*, the *abuſe* of them, Rom. 8. 20. 21. 22.

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tending to the *dishonour* of the *Creator*, or the hurt of his *servants*, or the *service* of his *enemies*: All these may not improperly bee termed *vanity* and a *bondage of corruption*, under which the *Creature groaneth* and *travelleth*, wishing and waiting to be delivered from it.

But that of S. *Peter* is it which is most of all stood upon, where hee brings in the *prophane scoffers* at *Religion*, and especially at the *article* of the *worlds consummation*, thus questioning the matter; *where is the promise of his comming? For since the Fathers fell asleepe, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation.* But in truth that place, if it bee well weighed, rather makes against the *worlds supposed decay* then for it, in as much as if the *Apostle* had knowne or acknowledged any such *decay* in it, it is to be presumed, that being invited, and in a manner forced thereunto by so faire and fit an occasion, he would have *pressed* it against those scoffers, or in some sort have *expressed* himselfe therein. But since hee onely urges the *Creation* of the world, and the *overwhelming* of it with water, to prove that the same *God*, who was the *Author* of both those, is as able at his pleasure to unmake it with fire, it should seeme hee had learned no such *divinity*, as the *worlds decay*, or at least-wise had no such *assurance* of it, and *warrant* for it, as to teach it the *Church*. Nay in the 7 verse of the same chapter, he tells us, that *the heavens and earth which are now, are by the same word, by which they were created, kept in store and reserved to fire.* It was not then their averring, that things continued as they were, that made them *scoffers*, but their *irreligious inference* from thence, that the world neither had *beginning*, neither should have *ending*; but all things should alwayes continue as formerly they alwayes had done. And thus much may suffice for the consideration of the *worlds decay* in *Generall*, it rests now that we descend to a distinct view of the *Particulars*, amongst which the *Heavens* first present themselves upon the *Theatre*, as being the most *glorious* and *operative* bodies, and seated in the most *eminent* roome.

2. Pet. 3. 4.

v. 5. 6.

LIB. II.

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LIB. II.

Of the pretended decay of the Heavens and Elements, and Elementary Bodies, Man onely excepted.

CHAP. 1.

Touching the pretended decay of the Heavenly Bodies.

SECT. 1.

First of their working upon this inferiour World.

SUCH and so great is the *wisedome* the *bounty*, and the *power* which *Almighty God* hath expressed in the frame of the *Heavens*, that the *Psalmist* might justly say, *The Heavens declare the glory of God*; the *Sun*, and the *Moone*, and the *Starres* serving as so many silver and golden *Characters*, embroydered upon azure for the dayly preaching and publishing thereof to the World. And surely if hee have made the *floore* of this great House of the World so beautifull, and garnished it with such wonderfull variety of beasts, of trees, of hearbes, of flowres, wee neede wonder lesse at the magnificence of the *roofe*, which is the highest part of the World, & the neerest to the Mansion-House of *Saints* and *Angels*. Now as the excellencie of these Bodies appeares in their *situation*, their *matter*, their *magnitudes*, and their Spherical or *Circular figure*: so specially in their great *use* and *efficacie*, not onely that they are for *signes* and *seasons*, and for *dayes* and *yeares*, but in that by their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth*, & *influence*, they *guide* and governe, nay cherish and maintaine, nay *breed* and beget these inferiour bodies, even of man himselfe, for whose sake the Heavens were made. It is truly said by the Prince of *Philosophers*, *Sol & homo generant hominem*, the Sunne and man beget man, man concurring in the generation of man as an *immediate*, and the Sunne as a *remote* cause. And in another place hee doubts not to affirme of this inferiour World in generall, *Necesse est mundum inferiorem superioribus lationibus continuari, ut omnis inde virtus derivetur*: It is requisite, that these inferiour parts of the World should be conjoyned to the motions of the higher Bodies, that so all their vertue and vigour from thence might be derived. There is no question, but that the *Heavens* have a marvailous great stroake upon the *aire*, the *water*, the *earth*, the *planets*, the *metals*, the *beasts*, nay upon *Man* himselfe, at leastwise in regard of his *body* and *naturall faculties*: so that if there be found any decay in the *Heavens*, it will in the *course* of Nature, and *discourse* of reason consequently follow, that there must of necessity ensue a *decay* in all those which depend upon the *Heavens*: as likewise on the other side, if there be found *no decay* in the *Heavens*, the presumption will be strong that there is *no such decay*

Psal. 19. 1.

Gen. 1. 14.

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(as is ſuppoſed) in theſe *Sub-celeſtiall Bodies*, becauſe of the great ſympathy and correſpondence which is knowne to be between them by many and notable experiments. For to let paſſe the quailing & withering of all things, by the *receſſe*, and their reviving and reſurrection (as it were) by the *re-acceſſe* of the Sun; I am of opinion that the ſap in trees ſo preciſely followes the motion of the *Sun*, that it never reſts, but is in continuall agiration as the *Sun* it ſelfe: which no ſooner arrives at the *Tropick*, but he inſtantly returnes, and even at that very inſtant (as I conceive, and I thinke it may be demonſtrated by experimentall concluſion) the ſappe which by degrees deſcended with the declination of the *Sun*, begins to *remount* at the approach thereof by the ſame ſteps that it *deſcended*: and as the approach of the *Sunne*, is ſcarce ſenſible at his firſt returne, but afterward the day increaſes more in one weeke, then before in two; in like manner alſo fares it with the *ſap* in plants, which at firſt aſcends *inſenſibly* and ſlowly, but within a while much more ſwiftly and *apparantly*. It is certaine, that the *Tulipp*, *Marigold*, and *Sun-flower* open with the riſing, and ſhut with the ſetting of the *Sunne*; ſo that though the *Sunne* appeare not, a man may more infallibly know when it is high noone by their full ſpreading, then by the *Index* of a Clocke or Watch. The *Hop* in its growing, winding it ſelf about the pole, alwaies followes the courſe of the *Sunne* from Eaſt to Weſt; and can by no meanes be drawne to the contrary, chooſing rather to breake then yeelde.

Lib. 9 cap. 7. *Gellius* affirmes that it is commonly both written and beleeved, that on the very day of the Winter *Solſtice* the leaves of ſome trees, (as namely of the *Olive*) are ſo turned, that the lower and hidden part of them becomes the higher and more conſpicuous, which himſelfe likewiſe teſtifies to have found true by his owne experience more then *Cent. 1. cap. 98.* once; and *Camerarius* in his *Hiſtoricall Meditations*, hath written a whole Chapter to the ſame purpoſe. *De converſione in arboribus, aliiſque rebus circa brumalem diem*, which he proves from the teſtimony of *Franciſcus Rueus, lib. 1. de Gemmis*: *Nonne à veteribus obſervatum eſt quarundam arborum, Oleæ inquam, Populi albæ, & fœlicis folia, ſolſtitiali tempore converti, fieri etiam ut ipſi brumali die frondes quædam revireſcant?* It is obſerved by the Ancients that the leaves of ſome trees, as namely of the *Olive*, the *White Poplar* and the *Willow* are turned at the *Solſtice*, and ſome other grow greene againe on the ſame day: and laſtly *Marcus Varro* in his booke *De Odoribus* is alleaged by the ſame Author, for proofe of the ſame experiment; to whom we may adde *Crinitus* in his fourth booke and ſixth Chapter, *De honeſta diſciplina*.

It is obſerved by thoſe that ſayle betweene the *Tropicks*, that there is a conſtant ſet winde, blowing from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*, Saylers call it the *Breeze*, which riſes and falls with the *Sunne*, and is alwayes highe ſt at noone, and is commonly ſo ſtrong, partly by its owne blowing, and partly by over-ruling the Current, that they who ſayle to *Peru*, cannot well returne home the ſame way they came forth: And generally, Marriners obſerve, that *cæteris paribus*, they ſayle with more ſpeed from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*, then backe againe from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt*, in the ſame compaſſe of time. All which ſhould argue a wheeling about of the aire, and

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and waters, by the diurnall motion of the *Heavens*, and ſpecially by the motion of the *Sun*. Whereunto may be added, that the high *Sea-ſprings* of the yeare are alwayes neere about the two *Æquinoctials* and *Solſtices*, and the *Cocke* as a truſty watch-man, both at midnight and breake of day, gives notice of the *Sunnes* approach.

Theſe be the ſtrange and ſecret effects of the *Sunne*, upon the inferiour Bodies, whence by the *Gentiles* he was held the viſible *God* of the World, and termed the *eye* thereof, which alone ſaw all things in the World, and by which the World ſaw all things in it ſelfe.

Omnia qui videt, & per quem videt omnia mundus.

And moſt notably is he deſcribed by the *Pſalmiſt*, *in them hath hee ſet a Tabernacle for the Sun, which is as a bridegroome comming out of his chamber, and rejoyceth as a ſtrong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuite unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heate thereof.* Pſal 19.4,5,6.

Now as the effects of the *Sun*, the head-ſpring of light and warmth, are upon theſe inferiour Bodies more active: ſo thoſe of the *Moone*, (as being *Vltima cœlo, Cetima terris*, nearer the Earth, and holding a greater reſemblance therewith) are no leſſe manifeſt. And therefore the *husbandman* in ſowing and ſetting, grafting and planting, lopping of trees, and felling of timber, and the like, upon good reaſon obſerves the waxing & waning of the *Moone:* which the learned *Zanchius* well allows of, commending *Heſiod* for his rules therein. *Quod Heſiodus ex Lunæ decrementis & incrementis totius agricolationis ſigna notet, quis improbet?* who can miſlike it, that *Heſiod* ſets downe the ſignes, in the whole courſe of husbandry, from the waxing and waning of the *Moone?* The tydes and ebbes of the Sea follow the courſe of it ſo exactly, as the *Sea-man* will tell you the age of the *Moone* onely upon the ſight of the tyde, as certainely, as if he ſaw it in the water. It is the obſervation of *Ariſtotle* and of *Pliny* out of him, that oyſters, and muſſels, and cockles, & lobſters, & crabbs, & generally all ſhell-fiſh grow fuller in the *waxing* of the *Moone*, but emptier in the *waning* thereof. Such a ſtrong predominancie it hath even upon the braine of Man, that *Lunatickes* borrow their very name from it, as alſo doth the ſtone *Selenites*, whoſe property, as S. *Auguſtine* and *Georgius Agricola* records it, is to increaſe and decreaſe in light with the *Moone*, carrying alwayes the reſemblance thereof in it ſelfe. Neither can it reaſonably be imagined that the other *Planets & Starres*, and *part of Heaven*, are without their forcible operations, upon theſe lower Bodies, ſpecially conſidering that the very plants and hearbs of the earth which we tread upon, have their ſeverall vertues, as wel ſingle by themſelves, as in compoſition with other ingredients. The *Phyſitian* in opening a veine, hath ever an eye to the *ſigne* then raigning. The *Canicular ſtarre*, ſpecially in thoſe hotter Climates, was by the Ancients alwayes held a dangerous enemy to the practiſe of *Phyſicke*, and all kinde of Evacuations. Nay *Galen* himſelfe, the *Oracle* of that profeſſion, adviſed Practitioners in that Art, in all their Cures to have a ſpeciall regard to the raigning *Conſtellations & Conjunctions* of the *Planets*. But the moſt admirable *myſtery* of *Nature*, in my mind, is the turning of iron touched

De operibus Dei.

Ariſt. lib. 4. de partibus animalium. cap. 5. plin. lib. 2. c. 41. & 99.

De Civit. Dei. lib. 21. cap. 5.

De natura Foſſil. lib. 5.

In 3. de diebus Criticis.

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with the *loadstone*, toward the *North-pole*, of which I shall have farther occasion to intreate, more largely in the Chapter touching the comparison of the wits and inventions of those times with those of former ages. Neither were it hard to adde much more to that which hath been said, to shew the dependance of these *Elementary* Bodies upon the *heavenly*, specially out of *Cornelius Gemma* his *Cosmacritices* or *de divinis naturæ Characterismis*, and *Mizaldus* his *Harmonia superioris naturæ mundi & inferioris, unà cum admirabili fœdere & Sympathia rerum utriusq;*. *Almighty God* having so ordained, that the highest should serve as *intermediate Agents*, or *secundary Causes*, betweene himself and the lower: And as they are linked together in a *chaine* of order, so are they likewise *chained* together in the *order* of *causes*, but so as in the wheeles of a Clocke, though the failing in the *superiour*, cannot but cause a failing in the *inferiour*, yet the failing of the *inferiour*, may well argue though it cannot cause a failing in the *superiour*. We have great reason then, as I conceive, to begin with the *Examination* of the state of *Celestiall bodies*, in as much as upon it the condition of the *subcelestiall* wholly depends. Wherein five things offer themselves to our consideration: Their *substance*, their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth*, and their *influence*.

SECT. 2.

Touching the pretended decay in the substance of the Heavens.

TO finde out whether the *substance* of the *heavenly bodies* be *decayed* or no, it will not be amisse a little to inquire into the nature of the *matter* and *forme*, of which that *substance* consists, that so it may appeare, whether or no in a naturall course, they be capable of such a supposed decay. That the Heavens are endued with some kinde of *matter*, (though some *Philosophers* in their jangling *humour*, have made a doubt of it, yet I thinke no sober and wise *Christian* will deny it: But whether the *matter* of it bee the same with that of these *inferiour bodies*, *adhuc sub Iudice lis est*; it hath beene, and still is, a great question among Divines. The ancient Fathers and Doctours of the *Primitive Church*, for the most part following *Plato*, holde that it agrees with the *matter* of the *Elementary Bodies*, yet so as it is compounded of the finest flowre, and choysest delicacy of the *Elements*: But the *Schoole-men* on the other side, following *Aristotle*, adhere to the *Quintessence*, and by no meanes vvill bee beaten from it, since (say they) if the *Elements* and the *Heavens* should agree in the same matter, it should consequently follow, that there should bee a mutuall traffique and commerce, a reciprocall action, and passion betweene them, vvhich vvould soone draw on a change, and by degrees, a ruine upon those glorious Bodies. Now though this point will never (I thinke) be fully and finally determined, till wee come to be inhabitants of that place, whereof we dispute, (*for hardly doe we guesse aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour doe wee finde the things that are at hand, but the things which are in heaven, who hath searched out?*) Yet for the present, I should

Lib. 1. de Cel. cap. 2.

Wisdome 9. 16.

state

ſtate it thus, that they agree in the ſame originall matter; and ſurely *Moſes* mee-thinkes, ſeemes to favour this opinion, making but one matter, (as farre as I can gather from the text) out of which, all *bodily ſubſtances* were created.

Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe. 1. *Metamorph.*

So as the *Heavens*, though they bee not compounded of the *Elements*, yet are they made of the ſame matter that the *Elements* are compounded of. They are not ſubject to the qualities of *heat*, or *cold*, or *drought*, or *moyſture*, nor yet to *weight* or *lightneſſe*, which ariſe from thoſe qualities, but have a *forme* given them, which differeth from the *formes* of all corruptible Bodies, ſo as it ſuffereth not, nor can it ſuffer from any of them, being ſo excellent and perfect in it ſelfe, as it wholly ſatiateth the appetite of the *matter* it informeth. The *Cœleſtiall Bodies* then, meeting with ſo noble a *forme* to actuate them, are not, nor cannot in the *courſe of nature*, bee lyable to any *generation* or *corruption*, in regard of their *ſubſtance*, to any *augmentation* or *diminution* in regard of their *quantity*; no, nor to any *deſtructive alteration* in reſpect of their *qualities*.

I am not ignorant that the controverſies touching this *forme* what it ſhould be, is no leſſe then that touching the *matter*; Some holding it to be a living and quickning *ſpirit*, nay a ſenſitive and reaſonable *ſoule*, which opinion is ſtiffely maintained by many great & learned Clarkes, both *Iewes*, and *Gentiles*, & *Chriſtians*, ſuppoſing it unreaſonable, that the heavens which impart *life* to other bodies, ſhould themſelves be deſtitute of *life*: But this *error* is notably diſcovered and confuted by *Claudius Eſpencæus*, a famous *Doctour* of the *Sorbone*, in a *Treatiſe* which hee purpoſely compoſed on this point; In as much as what is denied thoſe Bodies in *life*, in *ſenſe*, in *reaſon*, is abundantly ſupplyed in their conſtant and unchangeable *duration*, ariſing from that inviolable knot, and indiſſoluble marriage, betwixt the *matter* and the *forme*, which can never ſuffer any divorce, but from that hand which firſt joyned them. And howbeit it cannot be denyed, that not onely the *reaſonable* ſoule of man, but the *ſenſitive* of the leaſt gnat that flies in the aire, and the *Vegetative* of the baſeſt plant that ſprings out of the earth, are (in that they are indued with life) more divine and neerer approaching to the fountaine of life, then the formes of the heavenly Bodies; yet as the *Apoſtle* ſpeaking of *Faith*, *Hope*, & *Charity*, concludes *Charity* to be the greateſt, (though by *Faith* we apprehend & apply the merites of *Chriſt*) becauſe it is more *univerſall* in operation, and *laſting* in duration; ſo though the *formes* of the *Creatures* endued with life, doe in that regard, come a ſtep neerer to the *Diety*, then the formes of the heavenly Bodies, which are without life; yet if we regard their *purity*, their *beauty*, their *efficacy*, their *indeficiencie* in moving, their *Vniverſality* and *independencie* in working; there is no queſtion, but the *Heavens* may in that reſpect bee preferred, even before *man* himſelfe, for whoſe ſake they were made; *Man* being indeed immortall in regard of his ſoule, but the Heavens in regard of their Bodies, as being made of an *incorruptible* ſtuffe.

De Cœlorum animatione.

We have to this purpoſe a ſingular paſſage in the Preface of *Picus Mirandula*, prefixed to his *Heptaplus*, where having mentioned the worlds

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distinct each from other a sublunarie, a Celestiall, and a super-Celestiall or Angelicall hee thus goes on; *Hoc non prætermiserim figuratos hos mundos tres à Mose evidentissimè in admirabilis illius tabernaculi sui constructione. Partitus est enim tabernaculum in partes tres, quarum singulæ singulos, quos diximus, mundos repræsentare expressius nullo modo possent. Etenim prima pars nullo defensa tecto vel umbraculo, imbribus, nivi, solibus, calori, frigoriq; obvia erat & opportuna, & quod est nostri, id est, sublunaris mundi evidentius simulachrum, inhabitabant eam, non modò homines mundi & immundi, sacri & prophani sedet omnifarij generis animalia, eratque in ea vel ob sacrificia jugesque immolationes vitæ & mortis perpetua vicissitudo. Reliquæ duæ partes ambæ obtectæ & undique ab omni peregrinâ injuria liberæ, quemadmodum & uterque mundus, tam Cælestis quam super-cælestis, nec injuriæ capax, nec contumeliæ: Amba item sanctitatis nomine honestatæ, ita tamen ut quæ erat secretior, Sancti Sanctorum, reliqua Sancti tantùm titulo decoraretur: sicuti quamvis Cælestis & Angelicus mundus uterque sanctus, quoniam supra Lunam post Luciferi casum, nec macula, nec peccatum, aut est, aut esse potest; Angelicus tamen Cælesti longè sanctior & divinior habetur.* This I cannot passe over, that these three worlds were by *Moses* most evidently figured in that admirable structure of his tabernacle which hee devided into three parts, each of which in a very lively manner expressed some one of these worlds; for the first part then it had no Covering at all but lay open to raine, to snow, to heate to cold; and not onely so, but heere in more expresly represented this lower world, that into it were admitted not only all sorts of men cleane and uncleane, holy and prophane, but beasts of all kindes, and therein also by reason of the daily sacrifices was to bee seene a perpetuall vicissitude of life and death. The other two parts were covered, and free from all outward violence as both the Celestiall and super celestiall worlds are, in which regard they were both honoured with the title of Holy, part with this difference that the in most was commonly called the Holy of Holyes, and againe though so it bee that both the Celestiall and Angelicall world are Holy, because since the fall of *Lucifer* no staine, no sinne hath ascended or possibly can ascend above the Moone, yet can it not bee denied but that the Angelicall is much more Holy and Divine then the Celestiall.

Which cannot well stand with their opinion, who held them to bee composed of *fire*, or that the *waters* which in the first of *Genesis* are said to bee *aboue the firmament*; and in the *hundred fortie and eight Psalme*, *aboue the Heavens*, are aboue the *heavens* wee now treate of, for the tempering and qualifying of their heat, as did *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Augustine*, & many others, venerable for their *antiquity*, *learning*, & *piety*. Touching the *former* of which opinions, we shall have fitter opportunity to discusse it at large, when wee come to treatise of the warmth caused by the Heavens. But touching the *second*, it seemes to have beene grounded vpon a mistake of the word *Firmament*, which by the Ancients, was commonly appropriated to the eight spheare, in which are seated the fixed starres, whereas the originall *Hebrew* (which properly signifies *Extention*, or *Expansion*) is in the first of *Genesis*, not onely applyed to the

Hexam. l. 2. c. 3. De civit. Dei l. 11. c. vlt.

v. 15. v. 20.

Spheres

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Spheres in which the Sunne and Moone are planted, but to the *lowest region of the aire*, in which the birds flie, and so doe I with *Pareus* & *Pererius* take it to bee understood in this controversie. This *region of the aire* being (as S. *Augustine* somewhere speakes) *Terminus intransgressibilis*, a firme and immoveable wall of separation betwixt the waters that are bred in the *bowels* of the earth, and those of the *Clowdes*: and for the word *heaven*, which is used in the hundred forty and eight *Psalme*, it is likewise applyed to the *middle region of the aire* by the *Prophet Ieremy*, which may serve for a *Glosse* upon that text, alleadged out of the *Psalme*. *When he utterreth his voice there is a noise of waters in the heavens, and hee causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth.*

Now the *Schoolemen* finding that the placing of waters aboue the starry heavens, was both *unnaturall* and *unusefull*, and yet being not well acquainted with the property of the *Hebrew* word, to salue the matter, tell us of a *Christalline* or glassie heaven, above the eight sphere, which say they, is undoubtedly the *waters above the firmament* mentioned by *Moses*; which exposition of theirs, though it doth not inferre a *decay* in the *heavenly bodies*, yet doth it crosse the course of *Moses* his *historicall* narration, his purpose beeing, as it seemes, onely to write the *history* of things which were *visible* and sensible, as appeares in part by his omitting the Creation of *Angels*; whereas the *Christalline* heaven they speake of, is not onely *invisible* and insensible, but was not at all discovered to be, till the dayes of *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy*. Since then the *heavens* in regard of their *substance*, are altogether free (for any thing yet appeares,) from any *mixture* or *tincture* of the *Elements*, being made of an *incorruptible* and *inalterable quintessence*, which neither hath any cõflict in it selfe, nor with any other things without it, from thence may wee safely collect that it neither is, nor can bee subject to any such *decay* as is *imagined*.

SECT. 3.

An objection drawne from Iob, *answered.*

HOwbeit the deserved curse of *God*, deprived the earth of her fertility, in bringing forth without the sweate of *Adam*, and his of spring, yet I finde not that it stretcheth to the *Starres*, or that any thing above the *Moone* was altered or changed, in respect of *Adams* fault, from the first perfection. *Non rectè dicunt qui asserunt factos corruptibiles Cœlos propter peccatum hominis; aut in deterius mutatos & contaminatos.* They say not true who affirme that the heavens were made corruptible by the sinne of man, or changed for the worse: or any way polluted. True indeede it is which *Eliphaz* teacheth, that *the heavens*, and *Bildad*, that the *Starres are not cleane in Gods sight*: it may bee because of the fall of *Angels*, the *inhabitants of heaven*, whom therefore *hee charged with folly*: Which exposition, *Iunius* so farre favours, as instead of *Cœlum* hee puts *Cœlites*, into the very body of the

text:

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text: But in my judgement it would have better ſorted with the *Margin*, Iob. 4. 18. in as much as by *Cælites*, wee may underſtand either *Saints* or *Angells*, both Citizens of heaven, either in actuall *poſſeſſion*, or in certaine hope and *expectation*; in poſſeſſion, as Angels and Saints departed; in expectation, as the Saints heere in warfaire on the earth: And of thoſe Cap. 15. 15. doth *Gregory* in his *Moralls* on *Iob*, expound the place, *hoc cælorum nomine repetijt, quod Sanctorum prius appellatione ſignavit*, ſaith hee: *Iob* repeates that by the name of Heaven, which before hee expreſſed under the name of Saints. And thus both he and S. *Auguſtine* expound that of the nineteenth Pſalme, *The Heavens declare the glory of God.* And with them moſt of the *Ancients*, that petition of the *Lords Prayer*, *Thy will bee done on earth as it is in heaven.* But what neede we flie to *allegories*, and figurative ſenſes, when the *letter* of the *text* will well enough ſtand with the *analogie of faith*, the *texts* of other *Scriptures*, and the *rule* of *ſound reaſon.* The very *materiall heavens* then, may not untruly or unproperly bee ſaid, to be *uncleane in Gods ſight*. Firſt, *Quia habent aliquid potentialitatis admixtum*, as *Lyra* ſpeakes, they have ſome kinde of potentiality, (I know not how otherwiſe to render his word) mixed with them, hee meanes in regard of their *motion*, and the *illumination* of the *Moone* and *Starres* from the *Sunne.* But *chiefly*, as I take it, they are ſaid to bee *uncleane*, not conſidered in *themſelves*, but in *compariſon* of the *Creatour*, who is *Actus puriſſimus & ſimpliciſſimus*; all *Act*, and that moſt pure, not onely from *ſtaine* and pollution, but all kinde of *impotency*, *imperfection*, or *Compoſition* whatſoever. And in this ſenſe the very bleſſed and glorious *Angels* themſelves, which are of a ſubſtance farre purer then the *Sunne* it ſelfe, may bee ſaid to be *uncleane in his ſight*, in which regard the very Iſay 6. 2. *Seraphins* are ſaid, *to cover their faces and feete with their wings.* But to grant that the heavens are become *uncleane*, either by the fall of *man* or *Angels*, yet doth it not follow (as I conceive) that this *uncleanneſſe* doth *daily increaſe* upon them, or, which is in truth the point in controverſie, that *they feele any impairing by reaſon of this uncleanneſſe*, it being rather *imputative* (as I may tearme it) then reall and *inherent.* *Nonne vides cælum hoc*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, *ut pulchrum, ut ingens, ut aſtrorum choreis varium? quantum temporis viguit? quinque aut plus annorum millia proceſſerunt, & hac annorum multitudo ei non adduxit ſenium; Sed ut corpus novum ac vegetum floridæ virentiſque juventæ viget ætate: Sic cælum, quam habuit à principio pulchritudinem ſemper eadem permanſit, nec quicquam tempus eum debilitavit.* Doſt not thou ſee the heavens, how faire, how ſpacious they are, how be-ſpangled with diverſe conſtellations? how long now have they laſted? five thouſand yeares or more are paſt, and yet this long duration of time hath brought no olde age upon them; But as a body new and freſh, flouriſheth in youth: So the heavens ſtill retaine their beauty, which at firſt they had, neither hath time any thing abated it. Some errour or miſtake doubtleſſe there is in *Chryſoſtomes* computation, in as much as he lived above 1200 yeares ſince, and yet tells us, that the world had then laſted above 5000 yeares; but for the truth of the matter hee is therein ſeconded by all the ſchoole-Divines; *Corpora cæleſtia peregrinæ impreſſionis non ſunt receptiva*

Apud Auguſtinum Steuchum, l. 10. de Perenni Philoſophia.

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ceptiva (saith *Thomas*:) the Heavenly Bodies are not capable of any forraine impreſſion: neither can *Beza* (as appeares in his annotations on the 8 Chapt. to the *Rom.* v. 19.) finde any other vanity in the Heavens, but this, that they ſerve Gods enemies, and are in the laſt day to bee diſſolved. *Si verò Cæleſtia Corpora conſideres, quamvis adhuc ſit incredibilis eorum ornatus, tamen & ipſa non poſsint expertia dici iſtius vanitatis quum impijs etiam & Dei hoſtibus inſerviant, & tandem quoque ſint ultimo illo die diſſolvenda*: As for the heavenly bodies, though their luſtre bee yet exceeding glorious, yet are they not altogether free from this vanitie, ſince they are forced to ſerve the wicked and Gods enemies, and finally at the laſt day ſhall bee diſſolved. Now had this grave Divine conceived any ſuch decay in the the heavenly bodies, as is pretended, he could not wel have had offered a fairer occaſion to have expreſſed himſelfe therein: but among thoſe of the reformed Churches none hath written in this point more clearely and fully then *Alſtedius* in his preface to his naturall divinity. *Tanta eſt hujus palatij diuturnitas atque firmitas, ut ad hodiernum uſque diem ſupra annos quinquies mille & ſexcentos ita perſtet, ut in eo nihil immutatum, diminutum, & diuturnitate temporis vitiatum conſpiciamus.* Such, ſaith he, and ſo laſting is the duration and immoveable ſtability of this palace, that being created above 5600 yeares agoe, yet it ſo continues to this day that we can eſpy nothing in it changed, or waſted, ordiſordered by age, and tract of time.

SECT. 4.

Another objection taken from Pſalme the 102 anſwered.

ANother text is commonly & hotly urged by the Adverſe part, to like purpoſe as the former, and in truth *the onely argument of weight*, drawne from *Scripture* in this preſent qneſtion, touching the *heavens decay* in regard of their *Subſtance*. In which conſideration wee ſhall be inforced to examine it ſomewhat the more fully. Taken it is from the hundred and ſecond Pſalme, and the wordes of the *Prophet* are theſe. *Of olde thou haſt laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of thine hands. They ſhall periſh, but thou ſhalt endure: yea all of them ſhall waxe olde as doth a garment, as a veſture ſhalt thou change them, and they ſhall be changed: But thou art the ſame, and thy yeares ſhall have no end.* To which very place undoubtedly, the *Apoſtle* alludes in the firſt to the *Hebrewes*, where he thus renders it, *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the workes of thine hands. They ſhall periſh, but thou remaineſt, and they ſhall waxe old as doth a garment, and as a veſture ſhalt thou fold them up, and they ſhall bee changed: But thou art the ſame, and thy yeares ſhall not faile.* In which paſſages, the words which are moſt ſtood upon and preſſed, are thoſe of the *growing old of the heavens like a garment*, which by degrees growes bare till it be torne in pieces, and brought to ragges. S. *Auguſtine* in his *Enarration* upon this *Pſalme*, according to his wont, betakes him to an *Allegoricall* Expoſition, v. 25. 26. 27.

v. 13. 11. 12.

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Expoſition, interpreting the *heavens* to bee the *Saints*, and their bodies to bee their garments wherewith the ſoule is cloathed. And theſe garments of theirs, ſaith he, *waxe olde and periſh*, but ſhall bee *changed* in the reſurrection, and made conformable to the glorious body of *Ieſus Chriſt*. Which expoſition of his is *pious* (I confeſſe) but ſurely not *proper*, ſince the *Prophet* ſpeakes of the *Heavens*, which had their beginning together with the *earth*, and were both principall peeces in the great Worke of the Creation. Neither can the *regions of the aire*, bee heere well underſtood, (though in ſome other places they be ſtiled by the name of the *heavens*) ſince they are ſubject to continuall variation and change, and our *Prophets* meaning was, as it ſhould ſeeme, to compare the *Almightie unchangeable eternity*, with that which of all the viſible Creatures was moſt ſtable and ſtedfaſt. And beſides, though the *aire* be indeede the worke of *Gods* hands, as are all the other Creatures, yet that phraſe is in a ſpeciall manner applyed to the *ſtarry heavens*, as being the moſt exquſite and excellent peece of workemanſhip that ever his hands fram'd. It remaines then, that by *heavens* heere, wee underſtand the *lights of heaven*, thought by *Philoſophers* to bee the thicker parts of the ſpheres, together with the ſpheres themſelves, in which thoſe lights are fixed and wheeled about. For that ſuch *ſpheres* and orbes there are, I take it as granted, neither will I diſpute it, though I am not ignorant, that ſome later writers thinke otherwiſe, and thoſe, neither few in number, nor for their knowledge unlearned. But for the true ſenſe of the place alleadged, wee are to know that the word there uſed to *wax old*, both in *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latin*, doth not neceſſarily imply a *decay* of impairing in the ſubject ſo *waxing old*, but ſometimes doth only ſignifie a *farther ſtep* and acceſſe to a finall period in regard of duration. Wee have read of ſome, who being well ſtriken in yeares, have renewed their teeth, and changed the white colour of their haire, and ſo growne young againe. Of ſuch it might truely be ſaide that they grew *elder* in regard of their neerer approach to the determinate end of their race, though they were *yonger* in regard of their conſtitution and ſtate of their bodies. And thus doe I take the *Apoſtle* to be underſtood, *That which decayeth and waxeth olde, is ready to vaniſh away*; where he ſpeakes of the *Ceremoniall law*, which did not *grow olde* by degrees, at leaſt before the incarnation of *Chriſt*, but ſtood in its full force and vigour, untill it was by him abrogated and diſanulled. To which purpoſe *Aquinas* hath not unfitly obſerved upon the place, *Quod dicitur vetus ſignificat quod ſit prope ceſſationem*, the tearming of a thing *olde*, implyes *that it haſten to an end*. This then (as I take it) may truly be affirmed of the ſignification of the word in generall and at large, and may juſtly ſeeme to haue beene the *Prophets* meaning, in as much as hee addeth, *But thou art the ſame, and thy yeares ſhall have no end*. From whence may bee collected, that as *God* cannot *grow old*, becauſe *his yeares ſhall have no end*; ſo the *heavens*, becauſe *they ſhall have an end*, may be therfore ſaid *to grow old*. But whereas it is added, not onely by the *Pſalmiſt*, but by the *Apoſtle* in preciſe tearmes, *They ſhall waxe olde as doth a garment*, and againe, as a *Veſture ſhalt thou change them*; the doubt ſtill remaines, whether

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whether by that addition, the ſenſe of the word, bee not reſtrained to a graduall and *ſenſible decay*. I know it may be ſaid, that *a garment* waxing olde, not onely looſes his *freſhneſſe*, but part of his quantity and weight, it is not onely ſoiled, but waſted either in lying or wearing, and ſo in continuance of time, becomes utterly unſerviceable, which no man, I thinke, will aſcribe to the *heavens*. I meane, that their *quantity* is any way diminiſhed. All agree then, that the *Similitude* may be ſtrained too farre, as the wringing of the noſe bringeth forth blood, and the wreſting of a ſtring too high, marres the muſicke: but yet the queſtion ſtill remaines, how it is to be underſtood, and how farre we may ſafely extend it. For to ſay that *waxing old* in that paſſage is onely to be underſtood of a nearer approach to an alteration, or an aboliſhment, ſeemes to be too colde an interpretation, in as much as then needed not the *Prophet* to have added for a clearer explication of his minde, in the manner of their waxing old, *as doth a garment*: it reſts then to be ſhewed, as I conceive, wherein the ſimilitude ſtands, which the *Interpreters* I have met with, doe not ſufficiently unfold, and thoſe that undertake the unfolding of it, runne upon the rockes by publiſhing harſh and unwarrantable poſitions. Meethinke the *Pſalmiſt* himſelfe gives ſome light unto it, *Thou covereſt thy ſelfe*, ſaith hee, *with light as with a garment, and ſtretcheſt out the heavens like a Curtaine*: his meaning then, in my judgment, may be this, that the *Heavens*, which for their *expanſion*, may well be compared to a *Curtaine* or *garment*, ſhall *wax old*, the compariſon ſtanding betweene the *heavens* and a *garment*, not in regard of their *deficiencie*, but their *ſpreading*, the heavens covering this inferiour world, as a garment doth the body it is ſpread over. Or if the compariſon ſtand in their *deficiencie*, which ſeemes, I confeſſe, the more *kindly expoſition*, to my ſeeming, *Aquinas* in few words looſeth the knot, *ſicut veſtimentum*, ſaith hee, *quod ſumitur ad uſum, & ceſſante uſu deponitur* in Heb: and with him accordes Lorinus in Pſal: The heavens then ſhall *waxe old* as doth a *garment*, in that their uſe ſhall ceaſe together with man, as doth the uſe of a *garment* with him that uſeth it. Which *expoſition* hee ſeemes to have borrowed from *Dydimus*, blinde in his bodily eyes, but in his minde ſharpe-ſighted, *quod canit Pſaltes, veteraſcent & mutabuntur, deſignat eorum uſum abiiſſe & defeciſſe: Vt enim indumentum ubi officio fructum fuerit obvoluitur: ſic cœlum ac terra functa muneribus ſuis abibunt*. In that the *Pſalmiſt* profeſſeth, They ſhall waxe olde and be changed, his meaning, is when there ſhall be no further uſe of them: For as a *garment* having performed that uſe to which it was ordained, is folded up and layde aſide: ſo the heaven and the earth having finiſhed thoſe ſervices for which they were created, ſhall vaniſh and paſſe away. And upon this Comment of *Dydimus*, *Eugubinus* thus commenteth: *Hoc autem ſummus docet Theologus primum mundum antiquando, vetuſtate & ſenio interiturum, ſed non eo ſenio quo res mortales corrumpuntur atque abolentur, in cœlo tale ſenium nullum eſt, ſed aliud quoddam cujus ſimilitudo ex veſtibus oſtenditur, cum deponimus eas ubi nobis eſſe uſui deſiiſſent, tanquam inutilis eas exvimus atque obvoluimus, ſic mundus, id eſt cœlum, non eo delebitur quod eâdem vetuſtate atque omnia animalia & arbores, aliquando ſit defecturus, ſed*

Pſal. 104. 8.

Lib. 10. De Perenni Philoſophia.

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quia ceſſabit uſus ejus quo rerum tantos ordines peragebat. The purpoſe of this great Divine was, to teach, that the Heavens ſhould waxe olde and conſume with age, but not with ſuch an olde age, as that by which things mortall ſuffer corruption and diſſolution. In heaven there is no ſuch waxing old to be found, but another kinde there is, the reſemblance whereof is taken from garments, when wee put them off, as having no further uſe of them, laying them aſide, and folding them up. In like manner the heaven ſhall not therefore be diſſolved, becauſe it ſhall at any time ſuffer defect thorow that old age, which beaſts and plants feele, but becauſe the uſe of it ſhall ceaſe, by which it keepes theſe inferiour bodies in due order. And perchance the *Apoſtle* himſelfe, rendring
Heb. 1. 12. the wordes of the *Pſalmiſt*, intends as much, *As a veſture ſhalt thou folde them up*: as the curtaines, and carpets, and hangings are folded up, and laide aſide when the family removes. Which ſeemes likewiſe to have
34. 4. beene fore-told by the *Prophet Iſaiah*: the *heavens ſhall be rolled together as a ſcrolle, and they ſhall paſſe away with a noyſe*, ſaith S. *Peter*, like *the hiſſing of*
2. Pet. 3. 10. *parchment, riveled up with heat*, for ſo ſignifies the *originall* word in that place. Howſoever they ſhall not *wax olde* by the *courſe of nature*, but by the *mightie power of the God of Nature*, hee that created them, ſhall, diſſolve them, and nothing elſe; which the *Prophet* ſeemes to point at in this very paſſage, *Tu mutabis & mutabuntur*, *thou* ſhalt change them, not *Nature*, but *thou* ſhalt change, and they ſhall be changed. Finally, *Bellarmine* in his Commentaries on that *Pſal* and paſſage tells us; that the words may be expounded, *ex hypotheſi*, by way of ſuppoſition thus: *etiamſi Cæli veteraſcerent, mutarentur, & perirent, tu idem ſemper maneres*, though the heavens ſhould waxe olde, bee changed and periſh, yet ſhouldeſt thou ſtill remaine one and the ſame; thus (ſayeth hee) in the Goſpell, when it is ſaid, *Mat.* 5. 18. *till Heaven and earth paſſe, one jote, or title ſhall in no wiſe paſſe from the Law, till all be fulfilled*. Wee have the ſenſe thereof more clearely expounded *Luke* 16. 17: *it is eaſier for Heaven and earth to paſſe, then one title of the Law to fade*. Now the *Pſalmiſt* being taken in this ſenſe, no ſuch poſitive or abſolute decay in the Heavens can bee inferred from the place as is imagined. And as for that freſh luſtre and brightneſſe, wherewith (as is commonly thought) the Heavens ſhall be renewed at the laſt day, as a *garment* by turning is *changed*, and by changing refreſhed, it may well bee by making them more reſplendent then now they are, or ever at any time were ſince their firſt *creation*, not by ſcowring off of contracted *ruſt*, but adding a *new gloſſe* and augmentation of glory. And whereas ſome *Divines* have not doubted to make the *ſpots* and ſhadowes appearing in the face of the *Moone* to be undoubted arguments of that contracted *ruſt*, if thoſe ſpots had not beene *originall* and native, of equall date with the *Moone* her ſelfe, but had beene contracted by age & continuance of time, as wrinkles are in the moſt beautifull faces, they had ſaid ſomewhat, but that there they were above *fifteene hundred yeares* agone, appeares by *Plutarchs* diſcourſe, *De maculis in facie Lunæ*, and that they have ſince any whit increaſed, it cannot be ſufficiently proovéd. Perchance by the helpe of the new deviſed *perſpective glaſſes*, they have beene of late more clearely and diſtinctly diſcerned

ned then in former ages, but that prooves no more that they were not there before, then that the *Sydera Medicæa* lately discovered by vertue of the same instruments, were not before in being, which the discoverers themselves knew well enough, they could not with any colour of reason affirme. *Galileus* a Florentine.

SECT. 5.

A third objection taken from the apparition of new starres answered.

HOwbeit it cannot be denied but that *new stars* have at times appeared in the *firmament*, as some think that was, at our *Saviours* birth, yet in as much as it pointed out the very House in which he was borne, by standing over it, and was not (for ought we finde) observed by the *Mathematicians* of those times, I should rather thinke it to have beene a *blazing light* created in the Region of the Aire, carrying the resemblance of a starre, then a new and true *created starre*, seated in the *firmament*.

As for that which appeared in *Cassiopæia* in the yeare *one thousand five hundred seventy two*, (the very yeare of the great *Massacre* in *France*) I thinke it cannot well be gainsaid, to have beene a *true starre*, it being observed by the most skilfull and famous *Astronomers* of that time to hold the same aspect in all places of *Christendome*, to runne the same course, to keepe the same proportion, distance & situation every-where, & in every point, with the *fixed starres* by the space of *two whole yeares*: but this I take to have beene not the effect of *Nature*, but the *supernaturall* and *miraculous* worke of *Almighty God*, the first Author and free disposer of *Nature*; & the like may be said of all such *Comets* which have at any time evidently appeared, (if any such evidence may be given) to be above the Globe of the Moone; from whence it can no more be inferred, that the *heavens* are composed of a matter *corruptible*, naturally subject to impairing & fading, then that their *motion* is *irregular*, or that it is in the power of *mortall* man to dispose of the course of those *immortall* Creatures, because by a speciall priviledge at the prayer of *Iosuah*, both the *Sun* & *Moone* were stayed in their wonted courses, and the shadow went backe *tenne degrees* in the Dyall of *Ahaz*, for the assurance of the truth of the Prophet *Isaiahs* message sent to King *Hezekiah*. *Cap.* 10. *v.* 12. Isay 38. 8.

The same answere may not be unfitly shaped, to that wonder which *S. Augustine* reports out of *Varroes* booke, intituled *de Gente Populi Romani*, and he out of *Castor*, touching the Planet *Venus*, which to adde the greater weight and credit to the relation, being somewhat strange and rare, I will set it downe in the very words of *Varro*, as I finde them quoted by S. *Augustine*. *In cælo mirabile extitit portentum, nam in stella Veneris nobilissima, quam* Plautus *Vesperruginem*, Homerus *Hesperon appellat*, *pulcherrimam dicens*, Castor *scribit tantum portentum extitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum, quod factum ita neque antea, neque postea sit, hoc factum* Ogyge *Rege dicebant* Adrastus, Cyzicenus, & Dyon *De Civit. Dei.* 21. 8.

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Neapolites Mathematici nobiles: In Heaven, saith he, appeared a marvailous great wonder, the most noted starre called *Venus*, which *Plautus* tearmes *Vesperrugo*, and *Homer*, *Hesperus* the faire, as *Castor* hath left it upon record, changed both *colour*, and *bignes*, and *figure*, & *Motion*, which accident was never seene before, nor since that time, the renowned Mathematicians *Adrastus* and *Dyon* averring, that this fell out during the raigne of King *Ogyges*. Which wonder neither *Varro* nor *Augustine* ascribe to the changeable matter of the Heavens, but to the unchangeable will of the *Creator*. And therefore the one calls it as we see, *Mirabile portentum*; and the other makes this Comment upon it, that it hapned, *quia ille voluit qui summo regit imperio ac potestate quod condidit*, because he would have it so, who governes all things that he hath made with a Soveraigne and independing power. So that two speciall reasons may bee yeelded for these *extraordinary unusuall apparitions in heaven, the one*, that they may declare to the world that they have a *Creator* and *Commander*, who can alter or destroy their natures, restraine or suspend their operations at his pleasure, which should keepe men from worshipping them as *Gods*, since they connot keepe themselves from alteration. The other to portend and fore-shew his judgments, as did that new starre in *Cassiopeia*, a most unnatural inundation of blood in *France*; and this change in *Venus*, such a deluge in *Achaia*, as it over-flowed and so wasted the whole Countrey, that for the space of *two hundred yeares* following, it was not inhabited.

SECT. 6.

The last objection drawne from the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone answered.

THe last doubt touching the *pssibility* of the *matter* of the *Heavens*, is drawne from the *Eclipses* of the *Sun* and *Moone*, in which they are commonly thought to suffer, and to be as it were in *travell* during that time. Which if it were so, it must of necessity by degrees consume the vigour and beauty of those glorious Bodies, and finally the Bodies themselves. To this purpose is alleadged that of the Poet, where he cals these Eclypses,

Virg. Georg. l. 2. *Defectus Solis varios Lunæque labores.*
Defects and travels of the Sunne and Moone.

Tacit. Annal. l. 7. As also the manner of the ancient *Romans* while such *Eclypses* lasted, to lift up many burning torches toward Heaven, and withall to beate pans of brasse and balons, as wee doe in following a swarme of bees,

Boetius lib. 4. met. 5. *Commovet Gentes publicus error,*
Lassantque crebris pulsibus æra.
A common errour through the World doth passe,
And many a stroake they lay on pans of brasse,
saith *Boetius*; and *Manilius*, speaking of the appearance of the *Moones* Eclipse by degrees in diverse parts of the Earth,

Seraque in extremis quatiuntur gentibus æra,

Th'vtmost

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Th'vtmoſt coaſts doe beate their braſſe pans laſt.

And the Satyriſt wittily deſcribing a tatling Goſſip, *Iuv. lib. 2. Sat. 6*

Vna laboranti poterit ſuccurrere Lunæ.

Shee onely were enough to helpe
The labours of the Moone.

They thought therby they did the *Moone* great eaſe, and helped her in her labour, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Æmilius* obſerveth. Nay *Æmilius* himſelfe a wiſe man, as the ſame Author there witneſſeth, congratulated the *Moones* delivery from an *Eclipſe*, with a ſolemne ſacrifice, aſſoone as ſhee ſhone out bright againe; which action of his, that prudent *Philoſopher* and ſage *Hiſtorian*, not relateth only, but approoveth & commendeth as a ſigne of godlineſſe and devotion; yea this *Heathenish* and ſottiſh cuſtome of relieving the *Moone* in this caſe by noiſe & out-cryes, the *Chriſtians* it ſeemes borrowed from the *Gentiles*, as appeares by S. *Ambroſe* in his eighty & third Sermon, where he moſt ſharply checks his Auditors for their rude and uncivill, nay prophane and irreligious carriage in this very point. And becauſe his diſcourſe there is not only ſmart and piercing, but marvailous punctuall and pertinent in regard of the queſtion in hand, I hope it will not bee thought time or paper miſſpent, if I ſet it downe as there I finde it. *Who would not grieve at, it that you ſhould ſo farre forget your ſoules health, as you ſhould not bluſh to call Heaven as a witneſſe to your ſinne. For when I lately preached unto you touching your covetouſneſſe, even the ſame day at Evening there was ſo great ſhouting of the people, that your prophaneneſſe pierced the Heavens. I inquired what the meaning of that noiſe might bee: it was told mee, that with your out-cryes you relieved the Moone, being then in travell, and ſuccoured her faintings with your ſhouting: which when I heard, in truth I could not chooſe but laugh and wonder at your vanity, that like devout Chriſtians you thought to bring aide to God, for it ſeemes you cryed, leſt by meanes of your ſilence, hee might perchance loſe one of his nobleſt Creatures? or as if being weake and impotent he could not maintaine thoſe lights himſelfe had created, but by the aſſiſtance of your voyces. And ſurely you do very well in that you ſuccour the Deity, that by your helpe he may governe Heaven. But would you doe it to purpoſe indeede? then muſt yee watch every night, & all night. For how often trow yee is the Moone eclipſed while you ſleep, & yet ſhe falls not from Heaven: Or is ſhee alwayes eclipſed in the night, & not likewiſe in the day time? But then only it ſeemes is the Moone eclipſed with you, when your bellies are well ſtuffed with a full ſupper, and your braines ſteeled with full pots, then only the Moone labours in heaven, when the wine labours in your heads, then is her circle troubled with charmes, when your ſight is dazled with over-much quaffing. How canſt thou then diſcerne what befals the Moone in heaven, when thou canſt not diſcerne what is done neere thee on earth? herein is that plainly verified which holy* Solomon *foretold, a foole changeth as the Moone: Thou changeſt like the Moone, when being ignorant of the motion thereof, thou who werſt a Chriſtian before, now beginneſt to be ſacrilegious; for ſacrilege thou committeſt againſt thy Creatour, when thou imputeſt ſuch impotency to the Creature. Thou then changeſt like the Moone, when thou who before ſhinedſt in the devotion of faith, now falleſt away thorow the weakeneſſe of unbeleefe: thou changeſt like the Moone, when thy braine is as voide* Eccleſ. 27. 11.

Ser. 83, vel 82. Maximus Taurinenſis hath an Homily to the ſame purpoſe, and in the ſame words.

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of wit, as the Moone is of light, and I could wish thou diddest indeede change as the Moone, for she quickly returnes againe to her fulnesse; but thou by leasure to the use of thy wits; shee soone recovers her light, but thou slowly the faith which thou hast denyed. Thy change then is worse then that of the Moone; shee suffers an Eclipse of her light, but thou of thy soules health. But will some man say, is not the Moone in labour then? yes indeed shee labours, it
Rom. 8. *cannot be denyed: but she labours with the other Creatures, as the* Apostle *speakes, we know that the whole Creature groaneth and travelleth in paine untill now: and againe, the Creature it selfe shall also be delivered from the bondage of Corruption. It shall be freed from bondage. You see then that the Moone doth not labour with charmes, but with dutifull observances, not with dangers, but with usefull offices, not to perish, but to serve. For the Creature is made subject to vanitie, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same, so that the Moone is not willingly changed from her condition, but thou wittingly and willingly robbest thy selfe of thine owne reason. She by the condition of her nature suffers an Eclipse, thou by consent of thine owne Will, art drawne into mischiefe. Bee not then as the Moone when she is eclipsed, but as when shee fils her*
Psal. 89. 37. *circle with light. For of the righteous man it is written, Hee shall bee established for ever as the Moone, and as the faithfull witnesse in heaven.*

By which witty discourse of S. *Ambrose*, it plainely appeares, that in his judgement, the *Moone* suffered nothing by her *Eclipse*, which opinion of his is confirmed not onely by the testimony of *Aristotle*, in the eight of the *Metaphysickes*: but by the evidence of reason, it being caused by the *shadow* of the *earth*, interposed betweene the *Sunne* and the
Lib. 2. cap 10. *Moone*, as in exchange or revenge thereof, (as *Pliny* speaketh) the *Eclipse* of the *Sun* is caused by the interposition of the *Moone*, betwixt the *Earth* and it. The *Moone* so depriving the *Earth*, and againe the *Earth* the *Moone* of the beames of the *Sunne*: Which is the true cause, that in the course of *nature*, the *Moone* is never eclipsed but when shee is full, the *Sunne* and shee being then in *opposition*: nor the *Sunne*, but when it is *New-moone*, those two Planets being then in *conjunction*: I say, in the course of *Nature*, for the *Eclipse* at our Saviours passion, was undoubtedly *supernaturall*: *Quam Solis obscurationem non ex canonico Syderum cursu accidisse satis ostenditur, quod tunc erat Pascha Iudæorum. Nam plena Luna*
Lib. 3. de Civit. Dei, cap. 15. *solenniter agitur*, saith S. *Augustine*. It is evident that that *Eclipse* of the *Sunne* happened not by the ordinary and orderly course of the starres, it being then the *Passover* of the *Iewes*, which was solemnized at the full Moone. And this was it, that gave occasion, as is commonly beleeved, to that memorable exclamation of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, being then in *Egypt*, *Aut Deus Naturæ patitur, aut machina mundi dissolvetur*: either the God of nature suffers, or the Frame of Nature will bee dissolved. And
Act. 17 23. heereupon to, as it is thought by some, was erected that Altar at Athens, *Ignoto Deo*, *To the unknowne God*: Though others thinke that *Eclipse* was confined within the borders of *Iudea*, howsoever it cannot be denyed, but that it was certainely beside and above the course of *Nature*. Neither ought it seeme strange, that the *Sunne* in the *Firmament of heaven* should appeare to suffer, when the *Sunne of Righteousnesse* indeed suffered upon earth.

But

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But for other *Eclipses*, though their Causes bee now commonly knowne, yet the *ignorance* of them was it, which caused so much *superstition* in former ages, and left that impression in mens mindes, as even at this day wise men can hardly bee perswaded, but that those *Planets* suffer in their *Eclypses*, which in the *Sunne* is most childish and ridiculous to imagine, since in it selfe, it is not so much as deprived of any *light*, nor in truth can bee: it being the *fountaine of light*, from which all the other starres *borrow their light*, but pay nothing backe againe to it, by way of *retribution*. Which was well expressed by *Pericles*, as *Plutarch* in his life reports it: for there happening an *Eclypse* of the *Sun*, at the very instant, when his *Navy* was now ready to lanch forth, and himselfe was imbarked, his followers began to be much appal'd at it, but specially the Master of his owne Gally, which *Pericles* perceiving, takes his cloake, and with it hood-winkes the Masters eyes, & then demands of him what danger was in that, he answering none, neither saith *Pericles* is there in this *Eclypse*, there being no difference betweene my *cloake* and that *Vaile*, with which the *Sun* is covered, but only in bignesse. And the truth is, that the *Sunne* then suffered no more by the intervening of the *Moone*, then for *Pericles* his cloake, or daily doth from the cloudes of the aire which hinders the sight of it, or by the interposition of the Planet *Mercury*, which hath sometimes appeared as a spot in it; But whether these *Eclypses* either *cause* or *presage* any change in these inferiour bodies, I shall have fitter occasion to examine hereafter, and so passe from the consideration of the substance, to the motion of the heavenly bodies. *Scalig. Exer. 72.*

CHAP. 2.

Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly bodies in regard of their motions.

SECT. 1.

The first reason, that there is no decay in the motion of the heavenly bodies, drawne from the causes thereof.

MOtion is so *universall* and *innate* a *property*, and so proper an *affection* to all *naturall* bodies, that the *Great Philosopher* knew not better how to define *Nature*, then by making her the *Enginer* and *Principle* of *Motion*: and therefore as other *objects*, are onely discernably by one *sense*, as *colours* by seeing, and *sounds* by hearing, *motion* is discernable by both, nay, and by *feeling* to, which is a third sense really distinguished from them both. That there is in the heavenly bodies no *motion* of *generation* or *corruption*, of *augmentation*, or *diminution*, or of *alteration*, I have already shewed. There are also who by reason of the incredible swiftnesse of the first *Moover*, and some other such reasons dare deny that there is in them any *Lation* or *Locall motion*, herein, flatly opposing in my judgement both *Scripture* and *Reason*, and *Sense*; But to take it as granted, without any dispute; that a *Locall motion* *Copernicus*;

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there is, which is the *measure of time*, as *time* againe is the *measure of motion*, the line of *motion*, and the threed of time, being both spun out together: Some doubt there is touching the *moover* of these heavenly bodies, what or who it should be, some ascribing it to their *matter*, some to their *forme*, some to their *figure*, and many to the *Angells*, or *Intelligences*, as they call them, which they suppose to be set over them. For mine owne part, I should thinke that all these and every of them might not unjustly challenge a part in that *motion*: The *matter* as being neither light nor heavy, the forme as well agreeing with such a matter, the *figure* as being Spherical or Circular, the *Intelligence* as an assistant: In the *matter* is a *disposition*; For whereas light bodies naturally moove upward, and heavy downeward, that which is neither light nor heavy, is rather disposed to a Circular motion, which is neither upward nor downeward. In the *figure* is an *inclination* to that motion, as in a wheele to be carried round, from the *forme* an *inchoation* or on-sett; and lastly from the *Intelligence* a *continuance* or *perpetuation* thereof, as a great *Divine* of our owne, both *age* and *nation* hath well expressed it, *Gods owne eternity*, (saith hee) *is the hand which leadeth Angells in the course of their perpetuity, their perpetuity the hand that draweth out Celestiall motion*, that as the *Elementary* substances are governed by the *heavenly*: so might the *heavenly* by the *Angelicall*: as the *corruptiible* by the *incorruptible*, so the *materiall* by the *immateriall*, and all *finites* by one *infinite*. It is the joynt consent of the *Platonickes*, *Peripatetickes*, and *Stoickes*, and of all the noted *sects* of *Philosophers*; who acknowledged the *Divine providence*, with whom agree the greatest part of our most learned & *Christian Doctors*, that the *Heavens* are moved by *Angels*, neither is there in truth any sufficient meanes besides it to discover the beeing of such Creatures by *discourse* of *reason*. Which to mee is a strong argument, that the *Heavens* can by no meanes erre, or faile in their *motions*, being managed by the *subordinate ministery* of such *indefatigable* and *unerring guides*, whose *power* is every way proportionable to their *knowledge*, and their *constancie* to both.

Hooker, Eccles. Policie, 5.69.

SECT. 2.

The Second *reason taken from the certainty of demonstrations upon the Celestiall Globe: the* Third, *from a particular view of the proper motions of the Planets, which are observed to be the same at this day, as in former ages without any variation: The* Fourth, *from the infallible & exact prediction of their Oppositions, Conjunctions, and Eclypsies for many ages to come: The* Fifth, *from the testimony of sundry grave Authours, averring the perpetuall constancie and immutability of their motions.*

THe most *signall motions* of the *heavens* (beside their *retrogradations, trepidations, librations*, and I know not what, which *Astronomers* have devised to reconcile the diversity of their observations) are the *diurnall motions* of all the *fixed Starres* and *Planets*, and all the *Celestiall Spheres* from *East* to *West*, in the compasse of every foure and twenty

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twenty houres, and the proper *motion* of them all from the *West* to the *East* againe. These *motions* whether they performe, by themselves, without the helpe of *orbes*, as *fishes* in the water, or *birds* in the aire; or fastned to their *spheres*, as a *gemme* in a ring, or a *nayle* or knot in a Cart-wheele, I cannot easily determine: howbeit I confesse we cannot well imagine how one and the same body should bee carryed with *opposite* motions, but by the helpe of somewhat in which it is carryed; As the *Marriner* may bee carryed by the motion of his shippe from the *East* to the *West*, and yet himselfe may walke from the *West* to the *East* in the same ship: Or a *flie* may bee carried from the *North* to the *South* upon a Cart-wheele, and yet may goe from the *South* to the *North* upon the same wheele: But howsoever it bee, it is evident that their *motions* are most eaven and *regular*, without the least *jarre* or discord, *variation* or uncertainty, *languishing* or defect, that may be. Which were it not so, there could be no certaine demonstrations made upon the *Globe* or *materiall sphere*: Which notwithstanding by the testimony of *Claudian* are most infallible, as appeares by those his elegant verses upon *Archimedes* admirable invention thereof.

Iupiter in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Risit, & ad superos, talia dicta dedit:
Huccine mortalis progressa potentia curæ?
Iam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Iura poli, rerumque fidem legesque Deorum
Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.
Inclusus variis famulatur Spiritus astris,
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus:
Percurrit proprium mentitus signifer annum
Et simulata novo Cynthia mense redit.
Iamque suum volvens audax industria mundum,
Gaudet & humana sydera mente regi.

When *Iove* within a little glasse survaid
The Heavens, he smil'd and to the Gods thus said:
Can strength of Mortall wit proceed thus farre?
Loe in a fraile orbe my workes mated are.
Hither the *Syracusians* Art translates
Heavens forme, the course of things, and humane fates.
Th' included spirit serving the star-deck signes,
The living worke in constant motions windes,
Th' adulterate *Zodiaque* runnes a naturall yeare,
And *Cynthiaes* forg'd hornes monthly new light beare,
Viewing her owne world, now bold industry
Triumphes and rules with humane power the skye.

The *Gentiles* saith *Iulian*, (as S. *Cyrill* in his third booke against him, reports it) *videntes nihil eorum quæ circa Cælum minui vel augeri, neque ullam sustinere de ordinatam affectionem, sed congruam illius motionem ac bene optatum ordinem, definitas quoque leges Lunæ, definitos ortus & occasus Solis, statutis semper temporibus, meritò Deum & Dei solium suspicabantur*: seeing no part of heaven to be diminished or decreased, to suffer no irregular affection,

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ction, but the motion thereof to be as duly and orderly performed as could be desired, the waxing and waning of the Moone, the rising and setting of the Sunne to be setled and constant at fixed & certaine times, they deservedly admired it as *God*, or as the throne of *God*. The order and regularitie of which motion wee shall easily perceive, by taking a *particular* view of them. I will touch onely those of the *Planets*. The proper motion of *Saturne* was by the Ancients observed, and is now likewise found by our moderne *Astronomers*, to be accomplished within the space of thirty yeares, that of *Iupiter* in twelve, that of *Mars* in two, that of the *Sunne* in three hundred sixty five dayes; that of *Venus* and *Mercury* in very neare the same space of time, that of the *Moone* in twenty seaven dayes, and almost eight houres: Neither doe wee find that they have either *quickned* or any way *slackned* these their courses, but that in the same space of time they alwayes run the same races, which being ended, they begin them againe as freshly as the first instant they set forth; *Cum per certa annorum spacia orbes suos explicuerint, iterum ibunt per qua venerant*, saith *Seneca*, when in certaine termes of yeares they shall have accomplished their courses, they shall againe run the same races they have passed. These then bee the bounds and limits, to which these glorious bodies are perpetually tyed, in regard of their *motion*, these bee the unchangeable lawes like those of the *Medes* and *Persians*, whereof the *Psalmist* speaks, *He hath given them a law which shall not bee broken*: which *Seneca* in his booke of the *Divine Providence*, well expresses in other words, *Æterna legis imperio procedunt*, they moove by the appointment of an eternall law, that is, a law both *invariable* and *inviolable*. That which *Tully* hath delivered of one of them is undoubtedly true of all: *Saturni stella in suo cursu multa mirabiliter efficiens, tum antecedendo, tum retardando, tum vespertinis temporibus delitescendo, tum matutinis rursum se aperiendo, nihil tamen immutat sempiternis seculorum ætatibus, quin eadem ijsdem temporibus efficiat*: The *Planet Saturne* doth make many strange & wonderfull passages in his motion, sometimes going before, and sometimes comming after, sometimes withdrawing himselfe in the evening, and sometimes againe shewing himselfe in the morning, and yet changeth nothing in the continuall duration of all ages, but still at the same season worketh the same effects. And in truth, were it not so, both in that *Planet*, and in all the other *Starres*, it is altogether impossible they should supply that use which *Almighty God* in their *Creation* ordained them unto, that is, *to serve for signes and seasons, for dayes and for yeares*, to the *worlds end*. And much more impossible it were that the *yeare*, the *moneth*, the *day*, the *houre*, the *minute* of the *Oppositions, Conjunctions* and *Eclypses* of the *Planets*, should be as exactly calculated & foretold one hundred yeares before they fall out, as at what houre the *Sunne* will rise to morrow morning. Which perpetuall equability and constant uniformity in the *Celestiall motions*, is both truely observed, and eloquently described by *Boetius*.

D. consol. ad Albinum, c.6.

Psal. 148. 6.

Lib. 2. de natura Deorum.

Gen. 1. 14.

Lib 4. de consol. Philosophia. Met. 6.

Si vis celsi jura Tonantis
Pura solers cernere mente,

Aspice

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Aſpice ſummi culmina Cœli,
Illic juſto fœdere rerum
Veterem ſervant ſydera pacem.
Non ſol rutilo concitus igne
Gelidum Phœbus impedit axem.
Nec quæ ſummo vertice mundi
Flectit rapidos urſa meatus,
Vnquam occiduo lota profundo,
Cætera cernens ſydera mergi
Cupit Oceano tingere flammas.
Semper vicibus temporis æquis
Veſper ſeras nunciat umbras
Revehitque diem Lucifer *almum.*
Sic alternos reficit curſus
Alternus amor, ſic aſtrigeris
Bellum diſcors exulat oris.

If thou with pure and prudent minde,
The lawes of God wouldſt ſee,
Looke up to Heaven and thou ſhalt finde
How all things there agree.
In peace the Starres their courſes runne,
Nor is the Moones cold ſphere
Impeached by the ſcorching Sunne,
Nor doth the Northerne beare,
Which ſwift about the Pole doth move
Though other Starres he ſee
Drencht in the Weſterne Ocean, love
His flames there quenched bee.
Nights late approach by courſes due,
The evening-ſtarre doth ſhow:
And morning ſtarre with motion true,
Before the day doth goe.
Thus ſtill their turnes renued are
By interchanging love:
And warre and diſcord baniſht farre
From ſtarry skies above.

And no leſſe wittily by *Manilius*, *Lib. 1.*

Nec quisquam in tanta magis eſt mirabile mole
Quam ratio, & certis quod legibus omnia parent,
Nuſquam turba nocet, nihil uſus partibus errat.

There is not ought that's to be ſeene in ſuch a wondrous maſſe,
More wonderfull and ſtrange then this that Reaſon brings to paſſe:
That all obey their certaine lawes which they doe ſtill preferre,
No tumult hurteth them, nor ought in any part doth erre.

Whereunto the *Divine Plato* accords, *Nec errant nec præter antiquam ordinem revelvuntur*, neither do they run at randome, nor are they rolled beſide their ancient order. And *Ariſtotle* breaketh out into this paſſionate admiration thereof, *Quid unquam poterit æquari cœleſti ordini, & voluptabilitati,* *In Epitimæ.* *Ariſt. de Mundo.*

lubilitati, cùm ſydera convertantur exactiſſima norma de alio in alind ſeculum: What can ever be compared to the order of the Heavens, and to the motion of the Starres in their ſeverall revolutions, which move moſt exactly as it were by a rule and ſquare, by line and levell from one generation to another.

There were among the *Ancients* not a few, nor they unlearned, who by a *ſtrong fancie* conceived in themſelves an *excellent melody* made up by the motion of the *Celeſtiall Spheres*. It was broached by [a] *Pythagoras*, entertained by [b] *Plato*, ſtiffely maintained by [c] *Macrobius* and ſome *Chriſtians*, as [d] *Beda*, [e] *Boetius*, and [f] *Anſelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: but *Ariſtotle* puts it off with a jeſt, as being *Lepidè & muſicè dictum, ſed tamen autem impoſſibile*, a pleaſant and muſicall conceit, but in effect impoſſible, inaſmuch as thoſe bodies in their motions make no kinde of noiſe at all: Howſoever it may well be that this conceit of theirs was grounded upon a *certaine truth*, which is the *Harmonicall* and proportionable *motion* of thoſe Bodies in their juſt order, and ſet courſes, as if they were ever dauncing the rounds or the meaſures. In which regard the *Pſalmiſt* tels us that *the Sun knoweth his going downe, he appointed the Moone for ſeaſons, and the Sunne knoweth his going downe.* Which words of his may not be taken in a *proper*, but in a *figurative* ſenſe; The *Prophet* thereby implying, that the *Sunne* obſerveth his *preſcribed motion* ſo *preciſely* to a point, that in the leaſt jot he never erreth from it: And therefore is he ſaid to doe the ſame upon *knowledge* and *underſtanding*, *Non quòd animatus ſit aut ratione utatur*, ſaith *Baſill* upon the place, *ſed quod juxta terminum divinitus præſcriptum ingrediens, ſemper eundem curſum ſervat, ac menſuras ſuas cuſtodit*: Not that the *Sun* hath any ſoule, or uſe of underſtanding, but becauſe it keepeth his courſes and meaſures *exactly* according to *Gods* preſcription.

a *Ariſt. lib. 2. de cœlo. cap. 9.*
b *Lib. 10. de Rep.*
c *In lib. 2. de Somnio Scipionis cap. 3.*
d *Lib. de muſica.*
e *Lib. de muſica. cap. 2.*
f *Lib. de imag. Mundi. cap. 24.*
Pſal. 104. 19.

SECT. 3.

The ſame truth farther proved from the teſtimony of Lactantius *and* Plutarch.

Lib. 2. Inſtit. c. 5.

LActantius from hence gathereth two notable *Concluſions*, the *one* that the Starres are not *Gods* as the *Gentiles* commonly imagined, the *other*, that they are governed by *God*, which the *Epicurians* denyed: for the former of thoſe, ſaith he, *argumentum illud quo colligunt univerſa cœleſtia Deos eſſe, in contrarium valet. Nam ſi Deos eſſe idcirco opinantur, quia certos & rationabiles curſus habent, errant: Ex hoc enim apparet Deos non eſſe quod exorbitare illis à præſtitutis itineribus non licet; cæterùm ſi Dij eſſent huc atque illuc paſſim ſine ulla neceſſitate ferrentur, ſicut animantes in terra, quorum quia liberæ ſunt voluntates, huc atque illuc vagantur ut libet, & quocunque mens duxerit eo feruntur.* That argument from whence the *Heathen* doe collect that the Starres muſt needs be *Gods*, doth moſt plainely prove the contrary. For if they take them to be *Gods*, becauſe of the certainty of their courſes, they bee therein much deceived: for this plainly proveth, that indeed they be no *Gods*, becauſe they be not able

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able to depart from their set courses. Whereas if they were *Gods*, they would move both this way and that way in the Heavens, as freely as living Creatures doe upon the earth, who because they have the liberty and freedome of their will, they wander up and downe whither they themselves please. And for the latter, *tanta rerum magnitudo*, saith he, *tanta dispositio, tanta in servandis ordinibus, temporibusque constantia, non potuit aut olim sine provido Artifice oriri; aut constare tot seculis sine incola potente, aut perpetuum gubernari sine perito & sciente rectore, quod ratio ipsa declarat.* Such a greatnesse in their creation, such a comelinesse in their order, such a constancie in observing both their courses and their seasons, could never either at first have beene framed without a cunning hand, or so long have beene preserved without a powerfull inhabitant, or so wisely have beene governed without a skilfull Regent, as even reason it selfe maketh it plaine and evident. And *Plutarch* affirmeth generally of all men, that the very *first motive* that lead them unto *God*, was that *orderly motion* whereby the Starres are carried. *Homines caperunt Deum agnoscere cùm viderent Stellas tantam concinnitatem efficere, ac dies, noctesque æstate ac hyeme, suos servare statos ortus atque obitus.* Men began first to acknowledge a *God* when they considered the starres to maintain such a comelinesse, and both day and night, in Summer and Winter to observe their designed risings and settings.

Lib. 1. de Placitis Philosophorum. c. 6.

SECT. 4.

An objection of Du Moulins *touching the motion of the Polar Starre answered.*

ANnd thus I hope the *Heavens* are sufficiently discharged from any imputation of *Decay* in regard of their *motion*, the constant *regularity* whereof, we finde to have beene observed and admired by the most learned of all ages: It remaines now that I should proceede to the examination of the other *qualities* thereof, which before I attempt, it shall not bee amisse to remove a *rub* cast in our way by *Du Moulin*, a famous *French Divine*, in his Booke intituled, *The accomplishment of Divine Propheſies*, touching the *motion* of the *Polar starre*, his words are these or to this purpose, *Astrologie also doth lend us some light in this matter; For in the yeare of the World three thousand six hundred sixty five*, Ptolomæus Philadelphus *raigning in Egypt, some fourt hundred sixty nine yeares after the building of* Rome, *there lived one* Hipparchus *a famous Astrologer, who reports that in his time the Starre commonly called the Polar starre, which is in the tayle of the lesser Beare, was* 12 *degrees and two fifths distant from the Pole of the Æquator. This starre from age to age hath insensibly still crept nearer to the Pole, so that at this present it is not past three degrees distant from the Pole of the Æquator. When this starre then shall come to touch the Pole, there being no farther space left for it to goe forward (which may well enough come to passe within five or six hundred yeares) it is likely that then there shall bee a great change of things, and that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature.* A *bold conjecture* of a man so well verſed in

In cap. 5. Apocal. part. 3.

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holy *Scriptures*, and in other matters ſo *modeſt*, as if *God* had written in the *Heavens* the *period of times*, or had ſo written it as any mortall eye could diſcerne it, his beloved *Son* profeſſing, *that it is not for us to know* Acts 1. 7. *the times and ſeaſons, which the Father hath put in his owne power*. And as the Conjecture is bold, ſo is it built upon as *ſandie a foundation*, which is that the *Pole-ſtar* ſhall draw ſo neare the *Pole* as to touch it, or ſhall ever be brought to thoſe ſtraits, as it ſhall finde no paſſage to goe forward, whereas it is certaine, it ſhall ever remaine in ſome certaine diſtance from the *Pole*, twenty ſix or twenty ſeven minutes at the leaſt. True indeed it is, that about five hundred yeares hence, if the World laſt ſo long, it ſhall then approach the neareſt, but then ſhall it with-draw it ſelfe againe by degrees to as remote a diſtance as it ever was before, as it heretofore hath beene the moſt *Southerly* ſtar in that *Aſteriſme*, and is now become the moſt *Northerly*: ſo in proceſſe of time it may become the moſt *Southerly* againe, But from hence to inferre that the *Poles* of the *Æquator* are moveable, is *inconſequent*, and *incompatible* with the moſt received and beſt approved grounds of *Aſtronomy*. Beſides other *fixed ſtarres* have their times of *acceſſe* and *receſſe*, to and from the *Pole*, aſwell as this: ſo that the motion of this can no more point out the *period* of *Nature*, then of thoſe: All which *Du Moulin* himſelfe either by his owne obſervation or advertiſement from others well perceiving, in a *latter Edition* of that booke printed at *Sedane*, in the yeare one thouſand ſix hundred twenty one, hath well mended the matter, by changing ſome words. For inſteed of this in the *firſt Edition*. *From hence it appeareth that the Poles of the Æquator are moveable*, in the *ſecond*, he hath thus changed it. *It being certaine and obſerved by long experience, that the fixed ſtars move from the Weſt to the Eaſt, in a motion parallel to the Ecliptique*. In his *firſt Edition* he ſayes: *When this ſigne ſhall come to touch the Pole, there being no further ſpace left for it to goe forward*, but in his *ſecond* he changeth it thus, *when this ſtarre ſhall approach the Pole as neere as it can*: Againe in his *firſt* thus, *which may well come to paſſe within theſe five or ſix hundred yeares*, in his *ſecond* thus, *which may well come to paſſe within five hundred yeares*: Laſtly in his *firſt* thus, *it ſeemes that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature*; in his *ſecond* thus, *it ſeemes that ſome notable period ſhall then expire*. And ſurely I cannot but as much commend his *modeſty* in this *ſecond* change, as I found it wanting in his *firſt conjecture*, and I am of opinion that S. *Auguſtine* never purchaſed more true honour by any booke that ever hee writ, then that of his *Retractations*, the ſhame is not ſo much to erre, as to perſevere in it being diſcovered. Specially if it bee an errour taken up and entertained, by following thoſe, whom for their great gifts wee highly eſteeme and admire, as it ſeemes *Du Moulin* tooke his errour at leaſtwiſe touching the moveableneſſe of the *Poles* of the *Æquator*, from *Ioſeph Scaliger*: But the motion of the Heavens puts mee in minde of paſſing from it to the light thereof.

CHAP. 3.

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CHAP. 3.

Touching the pretended decay in the light of the heavenly bodies.

SECT. 1.

The first reason that it decayes not, taken from the nature of that light, and those things whereunto it is resembled.

AS the *waters* were first spread over the face of the earth: so was the *light* dispersed thorow the firmament: & as the *waters* were gathered into one heape, so was the *light* knit up, and united into one body: As the gathering of the *waters* was called the *Sea*, so, that of the *light* was called the *Sunne*. As the *rivers* come from the *Sea*, so is all the *light* of the *starres* derived from the *Sunne*: And lastly, as the *Sea* is no whit lessened though it furnish the Earth with abundance of fresh *rivers*: So though the *Sunne* have since the *Creation*, both furnished, and garnished the world with *light*, neither is the *store* of it thereby *diminished*, nor the *beauty* of it any way *stained*. What the *light* is, whether a *substance* or an *Accident*, whether of a *Corporall* or *incorporall* nature, it is not easie to determine. *Philosophers* dispute it, but cannot well resolve it. Such is our *ignorance*, that even that by which wee see all things, we cannot discerne what it selfe is. But whatsoever it bee, wee are sure that of all *visible Creatures*, it was the first that was made, and comes neerest the nature of a *Spirit*, in as much as it moves in an *instant* from the *East* to the *West*, and pearcing through all transparent bodies, still remaines in it selfe, *unmixed* and *undivided*; it chaseth away sad and melancholly thoughts, which the darkenesse both begets and maintaines; it lifts up our mindes in meditation to him who is the *true light, that lightneth every man that commeth into the world*, himselfe dwelling in *light unaccessible*, and *cloathing himselfe with light as with a garment*. And if wee may behold in any *Creature* any one *sparke* of that *eternall fire*, or any farre off-dawning of *Gods* glorious brightnesse, the same in the *beauty, motion*, and *vertue* of this light may best be discerned. *Quid pulchrius luce*, saith *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *quæ cum in se colorem non habeat, omnium tamen rerum colores ipsa quodammodo colorat*. What is more beautifull then the light, which having no colour in it selfe, yet sets a luster upon all colours. And S. *Ambrose*, *unde vox Dei in Scriptura debuit inchoare nisi à lumine? unde mundi ornatus nisi à luce exordium sumere? frustrà enim esset si non videretur*. From whence should the voyce of *God* in *holy Scripture* begin, but from the *light*? From whence should the ornament of the world begin, but likewise from the same *light*? For in vaine it were, were it not seene.

O Father of the light, of wisedome fountaine,
Out of the bulke of that confused mountaine
What should, what could issue before the light,
Without which, Beauty were no Beauty hight.

Bartas.

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SECT. 2.

The second, for that it hath nothing contrary unto it, and here Pareus *and* Mollerus *are censured for holding that the light of Heaven is impaired.*

1. Cor. 4. 6. S. *Augustine* in diverse places of his workes is of opinion, that by the first created *light* vvere understood the *Angells*, and herein is hee followed by *Beda*, *Eucherius*, *Rupertus* and diverse others. Which opinion of his, though it be questionlesse *unsound*, in as much as wee are taught that that *light*, *sprang out of darkenesse*, which of the *Angells* can in no sort bee verified, yet as it shewes the *lightsome nature* of *Angells*, so likewise the *Angelicall nature of light*, still flourishing in youth, or no more subject to decay or old age, then the *Angells* are. *Cogita mihi Cæli pulchritudinem* (saith *Chrysostome*) *quantum temporis agit, nec offuscata est, sed velut hodie fabricatum ita est nitens & splendidum.* Behold the beauty of the heavens how long it hath lasted, nor is yet any way blemished, but is still as fresh and bright as if it had beene made but this very day. Since then in the properties thereof, it comes so neare the nature of *Spirits*, of *Angells*, of *God*, mee thinkes they who dare accuse the *heavens*, as being guilty of *decay* and corruption in other respects, should yet have spared the light thereof. The more I wonder that men reverenced for their *learning*, & reputed *lights* of the *Church*, should by their writings goe about to quench or blemish this *light*. *Videntur haud parum elanguisse minusque nitidi esse quam fuerant initio*, saith one speaking of the heavenly bodies. They seeme to have suffered not a little defect, and to have lost of that brightnesse, in which they were at first created. And another: *Non est nunc illa claritas luminis, nec sunt illa stellarum vires quæ fuerunt.* There is not now that brightnesse of the light, nor those vertues of the starres that have beene. Venturous assertions, and such I beleeve, as would have puzled the Authours of them to have made them good, specially considering that as there is nothing *contrary* to the *Quintessentiall matter*, and *circular figure* of the *Heavens*: So neither is there to the *light* thereof. *Fire* may be quenched with *water*, but there is nothing able to quench the *light* of Heaven, save the power of him that made it. Againe, *fire* may be extinguished by with-drawing or with-holding the fewell upon which it feedes: But the light of heaven having no matter by which it is nourished: there is no feare of the failing thereof thorow any such defect, & for the *matter* of the *Celestiall spheres* and *starres*, in which it is planted, it hath already sufficiently appeared, that it neither is, nor in the *course of Nature*, can be subject to any *impairing alteration*: And so much *Pareus* himselfe hath upon the matter confessed in two severall places in his *Commentaries* upon the first of *Genesis*, whereof the *first* in this, speaking of the firmament and the *Epithites* of iron and brasse, given it in holy *Scriptures*, and by *prophane Authours*, *Hac Epitheta*, saith hee, *Metaphoricè notant Cæli firmitatem, quia tot millibus annorum immutabili*

Hom. 10. ad popul. Antioch.

Pareus in Epistolam ad Hebræos, cap. 1. v. 11.

Moller. in Psal. 102. v. 27.

v. 6.

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lege circumvolvitur, nec tamen atteritur motu aut absumitur, quia à Deo sic est firmatum initio. These *Epethites* metaphorically signifie the firmenesse and stableneſſe of heaven, because by an unchangeable law it hath now wheeled about so many thousand yeares, and yet is not wasted or worne by the motion thereof, because it is established by God. And againe within a while after, hee useth almost the same words, *firmamentum non dicitur de duritie aut soliditate, impermeabili, sed de firmitate quâ perpetuo motu circumactum cœlum non atteritur nec absumitur, sed manet quale à Deo initio fuit firmatum.* Nay a little before that last passage, dividing the whole *firmament* or *Expansum*, containing all the Celestiall Spheres and regions of the aire, into two parts; The higher, saith hee, (thereby intending the heavenly bodies) is *purissima, & incorruptibilis, & inalterabilis*; most pure, incorruptible, and inalterable. Now if it shall be demanded, how the Heavens may be said to *languish*, and to have lost of their *native brightnesse*, and yet still to remaine *incorruptible* and *inalterable*: for mine owne part I must professe, I cannot understand it, nor know which way to reconcile it. A number of the like passages may bee observed in the writings of our later Divines: but I spare their names for the reverence I beare their gifts, and places, and persons, and so proceed.

SECT. 3.

Hereunto some other reasons are added, and the testimony of Eugubinus *vouched.*

I Remember Master *Camden* reports, that at the demolition of our *Monasteries*, there was found in the supposed monument of *Constantius Chlorus*, father to the *Great Constantine*, a burning Lampe, which was thought to have burnt there ever since his buriall, about three hundred yeares after *Christ*, and withall hee addes out of *Lazius*, that the ancient *Romans* used in that manner to preserve lights in their *Sepulchers* a long time by the oylinesse of *Gold*, resolved by Art into a liquid substance. Which if it bee so, how much more easie is it for the *Father of lights* to preserve those naturall *lights* of *Heaven*, which himselfe hath made without any diminution. In *artificiall lights* wee see, that if a thousand Candles bee all lighted from one, yet the light of the first is not thereby any whit abated, and why should wee then conceive that the Sun by imparting his *light* so many thousand yeares, should loose any part thereof? They who maintaine that the *soule* of man is derived *ex traduce*, hold withall that the *Father* in begetting the *Sonnes soule* looses none of his owne, it being *tanquam lumen de lumine*, as one light from another, nay more then so, it is the very resemblance that the *Nicene Fathers* thought not unmeete to expresse the *unexpressable* generation of the second person in *Trinity* from the first, who is therefore termed by the *Apostle, the brightnesse of his glory*. As then the *Father* by communicating his *substance* to his *sonne*, looses none of his owne, so the *Sunne* by communicating his *light* to the *world*, looses no part nor degree thereof. Some things there are of that nature, as they

In Yorke-shire.

Heb. 1. 3.

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may bee both given and kept, as *knowledge*, and *vertue*, and *happineſſe*, and *light*, which in holy *Scripture* is figuratively taken from them all. whether the ſame *individuall light* bee ſtill reſident in the body of the *Sunne*, which was planted in it at the firſt *Creation*, or whether it continually empty and ſpend it ſelfe, and ſo like a river be continually repaired with freſh ſupplyes; for mine owne part I cannot certainely affirme, though I muſt confeſſe, I rather incline to the former: But this I verily beleeve, that as the body of the *Sunne* is no whit leſſened in *extention*: So neither is the light thereof in *intention*, Men being now no more able to fixe their eyes upon it, when it ſhines forth in its full ſtrength, then they were at the firſt *Creation* thereof. I will conclude this Chapter with that of *Eugubinus* in his tenth book *De Perenni Philoſophia*. *Si futuri interitus, ac ſeneſcentiæ aliqua jam indicia præceſſiſſent, non conſtaret idem Sol, non eadem fulgoris eſſet plenitudo, idem radiorum vigor, hæc igitur Senectus nuſquam eſt*: Had there beene in the heavens any ſuch decay or waxing old, as is ſuppoſed, we ſhould have ſeene ſome forerunning tokens thereof. The Sunne would not have beene like himſelfe, he would not have retained the ſame fulneſſe of brightneſſe, nor the ſame vigour in his beames: This old age then is no where to bee found. Where hee takes it as granted, that none would bee ſo *unreaſonable*, as to affirme that the ſtrengh and clearenеſſe of the *light of heaven* is any way abated. Now what hath beene ſpoken of the *light*, may no leſſe truely bee verified of the *warmth* and *influence* thereof, which ſpring there-from, and now ſucceed in their order to be examined.

CHAP. 4.

Touching the pretended decay in the warmth of the heavenly bodies.

SECT. 1.

That the Starrs are not of a fiery nature, or hot in themſelves.

THe *light* of *Heaven*, whereof wee have ſpoken, is not more *comfortable* and *uſefull*, then is the *warmth* thereof; with a maſculine vertue it quickens all kinde of ſeedes, it makes them vegetate, & bloſſome, and fructifie, and brings their fruit to perfection for the uſe of man and beaſt, and the perpetuating of their owne kindes, nay it wonderfully refreſheth and cheares up the ſpirits of men and beaſts, & birds, and creeping things, and not only imparts the life of vegetation, but of ſenſe and motion, to many thouſand creatures, and like a tender parent foſters and cheriſheth it being imparted. Some there are that live without the *light* of heaven, ſearching into, & working upon, thoſe bodies which the light cannot pierce, but none without the *warmth*, it being in a manner the *univerſall inſtrument* of *Nature*, which made the *Pſalmiſt* ſay, that *there is nothing hid from the heate of the Sun*. Few things are hid from the *light*, but from the heate thereof nothing. Our *life* without the *light of heaven* would bee tedious and *uncomfortable*: but without the *warmth impoſſible*. Since then ſuch is the continuall and

Pſal. 19. 7.

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neceſſary uſe of the *Celeſtiall warmth*, aſwell in regard of the generation, as the preſervation of theſe inferiour bodies, accommodating it ſelfe to their ſeverall tempers and uſes, in ſeverall manners and degrees, it may eaſily be conceived to be a matter of marvailous greatimportance in deciding the maine queſtion touching *Natures decay*, to inquire thorowly into the ſtate and condition of it (upon which ſo many and great workes of *Nature* wholly depend) whether it be decayed or no, or whether it ſtill abide in the fullneſſe of that ſtrength and activity in which it was created. For the better clearing of which doubt, it will bee very requiſite firſt to inquire into the efficient cauſe thereof, which being once diſcovered, it will ſoone appeare whether in the *courſe of nature* it be capable of any ſuch *diminution* or no.

I am not ignorant that S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Baſil*, S. *Ambroſe*, and generally as many *Divines*, as held that there were *waters*, properly ſo teatmed, above the *ſtarry firmament*, held withall that the *Sunne* and *Starres* cauſed *heate* as being of a *fiery Nature*, thoſe *waters* being ſet there, in their opinion, for cooling of that *heate*: which opinion of theirs ſeemes to be favoured by *Syracides* in the forty third of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where hee thus ſpeakes of the *Sun*. *At noone it parcheth the countrey, and who can abide the burning heate thereof. A man blowing a furnace is in workes of heate: but the Sun burneth the mountaines three times more, breathing out fiery vapours.* Neither were there wanting ſome among the ancient *Philoſophers* who maintained the ſame opinion, as *Plato* and *Pliny*, and generally the whole ſect of *Stoickes*, who held that the *Sunne* and *Starres* were fed with *watery vapours*, which they drew up for their nouriſhment, and that when theſe *vapours* ſhould ceaſe and faile the whole world ſhould be in danger of *Combuſtion*: and many things are alleaged by *Balbus* in *Ciceroes* ſecond booke of the *nature of the Gods*, in favour of this opinion of the *Stoicks*. But that the *Sunne* and *Starres* are not in *truth* and in their *owne nature fiery* and *hot*, appeares by the *ground* already layd touching the *matter* of the heavens, that it is of a nature *incorruptible*, which cannot be, if it were *fiery*, inaſmuch as thereby it ſhould become lyable to *alteration* and *corruption* by an oppoſite and profeſſed enimy. Beſides all *fiery* bodies by a naturall inclination mount upwards, ſo that if the ſtarres were the cauſe of heate, as being *hot* in themſelves, it would conſequently follow that their circular motion ſhould not bee *Naturall* but *violent*. Whereunto I may adde, that the noted ſtarres being ſo many in number, namely, one thouſand twenty and two, beſides the *Planets*, and in *magnitude* ſo great that every one of thoſe, which appeare fixed in the *firmament*, are ſaid to bee much bigger, then the whole *Globe* of the water and earth, and the *Sunne* againe ſo much to exceede both that globe, and the biggeſt of them, as it may juſtly bee ſtiled by the ſonne of *Syrach*, *inſtrumentum admirabile* a wonderfull inſtrument; which being ſo, were they of *fire*, they would doubtleſſe long ere this have turned the world into aſhes, there being ſo infinite a *diſproportion* betweene their *flame* and the little quantity of matter ſuppoſed to bee prepared for their *Fewell*. That therefore they ſhould bee fed with *vapours*, *Ariſtotle* deſervedly laughs as it, as a childiſh and ridiculous

De Civit. Dei. l. 11. c. ult. *Hom. 3. in Geneſ.* *Hexam. 2. 2. v. 3. 4.* *In Tim.* *Nat Hiſt. 2. 9.* The leaſt 18. times. 167. times. Eccleſiaſticus 43. 2.

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culous device, in as much as the vapours ascend no higher then the middle region of the ayre, and from thence distill againe upon the water and earth from whence they were drawne up, and those vapours being *uncertaine*, the flames likewise feeding upon them, must needes be *uncertaine*, and daily vary from themselves both in *quantity* and *figure*, according to the proportion of their fewell.

SECT. 2.

That the heate they breed springs from their light, and consequently their light being not decayed, neither is the warmth arising there-from.

THe absurdity then of this opinion being so foule and grosse, it remaines that the *Sun* & *Starres* infuse a *warmth* into these *Subcœlestiall* Bodies, not as being *hot* in themselves, but only as being ordained by *God* to *breed heate* in matter capable thereof, as they impart life to some creatures, and yet themselves remaine voide of *life*, like the *braine* which imparts *Sense* to every member of the body, and yet is it selfe utterly voide of all *Sense*. But heere againe some there are which attribute this effect to the *motion*, others to the *light* of these glorious Bodies. And true indeed it is, that *motion* causes heat, by the attenuation and rarefaction of the ayre: But by this reason should the *Moone* which is neerer the Earth, warme more then the *Sunne*, which is many thousand miles farther distant, & the *higher* Regions of the Aire should be alway hotter then the *lower*, which notwithstanding if we compare the *second* with the *lowest*, is undoubtedly false. Moreover the *Motion* of the *celestiall* Bodies being *uniforme*, so should the heat derived from them in reason likewise bee, and the *motion* ceasing, the heat should likewise cease; and yet shall I never beleeve, that when the *Sun* stood still at the prayer of *Iosua*, it then ceased to warme these inferiour Bodies. And we finde by experience, that the *Sun* workes more powerfully upon a Body which stands still, then when it moves, and the reason seemes to bee the same in the rest or motion of a Body warming or warmed, that receiveth or imparteth heat.

The *motion* being thus excluded from being the cause of this effect, the *light* must of necessity step in, and challenge it to it selfe; the *light* then it is, which is undoubtedly the cause of cœlestiall heat, in part by a *direct* beame, but more vehemently by a *reflexed*: for which very reason it is, that the *middle* Region of the Aire is alwayes colder then the *lowest*, and the *lowest* hotter in Summer then in Winter, and at noone then in the morning and evening, the beames being then more *perpendicular*; and consequently in their *reflexion* more narrowly united; by which *reflexion* and union, they grow sometimes to that fervencie of heate, that fire springs out from them, as wee see in burning glasses, and by this artificiall device it was that *Archimedes*, as *Galen* reports it, in his third booke *de Temperamentis*, set on fire the Enemies Gallyes, and *Proclus* a famous *Mathematician*, practised the like at *Constãtinople*, as witnesseth

Cap. 2.

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neſſeth *Zonaras* in the life of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour. And very reaſonable mee thinkes it is, that *light* the moſt *Divine* affection of the *Celeſtiall* Bodies, ſhould be the cauſe of *warmth*, the moſt *noble*, *active*, and *excellent* quality of the *ſubceleſtiall*. Theſe two like *Hyppocrates Twinnes*, *ſimul oriuntur & moriuntur*, they are borne and dye together, they increaſe and decreaſe both together, the greater the *light* is, the greater the *heate*, and therefore the *Sun* as much exceedes the other ſtarres in *heate*, as it doth in *light*. To drive the argument home then to our preſent purpoſe, ſince the *light* of the *Sun* is no way *diminiſhed*, and the *heate* depends upon the *light*, the conſequence to me ſeemes marvaillous faire and ſtrong, which is that neither the *heate* ariſing from the *light*, ſhould have ſuffered any *decay* or *diminution* at all.

Eugubinus indeed ſeemeth to be of opinion, that the waters after the floud were ſo ſoone dryed up not by Gods ſupernaturall power but by a naturall force of the *Sunne* at that time, which according to his opinion was at the firſt Creation much more vigorous then now it is; but, Pererius juſtly takes him ſhort. *Riſum profecto moveret philoſophis quibus in Confeſſo eſt vim & facultatem ſolis (quod ipſe Sit incorruptibilis & impaſſibilis,) nulla ex parte remitti ac minui, vel intendi & augeri poſſe.* Truly it would but move laughter in the philoſophers who with one Conſent acknowledge that the power of the Sunne (it ſelfe being incorruptible and impaſſible) can neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed. *Lib. 1. in gen. Cap. 1.*

SECT. 3.

Two objections anſwered, the one drawne from the preſent habitableneſſe of the Torrid Zone, the other from a ſuppoſed approach of the Sunne neerer the earth then in former ages.

NOtwithſtanding the evidence of which trueth, ſome have not doubted to attribute the preſent habitableneſſe of the *Torrid Zone*, to the weakeneſſe and old age of the *Heavens*, in regard of former ages. But they might have remembred that the *Cold Zones* ſhould thereby have become more inhabitable by cold, as alſo that holding as they do, an *univerſall decay* in all the parts of nature, and *men* according to their opinion, *decaying* in ſtrength as well as the *Heavens*, they ſhould now in reaſon be as ill able to indure the preſent heate, as the men in former ages were, to indure that of the ſame times wherein they lived, the proportion beeing alike betweene the *weakeneſſe*, as betweene the *ſtrength* of the one and the other. But this I onely touch in paſſing, having a fitter occaſion to conſider more fully of it hereafter, when wee come to compare the *wits* and *inventions* of the *Ancients* with thoſe of the preſent times.

That which touches neerer to the quicke, and ſtrikes indeede at the very throate of the cauſe, is an opinion of very *many*, and thoſe very *learned* men, that the *Body* of the *Sunne* is drawne nearer the Earth by many degrees then it was in former ages, & that it daily makes deſcents & approaches towards it, which ſome aſcribe to a deficiency of ſtrength in the *Method. Hiſt. Cap. 8.*

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the *Earth*, others in the *Sun*, moſt in *both*. *Bodin* out of *Copernicus*, *Reinoldus* and *Stadius*, great *Mathematicians* tells us, that ſince *Ptolomies* time, who lived about an hundred and forty yeares after *Chriſt*, the *Sunne* by cleare demonſtrations is found to have come neerer us by *one hundred & thirty ſemidiameters of the earth*, which make *twenty ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty German miles*, which are double to the *French*, as the *French* are to the *Italian* and ours. This wonderfull change, *Philip Melanthon*, ſaith he, *ad cæleſtium, terreſtriumque corporum tabeſcentem naturam referendum putavit*, thought fit to impute to the declining eſtate of the *celeſtiall* and *terreſtriall* Bodies. But if the *terreſtriall* depend upon the *celeſtiall*, (as hath already beene prooved; & is the common opinion of all, both *Divines* and *Philoſophers*) then what is wanting in the wonted *vigour* of the *cæleſtiall*, being ſupplyed by the *approach* therof, the *terreſtriall* ſhould ſtill without any decay remaine unimpaired in their condition. The force of which reaſon ſerves alſo ſtrongly againſt them who maintaine an habitableneſſe under the *Torride Zone*, through the weakeneſſe of the *Sun*, and yet withall hold a ſupply of that weakeneſſe by the neerer approach thereof.

But conſulting in this point with both the learned *Profeſſours* in the *Mathematickes* at *Oxford*, they both joyntly agree, that this aſſertion of the *Sunnes continuall declination*, or neerer approach to the Earth, is rather an *idle dreame*, then a *ſound poſition*, grounded rather upon the difference among *Aſtronomers*, ariſing from the difficulty of their *obſervations*, then upon any certaine and infallible *concluſions*. *Ptolomy* who lived about the yeare of *Chriſt* one hundred and forty, makes the diſtance of the *Sun* from the Earth to bee *one thouſand two hundred & ten ſemidiameters* of the Earth. *Albategnius* about the yeare eight hundred & eighty, makes it *one thouſand one hundred forty ſixe*. *Copernicus* about the yeare one thouſand five hundred and twenty, makes it *one thouſand one hundred ſeventy nine*. *Tychobrahe* about the yeare one thouſand ſixe hundred, makes it *one thouſand one hundred eighty two*. Now I would demand, whether the *Sun* were more remote in *Ptolomies* time, & neerer in the time of *Albagtenius*, & then againe more remote in the latter ages of *Copernicus* & *Tycho*: which if it were ſo, then one of theſe two muſt needes follow, that either their *obſervations* were not grounded upon ſo certaine principles as they pretend, or that the *declination* of the *Sunne* is uncertaine & variable, not conſtant & perpetuall, as is pretended. But what would *Bodin* ſay, if he lived to heare *Lanſbergius*, *Kepler*, and other famous *Aſtronomers* of the *preſent age*, teaching that the *Sun* is now remote above *two thouſand & eight hundred*, nay *three thouſand* ſemidiameters from the Earth, affirming that *Copernicus* & *Tycho* neglected to allow for *refractions*, which (as the *Opticks* will demonſtrate) doe much alter the caſe.

Exercit. 99. I will cloſe up this point with the cenſure of *Scaliger* upon the *Patrons* of this fancy, *Qua verò nonnulli prodere auſi ſunt, Solis corpus longè propius nos eſſe, quàm quantum ab Antiquis ſcriptum ſit, ita ut in ipſa defe-rentis corpulentia locum mutaſſe videatur, vel ipſa ſcripta ſpongijs, vel ipſi Authores ſcutica ſunt caſtigandi.* In as much as ſome have dared to broach, that the body of the *Sun* is nearer the Earth then by the Ancients it was obſerved

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observed to be, so that it might seeme to have changed place in the very bulke of the Spheare, either the Authors themselves of this opinion deserve to be chasthed with stripes, or surely their writings to be razed with sponges.

Since the writing hereof I fell upon *Bodins Theatrum Naturæ*, where in plaine terms he recants what formerly he had delivered in this point in his methode of Historie *Huic opinioni propter Melanchthonis & Copernici authoritatem aliquando acquievimus, sed rationibus in Contrarium adducti discessimus*, His reasons are for that *Naturæ leges in Cælestium orbium situ motu, Concentu, figura, semper sui similes videmus, ac solis Eclipses easdem quæ olim fuerunt ex antiquorum observatione*, we see the same lawes of nature in the Situation, the motion, the harmonie the figure of the Celestiall spheres, and the *Eclipses* of the *Sun* the very same which by the ancients were observed; wherevnto hee adds that in Case the *Sunne* approached neerer the earth then in former ages, all the other heavenly bodies must of necessitie doe the like, or *vacuum* be admitted in regard of those which are above the *Sunne*, and *penetratio Corporum* in regard of those which are below it. *Lib. 1.*

SECT. 4.

A third objection answered, taken from a supposed removall of the Sun more Southerly from us then in former ages.

AS some have inferred a diminution in the Heavenly warmth from a supposed neerer approach of the *Sunne* to the Earth, so have others (at leastwise in regard of the Earth) from the removall thereof more Southerly then in former ages. But craving in this point likewise the opinion of my worthy friend Master *Doctour Bainbridge*, Professour in *Astronomie* at *Oxford*, hee returned mee this answere.

'It is the generall opinion of *Moderne Astronomers*, that the *Sun* in our 'time goeth not so farre *Southernly* from us in Winter, as it did in the 'time of *Ptolomy* and *Hipparchus*, neither in Summer commeth so much 'Northernly towards us, as then.

'For *Ptolomy* (about *ann. Christi* 140) observed the greatest declinati- 'on of the Sunne from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either *Pole* 23. 51. 20. 'agreeable to the observations of *Hipparchus* 130 yeares before *Christ*, 'and of *Eratosthenes* before *Hipparchus*. Whereupon *Ptolomy* thought 'the Sunnes greatest declination immutable.

'But succeeding Ages have observed a difference; for about *Anno* 'Christi 830, many learned Arabians observed the greatest declination 'of the Sunne to be 23. 35. to whom agreeth *Albategnius*, a Syrian, a- 'bout *an. Christi* 880. Yet did not *Albategnius* from hence conclude any 'mutation in the greatest declination of the Sunne; for so small a dif- 'ference might well happen by errour of observations.

'Afterwards about *ann Christi* 1070. *Arzachel* a *Moore* of *Spaine*, ob- 'served the greatest declination of the Sunne, 23, 33. 30. who to salve

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'theſe different obſervations, invented a new *Hypotheſis*, which yet was 'not received by *Aſtronomers* of after-times, who for many ages fol- 'lowed the greateſt declination of *Arzachel*, without any alteration till 'the times of *Regiomontanus* and *Copernicus*: for *Copernicus* by his obſer- 'vations ſome yeares before, and after *ann. Chriſti* 1520. affirmed the 'greateſt declination of the Sunne, to bee no more then 23 28. 24. a- 'greeable to the obſervations of *Regiomontanus*, and *Purbachius* ſome 'yeares before him. *Copernicus* collating his obſervations with thoſe of 'former ages, renewed the *Hypotheſis* of *Arzachel*, that the Sunnes great- 'eſt declination was mutable: yet ſo, that it was never greater then 23. '52. nor leſſe the 23. 28. The difference being onely 24. And that in '1717 yeares it decreaſeth from the former to the latter, and in other '1717 yeares encreaſeth from this to that againe.

'According to which *Hypotheſis* of *Copernicus*, above 65 yeares be- 'fore Chriſt the greateſt declination of the Sunne was 23. 52. From 'which time accounting backward, it was leſſe and leſſe: ſo that a- 'bout 1712 yeares before *Chriſt*, the greateſt declination of the Sunne 'was but 23. 28. from which time accounting ſtill backwards, it was 'more and more, tili about 3499 yeares before *Chriſt*, it was againe 23. 52.

'So after *Chriſt*, about the yeare 1652, the greateſt declination of the 'Sunne by this *Hypotheſis* ſhall be but 23. 28. and from thence againe 'encreaſe till it become 23. 52. about the yeare 3369. after *Chriſt*. This 'opinion of *Copernicus* is received by moſt of this time, ſome following 'him κατὰ πόδας, others ſomewhat varying in the difference of the grea- 'teſt declination, making it when it is leaſt (as in our time) no leſſe then '23, 33. and in the *Periodicall* reſtitution thereof.

'But to ſpeake freely, I cannot ſo eaſily bee drawne into this opini- 'on, but rather thinke the greateſt declination of the Sun to be ἀμετάβλητον, 'immutable, and for ever the ſame; For the little difference of a few 'minutes betwixt us, and *Ptolomy* may very well ariſe (as I former- 'ly ſaid) from the errour of obſervations by the Ancients. The 'greateſt declination of the Sun from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either 'Pole, being alwayes the ſame; the Sunne cannot goe more *Southernely* 'from us, nor come *Northernly* towards us, in this, then in former 'ages.

'But ſuppoſing a mutability in the Sunnes greateſt declination, ac- 'cording to the former *Periods*; it followeth that as the Sunne about 65. 'yeares before the *Epoche* of *Chriſt* went from our verticall point more 'Southernly then now it doth; So, many Ages before *Chriſt*, it went no 'more *Southernly*, then now it doth; and that many ages after our time, 'it ſhall goe as farre *Southerly*, as at the *Epoche* of *Chriſt*.

'Secondly when the the greateſt declination was moſt. As then in 'Winter the Sunne went more *Southernly* from us then now, ſo in Sum- 'mer it came more *Northernly* and nearer us then now.

'Againe, when the greateſt declination is leaſt, (as in our Age) it go- 'eth not ſo farre *Southernly* from us in Winter, as formerly, neither in 'Summer comes ſo farre *Northernly*.

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From which answer it may (as I conceive) bee fitly and safely inferred, first that either there is no such removeall at all of the Sunne, (as is supposed) or if there be, as wee who are situate more Northernly, feele perchance the effects of the defects of the warmth thereof, in the unkindly ripening of our fruites, and the like: so, likewise by the rule of proportion, must it needes follow, that they who lie in the same distance from the *South-pole*, as wee from the *North*, should enjoy the benefit of the nearer approach thereof: and they who dweil in the hottest *Climates* interjacent of the abating of the immoderate fervency of their heat; and consequently, that to the Universall, nothing is lost by this exchange. And as in this case it may happily fall out, so undoubtedly doth it in many other, from whence the *worlds* supposed *decay* is concluded. Wee understand not, or at least-wise we consider not, how that which hurts us, helpes another nation, wee complaine (as was before truely observed out of *Arnobius*) as if the World were made, and the government thereof administred, for us alone; and hereby it comes to passe, that as hee who lookes onely upon some libbat or end of a peece of *Arras*, conceives perhaps an hand or head which hee sees to bee very unartificially made; but unfolding the whole, soone findes, that it carries a due and just proportion to the body: So, *qui ad pauca respicit de facili pronuntiat*, (saith *Aristotle*) hee that is so narrow-eyed, as he lookes onely to his owne person or family, to his owne corporation or nation, will peradventure quickly conceive, and as soone pronounce, that all things *decay* and goe backward, whereas hee that as a Citizen of the world, and a part of mankinde in generall, takes a view of the Universall, and compares person with person, family with family, nation with nation, suspends his judgement, or upon examination clearely findes, that though some members suffer, yet the whole is thereby no way indammaged at any time, and at other times those same members are againe releived. And from hence my second inference is; that supposing a mutability in the Suns greatest declination; looke what dammage wee suffer by his farther removall from us in Summer, is at least-wise in part recompensed by his nearer approach in Winter, and by the *Periodicall Revolutions* fully restored. And so I passe from the consideration of the *warmth*, to those hidden and secret qualities of the heavens, which to *Astronomers*, and *Philosophers* are knowne by the name of *Influences*.

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CHAP. 5.

Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly bodies, in regard of their Influences.

SECT. 1.

Of the first kinde of influence, from the highest immoveable Heaven, called by Divines, Cœlum Empyræum.

HOwbeit *Aristotle* thorow those workes of his, which are come to our hands, to my remembrance, hath not once vouchsafed so much as to take notice of such qualities, which we call *Influences*; and though among the Ancients, *Averroes* and *Avicenne*, and among those of fresher date, *Picus Mirandula*, and *Georgius Agricola*, seeke to disprove them: Yet both *Scripture*, and *Reason*, and the weighty *authority* of many great Schollers, aswell *Christians* as *Ethnickes*, have fully resolved mee that such there are. They are by *Philosophers* distinguished into two rankes; the first is that influence which is derived from the *Empyreall* immoveable heaven, the palace and *Mansion* house of glorified *Saints* and *Angels*, which is gathered from the diversity of *Effects*, aswell in regard of *Plants*, as *Beasts*, and other commodities under the same *Climate*, within the same *Tract* and latitude, equally distant from both the *Poles*, which we cannot well referre originally to the *inbred* nature of the soyle, since the *Authour of Nature* hath so ordained, that the temper of the *inferiour* bodies should ordinarily depend upon the *superiour*; nor yet to the *Aspect* of the *moveable spheres* and *stars*, since every part of the same *Climate*, *successively*, but *equally* injoyes the same *aspect*: It remaines then that these effects bee finally reduced to some *superiour immoveable cause*, which can be none other then that *Empyreall* Heaven; neither can it produce these effects by meanes of the *light* alone, which is uniformely dispersed thorow the whole; But by some secret quality, which is diversified according to the diverse parts thereof; and without this, wee should not onely finde wanting that *connection*, and unity of order, in the parts of the world, which make it so comely; but withall, should be forced to make one of the worthiest pieces thereof voyde of *action*, the chiefe end of every created being. Neither can this *action* mis-beseeme the worthinesse of so glorious a peece, since both the *Creator* thereof, is still busied in the workes of *Providence*, and the *Inhabitants* in the workes of *ministration*.

Lib. 3. contra Astrolog. cap. 5. Lib. 4. & 5. De Causis subter.

Joh. 5. 17. Heb. 1. 14.

SECT. 2.

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SECT. 2.

Of the second kinde, derived from the Planets and fixed Starres.

THe other kinde is that which is derived from the *starres*, the aspect of severall *constellations*, the opposition and conjunction of the *Planets*, and the like. These we have warranted by the mouth of God himselfe, in the thirty eight of *Iob*, according to our last, and most exact Translation; *Canst thou binde the sweete influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzoreth in his season? Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sonnes? Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven? Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?* where by the *ordinances of Heaven*, it may well bee thought is meant the course and order of these *hidden qualities*, which without divine and *supernaturall revelation*, can never perfectly bee knowne to any mortall creature. v. 31.

Besides, as a wise man of late memory hath well and truly observed, Sir W. R. it cannot bee doubted, but the *starres* are instruments of farre greater use, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after the Sun set, it being manifest that the diversity of seasons, the Winters & Summers, more hot or cold, more dry or wet, are not so uncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the stars have also their working therein, as also in producing severall kindes of metalls, and mineralls in the bowells of the earth, where neither light nor heat can pierce. For as *heat* pierces where *light* cannot, so the *influence* pierces where the heat cannot.

Moreover if wee cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to springs and fountaines, to cold earth, to plants, and stones, and mineralls, nay to the very excrementall parts of the basest living creatures; why should wee robbe the beautifull starres of their working powers? For seeing they are many in *number*, and of eminent *beauty* and *magnitude*, wee may not thinke that in the treasury of his wisedome, who is infinite, there can be wanting even for *every starre* a peculiar vertue and operation: As every *hearbe, plant, fruite*, and *flowre*, adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. As then these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, or to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise, for the use of man and beast, to feede them and cure them: so were not those incomparably glorious bodies set in the *firmament*, to none other end then to adorne it; but for *instruments* and organs of his divine providence so farre as it hath pleased his just will to determine.

I'le n'er beleeve that the Arch-Architect
With all these fires the Heav'nly Arches deckt
Onely for shew, and with these glistring shields
T'amaye poore sheepheards watching in the fields.
I'le ne'r beleeve that the least flowre that prankes
Our garden borders, or the common bankes,

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And the leaſt ſtone that in her warming lap
Our kinde nurſe Earth doth covetouſly wrap,
Hath ſome peculiar vertue of its owne;
And that the glorious ſtarres of Heav'n have none:
But ſhine in vaine, and have no charge preciſe,
But to be walking in Heav'ns Galleries,
And through that Palace up and downe to clamber,
As golden Guls about a Princes Chamber.

But how farre it hath pleaſed the *Divine Providence* to determine of theſe *influences*, it is hard, I confeſſe, to be determined of by any humane wiſedome.

SECT. 3.

That the particular and uttermoſt efficacie of theſe influences cannot be fully comprehended by us.

IF in the true and uttermoſt vertues of *hearbes* and *Plants*, which our ſelves ſow and ſet, and which grow under our feet, and wee dayly apply to our ſeverall uſes, wee are notwithſtanding in effect ignorant; much more in the *powers* & working of *cæleſtiall bodies*. For (as was ſaid before) *hardly doe we gueſſe aright, at things that are upon the earth, & with labour doe wee finde the things that are before us: but the things which are in heaven who hath ſearched out?* It cannot well be benyed, but that they are not *ſignes* onely, but at leaſtwiſe *concurrent cauſes* of immoderate *cold* or *heat*, *drought* or *moyſture*, *lightning*, *thunder*, raging *windes*, *inundations*, *earthquakes*, and conſequently of *famine* and *peſtilence*, yet ſuch croſſe accidents, may, and often doe fall out, in the matter upon which they worke, that the *prognoſtication* of theſe caſuall events, even by the moſt skilfull *Aſtronomers* is very uncertaine. And for the common *Almanackes*, a man by obſervation ſhall eaſily finde, that the contrary to their *prediction* is commonly trueſt.

Wiſdome 9. 16.

Now for the things which reſt in the *liberty of mans will*, the *Starres* have doubtleſſe no power over them, except it bee led by the *ſenſitive appetite*, and that againe ſtirred up by the *conſtitution* and complexion of the body, as too often it is, ſpecially where the *humours* of the body are *ſtrong* to aſſault, and the *vertues* of the minde *weake* to reſiſt. If they have dominion over *Beaſts*, what wee ſhould judge of *Men*, who differ little from *Beaſts*, I cannot tell; but ſure I am, that though the *Starres incline* a man to this or that courſe of life, they do but *incline*, *inforce* they cannot: *Education* and *reaſon*, and moſt of all *Religion*, may ſo alter and over-maſter that inclination, as they ſhall produce a cleane contrary effect. It was to this purpoſe a good and memorable ſpeech of *Cardinall Poole*, who being certified, by one of his acquaintance, who profeſſed knowledge of theſe ſecret *favours* of the ſtarres, that he ſhould be raiſed and advanced to great calling in the world, made anſwer, that whatſoever was pretended by the figure of his birth, or *naturall generation*, was cancelled and altered, by the grace of his ſecond birth, or *regeneration* in the bloud of his *Redeemer*.

Duditius in vita Pole.

Againe

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Againe wee may not forget that *Almighty God* created the ſtarres, as hee did the reſt of the *Vniverſall*, whoſe ſecret influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten Lawes, which by his *Prerogative Royall* he may either put in execution, or diſpenſe with at his owne pleaſure. For were the ſtrength of the ſtarres ſuch as *God* had quitted unto them all dominion over his Creatures, that petition of the Lords Prayer, *Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evill*, had beene none other but a vaine expence of words and time. Nay bee hee *Pagane* or *Chriſtian* that ſo beleeveth, the onely true *God* of the one, and the imaginary *Gods* of the other, would therby be diſpoyled, of all worſhip reverence and reſpects. As therefore I do not conſent with them who would make thoſe glorious Creatures of *God* vertuleſſe: ſo I thinke that we derogate from his eternall and abſolure power and providence to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion over our immortall ſoules which they have over our bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures. For the ſoules of men loving and fearing *God*, receive influence from that divine light it ſelfe, whereof the Suns clarity and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow, *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, & Deus eſt lumen luminis*, Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſſe, who is the light of light.

SECT. 4.

That neither of theſe kindes of influences is decayed in their benigne and favourable effects, but that curious inquiſition into them is to bee forborne.

NOw then ſince the *Immoveable Heaven* by the confeſſion of all that acknowledge it, is altogether *inalterable*; ſince the aſpect of the fixed conſtellations, the conjunction and oppoſition of the Planets, in the courſe of their revolutions, is ſtill the ſame, and conſtant to it ſelfe; ſince for their *number*, their *quantity*, their *diſtance*, their *ſubſtance*, their *motion*, their *light*, and *warmth*, they are no whit impaired; why ſhould wee make any doubt but that their *influence* is now likewiſe as ſweet (or as *God* in his conference with *Iob*, tearmeth it) as benigne, as gratious, as favourable as ever, in regard of the Elements, the Plants, the beaſts and man himſelfe? and why ſhould we not beleeve that *education*, *reaſon* and *religion*, are now as powerfull as ever, to correct and qualifie their unluckie and maligne aſpects? that the hand of *God* is no way ſhortned; but that he is now as able as ever to controle and checke his creatures, & make them *worke together for the beſt, to them that love him*: As he did ſometime in this very caſe, for his choſen people: *they fought from heaven, the ſtarres in their courſes fought againſt Siſera*. He that ſet the *Sun* and *Moone* at a ſtand in their walks, and commaunded the ſhadow to retire in the dyall of *Ahaz*, he that made a dry path through the *red ſea*, muſled the mouthes of the *Lyons*, and reſtrained the vidlence of the *fire*, ſo as for a ſeaſon it could not burne, hath he bound himſelfe to the *influence* of a Starre, that he cannot binde it up, or divert it, or alter it at his pleaſure, and upon the humble ſupplication of his ſervants? no, no,

Iob. 38. 31.

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Sanctus dominabitur astris: if according to *Ptolomy*, the great Master of *Iudiciary Astrology*, *Wisedome* and *fore-sight* over-rule the starres, then surely much more *devotion* and *piety*. If the *Saints* by their prayers commaund the *Divels*, and both shut and open Heaven for raine and drought, as did *Elias*, then may they aswell by vertue of the same prayer, stop the *influences* of the *starres*, the instrumentall causes of drought and raine. *Bee not dismaide then at the signes of Heaven, for the Heathen bee dismaide at them.* And surely they in whom corrupt *Nature* swayes and raignes, have much more reason to be dismaide at them, then others in whom *Grace* and the sense of *Godlines* prevailes. And whiles they feare many times they know not what, by meanes of their very feare, they fall into that which they stand in feare of: *feare being the betrayer of these succours which reason affords*. Much noise there is at this present, touching the late great Conjuction of *Saturne* and *Iupiter*, and many ominous conjectures are cast abroad upon it, which if perchance they prove true, I should rather ascribe it to our *sinnes* then the *starres*, wee need not search the cause so far off, in the *Booke of Heaven*, we may finde it written neerer at home in our owne *bosomes*: And for the starres, I may say as our *Saviour* in the Gospell doth of the *Sabboth*, *the starres were made for men, and not men for the starres*. They were not created to governe, but to serve him; if he serve & be governed by his *Creator*; & *if God be on our side, & we on his, Iupiter & Saturne* shall never hurt us; But whatsoever the force of the starres be, upon the persons of private men, or the states of weale-publiques, I should rather advise a *modest ignorãce* therein, then a *curious inquisition* thereinto, following the witty & pithy counsell of *Phavorinus* the Philosopher in *Gellius*, where he thus speaks: *Aut adversa eventura dicunt, aut prospera; si dicunt prospera & fallunt, miser fies frustra expectando, si adversa dicunt & mentiuntur, miser fies frustra timendo; si vera respondent, eaque sunt non prospera, jam inde ex animo miser fies antequam è fato fias; si fœlicia promittunt, eaque eventura sunt, tum planè duo erunt incommoda, & expectatio te spe suspensum fatigabit, & futuram gaudij fructũ spes tibi defloraverit.* Either they portend thee bad or good luck; if good & they deceive, thou wilt become miserable by a vaine expectation; if bad & they lye, thou wilt be miserable by a vaine feare; if they tell thee true, but unfortunate events, thou wilt bee miserable in minde before thou art by destiny; if they promise fortunate successe, which shall indeed come to passe, these two inconveniences will follow thereupon, both expectation by hope will hold thee in suspence, and hope will defloure and devoure the fruit of thy Contents. His conclusion is, which is also mine, both for this point, and this Chapter, and this discourse, touching the *Heavenly Bodies*, *Nullo igitur pacto utendum est istiusmodi hominibus res futuras præsagientibus*: wee ought in no case to have recourse to those kinde of men which undertake the fore-telling of casuall events. And so I passe from the consideration of the cœlestiall bodies to the subcœlestiall, which by Gods ordinance depend upon them, and are made subordinate unto them, touching which, and the cœlestiall bodies both together, comparing each with other, the Divine *Barras* thus sweetly and truly sings:

Iam. 5. 17.

Iet. 10. 2.

Iuly 9. 1623.

Lib. 14. *c.* 1.

Things

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Things that consists of th' Elements uniting,
Are ever toss'd with an intestine fighting,
Whence springs (in time) their life and their deceasing,
Their diverse change, their waxing and decreasing.
So that, of all that is, or may be seene
With mortall eyes, under Nights horned Queene,
Nothing retaineth the same forme and face,
Hardly the halfe of halfe an houres space.
But the Heav'ns feele not Fates impartiall rigour,
Yeares adde not to their stature nor their vigour:
Use weares them not, but their greene-ever age,
Is all in all still like their pupillage.

Wherein hee commeth so neare *Buchanan* in his first booke *De Sphærâ*, as he may well be thought to imitate him.

At quanquam moles, omnis sibi parte cohærent
Vna sit, & nexis per mutua vincula membris
Conspiret, positaque semel Rectore sub uno
Observet leges: non est tamen omnibus unum.
Partibus ingenium, non vis nativa: sed orbes
Astriferi, & nitidi sublimis regia Cœli,
Immunis senij, & vultu immutabilis uno,
Perpetuum servat solida & sincera vetustas.
At quicquid gremio Lunæ complectitur orbis,
Permutat variatque vices, trepidoque tumultu
Æstuat, & nunquam sentit pars ulla quietem:
Nam ruit in sese, & civili vulnere semper
Aut cadit, aut perimit, alioque renascitur ore,
Rursus ut intereat.

CHAP. 6.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in generall.

SECT. 1.

That the Elements are still in number foure, and still retaine their ancient places and properties.

HAving thus proved at large, in the former Chapters, touching the *Heavens*, that there neither is, nor in the course of *Nature* can be any decay, either in regard of their *matter*, their *motions*, their *light*, their *warmth* or *influence*, but that *they all continue as they were, ever since this day by Gods ordinance*, it remaines that I now proceed to the consideration of the *sublunary bodies*, that is, such as *God* and *Nature* hath placed under the *Moone*. Now the state of these *inferiour*, being guided and governed by the *superiour*, if the *superiour* be *unimpairable*, as hath beene shewed, it is a strong presumption, that the *inferiour* are likewise *unimpaired*. For as in the wheeles of a Watch or clock, if the first be out of order, so are the second and third, & the rest that are moved by it: so

Psal. 119. v. 91.

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if the higher bodies were impaired, it cannot bee but the lower depending upon them, should taste thereof, as on the other side the one being not impaired, it is more then probable, that the other partake with them in the same condition. Which dependance is well expressed by *Boethius*, where having spoken of the constant regularity of the *heavenly bodies*, he thus goes on.

De consol. lib. 4. Met. 6.

Hæc concordia temperat æquis
Elementa modis, ut pugnantia
Vicibus cedant humida siccis,
Iungantque fidem frigora flammis,
Pendulus ignis surgat in altum,
Terraque graves pondere sidens
Iisdem causis Vere tepenti
Spirat florifer annus odores,
Æstas Ceterem fervida siccat,
Remeat pomis gravis Autumnus,
Hyemem defluus irrigat imber,
Hæc temperies alit & profert.
Quicquid vitam spirat in orbe,
Eadem rapiens condit & aufert
Obitu mergens orta supremo.

This concord tempers equally
Contrary Elements,
That moist things yeeld unto the dry,
And heat with cold consents,
Hence fire to highest places doth flie,
And Earth doth downward bend
And flowrie Spring perpetually
Sweet odours forth doth send:
Hot Summer harvest gives, and store
Of fruit *Autumnus* yeelds,
And showres which downe from Heav'n doe powre,
Each Winter drowne the fields:
What ever in the World doth breath,
This temper forth hath brought,
And nourished: the same by death
Againe it brings to nought.

Among the *subcelestiall* bodies, following *Natures* methode, I will first begin with the consideration of the *Elements*, the most simple and universall of them all, as being the Ingredients of all mixt bodies, either in whole or in part, and into which the mixt are finally resolved againe, and are againe by turnes re-made of them, the common matter of them all still abiding the same.

Bartas.

Heere's nothing constant, nothing still doth stay;
For birth and death have still successive sway:
Here one thing springs not till another dye,
Onely the matter lives immortally.
Th'Almightie's table, Body of this All,

(Of

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(Of changefull chances common Arcenall,
And like it ſelfe, all in it ſelfe contained,
Which by times flight hath neither loſt nor gained)
Changeleſſe in eſſence, changeable in face,
Much more then *Proteus* or the ſubtill race
Of roving *Polypes*, who (to rob the more)
Transforme them hourely on the waving ſhore:
Much like the French, (or like our ſelves their apes)
Who with ſtrange habits doe diſguiſe their ſhapes.
Who loving novels full of affectation,
Receive the manners of each other Nation.

By conſent of Antiquity they are in number foure, the *Fire*, the *Aire*, the *Water*, and the *Earth*.

Quatuor æternus genitalia corpora mundus
Continet: ex illis duo ſunt oneroſa, ſuoque
Pondere in inferius tellus, atque unda feruntur:
Et totidem gravitate carent: nulloque premente
Alta petunt aër, atque aëre purior ignis.
Quæ quanquam ſpacio aiſtant; tamen omnia fiunt
Ex ipſis, & in ipſa cadunt.

Foure bodies primitive the World ſtill containes
Of which two downeward bend the earth and watry plaines,
As many weight doe want and nothing forcing, higher
They mount, th' aire and purer ſtreames of fire.
Which though they diſtant be, yet all things from them take
Their birth, and into them their laſt returnes doe make.

Three of them ſhew themſelves manifeſtly in milke, the butter being the *Aëriall* part thereof, the whey the *watery*, and the cheeſe the *earthly*: but all foure in the burning of greene wood, the flame being *fire*; the ſmoke, the *aire*; the liquor diſtilling at the ends, the *water*; and the aſhes, the *earth*. *Philoſophy* likewiſe by reaſon, teaches and proves the ſame from their *motion* upward and downeward, from their *ſecond qualities*, of lightneſſe and heavineſſe, and from their *firſt qualities*, either *active*, as heat and cold, or *paſſive*, as dry and moiſt. For as their *motion* proceedes from their *ſecond qualities*, ſo do their *ſecond* from the *firſt*, and their *firſt* from the *heavenly bodies*, next to which, as being the nobleſt of them all, as well in *purity* as *activity*, is ſeated the *Element* of the *fire*, (though many of the *Ancients*, and ſome later Writers, as namely *Cardan*, among the reſt ſeemes to make a doubt of it.)

Ignis ad æthereas volucer ſe ſuſtulit auras
Summaque complexus ſtellantis culmina Cœli,
Flammarum vallo naturæ mœnia fecit.

The fire eftſoones up towards Heaven did flie,
And compaſſing the ſtarrie World, advanced
A wall of flames, to ſafegard Nature by.

1. *De ſubtil.* 1 *Manil.* 1. *Aſtronom.*

Bartas.

Next the *fire* is ſeated the *aire*, divided into *three regions*; next the *aire* the *water*, and next the *water* the *earth*.

Who ſo (ſometimes) hath ſeene rich Ingots tride,

When

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When forc't by fire their treaſure they divide:
(How faire and ſoftly gold to gold doth paſſe,
Silver ſeekes ſilver, braſſe conſorts with braſſe;
And the whole lumpe, of parts unequall, ſevers
It ſelfe apart, in white, red, yellow rivers)
May underſtand how, when the mouth divine
Op'ned (to each his proper place t'aſſigne)
Fire flew to fire, water to water ſlid,
Aire clung to aire, and earth with earth abid.

The vaile both of the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, were made of blew, and purple, and ſcarlet or crimſon, and fine twiſted linnen: by which foure, as *Ioſephus* noteth, were repreſented the foure Elements; his words are theſe *Velum hoc erat Babylonium variegatum, ex hyacintho, & byſſo, coccoque & purpurâ, mirabiliter elaboratum, non indignam contemplatione materiæ commiſtionem habens, ſed velut omnium imaginem præferens; Cocco enim videbatur ignem imitari, & byſſo terram, & hyacintho aërem, ac mare purpurâ, partim quidem coloribus, byſſo autem & purpurâ origine, byſſo quidem quia de terra, mare autem purpuram gignit.* The vaile was *Babyloniſh* worke, moſt artificially imbroydered, with blue and fine linnen, and ſcarlet, and purple, having in it a mixture of things, not unworthy our conſideration, but carrying a kinde of reſemblance of the *Univerſall*; for by the ſcarlet, ſeemed the fire to be repreſented, by the linnen, the *earth*; by the blew, the *aire*; and by the purple, the *ſea*: partly by reaſon of the colours of ſcarlet and blue, and partly by reaſon of the originall of linnen and purple; the one comming from the earth, the other from the ſea. And S. *Hierome* in his Epiſtle to *Fabiola*, hath the very ſame conceit, borrowed as it ſeemes, from *Ioſephus*, or from *Philo*, who hath much to like purpoſe, in his third booke of the life of *Moſes*: or it may be from that in the eighteenth of the booke of *Wiſedome*. *In the long robe was the whole world*: And not onely the *vulgar* Latine, and *Arias Montanus*, but out of them and the *Greek* originall, our laſt *Engliſh* Tranſlation reades it.

Epiſt. 124.

n. 24.

The *fire* is dry and hot, the *aire* hot and moiſt, the *water* moiſt and cold, the *earth* cold and dry: thus are they linked, and thus embrace they one another with their ſymbolizing qualities, the *earth* being linked to the *water* by coldneſſe, the *water* to the *aire* by moiſtneſſe, the *aire* to the *fire* by warmth, the *fire* to the *earth* by drought: which are all the combinations of the qualities that poſſibly can bee; hot and cold, as alſo dry and moiſt, in the higheſt degrees being altogether incompatible in the ſame ſubject: And though the *earth* and the *fire* be moſt oppoſite in *diſtance*, in *ſubſtance*, & in *activity*; yet they agree in one quality, the two middle being therein directly contrary to the two extreames, aire to earth, and water to fire.

Bartas.

Water, as arm'd with moiſture and with cold,
The cold-dry earth with her one hand doth hold;
With th'other th'aire: The aire as moiſt and warme,
Holds fire with one; water with th'other arme:
As Countrey-maidens, in the moneth of May,

Merrily

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Merrily ſporting on a holy-day;
And luſty dancing of a lively round
About the May-pole, by the Bag-pipes ſound;
Hold hand in hand, ſo that the firſt is faſt
(By meanes of thoſe betweene) unto the laſt.
But all the linkes of th' holy chaine, which tether
The many members of the World together,
Are ſuch, as none but onely he can breake them,
Who at the firſt did (of meere nothing) make them.

Hæ vices mundi ſunt nullo momento conſiſtentes, quas natura circa terram agitat, quibuſque continuò inſtauratur, & ad æqualitatem reducitur, legem & fœdus poſitum elementis ſervans. Theſe are the changes of the World, not ſtanding ſtill ſo much as for a moment, which Nature exerciſeth here below, and by meanes of which ſhee is continually repaired and reduced to equality, by obſerving the law and covenant made with the Elements. *Simon Grynæus Annot. in Ariſt. de mundo.*

SECT. 2.

That the Elements ſtill hold the ſame proportions each to other, and by mutuall exchange the ſame dimenſions in themſelves.

THeſe foure then, as they were from the beginning, ſo ſtill they remaine the radicall and fundamentall principles of all ſubceleſtiall bodies, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeverall and ancient *Situations, properties, actions*, and *effects*; and howſoever after their old wont they fight and combate together, being *ſingle*; yet in *compoſition* they ſtill accord marvailous well.

Tu numerus elementa ligas; ut frigora flammis,
Arida conveniant liquidis, ne purior ignis
Evolet, aut merſas deducant pondera terras.
To numbers thou the Elements do'ſt tie,
That cold with heat may ſymbolize, and drie
With moiſt, leaſt purer fire ſhould ſore too high,
And earth through too much weight too low ſhould lie. *Boetius. lib. 3. Met. 9.*

The *Creator* of them, hath bound them as it were, to their good behaviour, and made them in every mixt body to ſtoope and obey *one predominant*, whoſe ſway and conduct they willingly follow. The *aire* being predominant in ſome, as in oyle, which alwayes ſwimmes on the toppe of all other liquors; and the earth in others, which alwayes gather as neare the Center as poſſibly they can. And as in theſe, they vary not a jot from their native and wonted properties, ſo neither doe they in their other conditions. It is ſtill true of them, that *nec gravitant nec levitant in ſuis locis*, there is no ſenſe of their weight or lightneſſe in their proper places, as appeares by this, that a man lying in the bottome of the deepeſt *Ocean*, hee feeles no burden from the weight thereof. The *fire* ſtill ſerves to warme us as it did, the *aire* to maintaine our breathing, the *water* to clenſe and refreſh us, the *earth* to feede and ſupport

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port us, and which of them is moſt neceſſary for our uſe is hard to determine: Likewiſe they ſtill hold the ſame proportion one toward another, as formerly they have done: For howbeit the *Peripatetickes* pretending herein the Authority of their Maſter *Ariſtotle*, tell us, that as they riſe one above another in *ſituation*, ſo they exceed one another, *proportione decuplâ*, by a tenne-fold proportion, yet is this doubtleſſe a foule errour, or at leaſt-wiſe a groſſe miſtake, whether we regard their *intire bodies*, or their *parts*; in their *intire bodies*, it is certaine that the earth exceedes both the water and the aire by many degrees: The depth of the waters, not exceeding two or three miles, and for the moſt part not above halfe a mile, as *Marriners* finde by their line and plummet, whereas the *diameter* of the earth, as *Mathematicians* demonſtrate, exceedes ſeaven thouſand miles. And for the *aire*, taking the height of it from the place of the ordinary *Comets*, it containes by eſtimation about fifty two miles, as *Nonius*, *Vitellio*, and *Alhazen* ſhew by *Geometricall* proofes. Whence it plainly appeares that there cannot be that proportion betwixt the *intire Bodies* of the *Elements* which is pretended, nor at any time was ſince their Creation. And for their parts, 'tis as cleare by experience, that out of a few drops of *water* may be made ſo much aire as ſhall exceed them five hundred or a thouſand times at leaſt.

2. *De Generat. cap.* 6.

Clavius in Sacroboſc. cap. 1. *Lib. de Crepuſc. l.* 10. *propoſ* 60. 7. *Perſpect.*

But whatſoever their *proportion* be, it is certain that notwithſtanding their continuall *tranſmutation* or *tranſ-elementation*, as I may ſo call it, of one into another, yet by a mutuall *retribution* it ſtill remaines the ſame that in former ages it hath beene, as I have already ſhewed more at large in a former chapter: and *Philo* moſt elegantly expreſſeth, *Egregia quidem eſt in elementis quaternarum virium compenſatio, æqualibus, juſtiſque regulis ac terminis vices ſuas diſpenſantium: ſicut enim anni circulus quaternis vicibus diſtinguitur alijs partibus poſt alias ſuccedentibus, & per ambitus eoſdem uſque recurrente tempore: pari modo & elementa mundi viciſſim ſibi ſuccedentia mutantur, & quod diceres incredibile, dum mori videntur, reddunturimmortalia, iterum atque iterum metiendo idem ſtadium, & ſurſum atque deorſum per eandem viam curſitando continuè, à terrâ enim aclivis via incipit, quæ liqueſcens in aquam mutatur, aqua porrò evaporat in aerem, aer in ignem extenuatur, ac declivis altera deorſum tendit à Capite, igne per extinctionem ſubſidente in aerem, aere verò in aquam ſe denſante, aquæ verò liquore in terram craſſeſcente.* There is in the Elements a notable compenſation of their fourefold qualities, diſpenſing themſelves by even turnes and juſt meaſures. For as the circle of the yeare is diſtinguiſhed by foure quarters, one ſucceeding another, the time running about by equall diſtances: In like manner, the foure Elements of the World by a reciprocall viciſſitude ſucceed one another: & which a man would thinke incredible, while they ſeeme to die, they become immortall: running the ſame race, and inceſſantly travailing up and downe by the ſame path. From the Earth the way riſeth upward, it diſſolving into water, the water vapours forth into aire, the aire is rarified into fire; againe they deſcend downeward the ſame way, the fire by quenching being turned into aire, the aire thickneth into water, and the water into earth. Hitherto

Lib. de Mundi incorruptibilitate.

Philo

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Philo, wherein after his usuall wont he *Platonizes*, the same being in effect to be found in *Platoes Timaus*, as also in *Aristotles* booke *de Mundo*, if it be his, in *Damascene*, and *Gregory Nyssen*. And most excellently the wittiest of Poets. *Lib. 1. de fid. orth. cap. 3. De operibus sex dierum.*

....resolutaque tellus *Ovid. Met. 1.5.*
In liquidas rarescit aquas, tenuatur in auras,
Aeraque humor habet, dempto quoque pondere rursus
In superos aer tenuissimus emicat ignes.
Inde retrò redeunt: idemque retexitur ordo,
Igne enim densum spissatus in aera transit,
Hinc in aquas tellus glomeratâ cogitur undâ.

The Earth resolv'd is turned into streames,
Water to aire, the purer aire to flames:
From thence they back returne, the fiery flakes
Are turn'd to aire, the aire thickned, takes
The liquid forme of water, and that earth makes.

The foure Elements herein resembling an instrument of *Musicke* with foure strings, which may be tuned diverse wayes, and yet the *harmony* still remaines sweet, and so are they compared in the booke of *Wisdome*, *Cap. 19. v. 17.*

The Elements agreed among themselves in this change, as when one tune is changed upon an instrument of Musicke, and the melody still remaineth.

Sith then the knot of sacred marriage, *Rarus.*
Which joynes the Elements, from age to age
Brings forth the worlds babes: sith their emnities,
With fell divorce, kill whatsoever dies:
And sith but changing their degree and place,
They frame the various formes, wherewith the face
Of this faire world is so imbellished,
As six sweet notes, curiously varied
In skilfull musick, make a hundred kindes
Of heav'nly sounds, that ravish hardest mindes;
And with division of a choyce device,
The hearers soules out at their eares entice:
Or as of twice-twelve letters thus transpos'd,
This world of words is variously compos'd,
And of these words, in diverse order sowne,
This sacred volume that you read is growne.
Who so hath seene, how one warme lumpe of waxe,
(Without increasing or decreasing) takes
A hundred figures, well may judge of all
Th' incessant changes of the neather ball:
Yet thinke not that this changing oft remises
Ought into nought: it but the forme disguises
In hundred fashions, and the substances
Inly or outly, neither win nor leese.
For all that's made, is made of the first matter,
Which in th'old nothing made the All-creator.
All that dissolves, resolves into the same,

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Since first the Lord, of nothing made this frame:
Nought's made of nought, and nothing turnes to nothing,
Things birth or death change but their formall cloathing:
Their formes doe vanish but their bodies bide,
Now thick, now thin, now round, now short, now side.

Vtque novis facilis signatur cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formam servat eandem,
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est.

They be the verses of *Ovid* in the 15. of his *Met.* but may well be rendred by those of *Bartas* touching severall prints stamped upon the same lumpe of waxe.

SECT. 3.

An objection drawne from the continuall mixture of the Elements, each with other answered.

THus then wee see that the *Elements* are still the same, no way impaired in regard of their *portions* or *proportions*. Neither doe I finde any objection against this of any moment, or worthy our notice: Let us now examine whether or no they be impaired in their *qualities*, for which I have often heard it alleaged, that their frequent *interchange*, their continuall blending and mixing together, now for the space of so many hundred yeares, cannot in reason but much have altered their *inbred vigour* and originall constitution, as *Ilanders*, and in them specially their maritime parts are thought by *Aristotle*, and commonly by experience are found to be most tainted in their manners, by reason that lying open to trade, they draw on the commerce and intercourse of sundry forraine Nations, who by long conversation, debauch them in regard of their *customes*, their *language*, their *habit* and naturall *disposition*. But this allegation is in truth a bare and naked supposition. For though it bee true that such a continuall traffique and inter-change there is betwixt the *Elements*, yet doth it not therefore follow that their *qualities* should thereby degenerate, or become more impure, inasmuch as that impurity which by intercourse they have contracted, by perpetuall agitation they purge out againe, and by continuall generation each out of other renew their parts, and so by degrees returne to their former estate and purity.

Dr. Dee, *de praestant. naturae virtus. aphor.* 12.

*Sicut lyra, constitutio quaedam est tonorum consonantium atque dissonantium, aptissima tamen ad suavissimam & infinitâ varietate mirabilem exprimendam harmoniam: sic mundus iste partes intra se complectitur inter quas arctissima conspiciatur sympathia: alias autem inter quas dissidium acre atque antipathia notabile; ita tamen ut tum illarum conspiratio mutua, tum istarum lis atque dissensio, ad totius consonationem atque unionem admirandam: (*or as he speakes in another *Aphorisme*, *ad naturae perpetuandam incolumitatem*) *egregiè faciat.* As a Harpe is a certaine instrument of sounds agreeing and disagreeing, yet most fit for the expressing of a most pleasant harmony, admirable for the infinite variety

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riety thereof: ſo this World containes in it ſome parts, among which a neare ſympathy appeares, but others among which is a fierce combate, and a notable antipathy; yet ſo as both the mutuall agreement of the one, and the continuall diſagreement of the other, make not only for the wonderfull union, but the perpetuall conſervation of the whole.

And againe, for the *fire*, if we conſider it in its owne ſpheare, (though as the reſt of the *Elements*, it bee indeed ſubject to a ſucceſſive generation and corruption, in regard of the parts thereof) yet is it alwayes moſt pure, which is the reaſon that it neither can bee ſeene, as fiery *Meteors* are, neither can any creature either breed or live in it. And as for the *Aire*, *Water*, and *Earth*, if they were pure, it is certaine they could not be ſo ſerviceable as they are. If the *Aire* were pure, neither men, nor birds, nor beaſts could breath in it, as S. *Auguſtine* reports of the hill *Olympus*: *Perhibetur in Olympi vertice aër eſſe tam tenuis ut neque ſuſtentare alites poſſit, neque ipſos qui fortè aſcenderint homines, craſſioris auræ ſpiritu alere ſicut in iſto aere conſueverunt*: It is ſaid that upon the top of the hill *Olympus*, the *aire* is ſo thin and pure, that it can neither beare up the birds that offer to flie in it, nor be uſefull for the breathing of men, if any come thither, being uſed to thicker *aire*. Neither could any *Meteors*, did it ſtill continue pure, be bred in it: as *raine*, and *ſnow*, and *dewes*, and *froſts* and the like, which notwithſtanding are many wayes commodious and profitable for the uſe of all living creatures, ſo as they could not live without them. And for the *water* if it were pure, it could neither feed the fiſhes, nor beare up veſſels of burden. As likewiſe if the *earth* were pure, it would bee altogether barren and fruitleſſe, like ſand or aſhes, not able to nouriſh the plants that hang upon the breaſts of it. The *Elements* then being ordained for the ornament of the World, but chiefely to ſerve the mixt bodies; there is nothing loſt but much gained to the whole, by the loſſe of their purity, nay the reſtitution and recovery thereof (if ſo they were created) would undoubtedly prove the utter undoing of the whole, as the untainted virginity of either ſexe would of the race of mankinde; yet for farther ſatisfaction, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to conſider theſe three aſunder, in reference to the *mixt bodies*, the *aire* I meane, the *water*, and the *earth*, that ſo it may appeare whether the *aire* be decayed in its *temper*, the water in its *goodneſſe* and *vertue*, the *earth* in its *fatneſſe* and *fruitfulneſſe*.

De Gen. ad literam, lib. 3. c. 2.

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CHAP. 7.

Touching the pretended decay of the aire, in regard of the temper thereof.

SECT. 1.

Of excessive drought and cold in former ages, and that in forraine Countries.

THat the *aire* is not distempered, more then in former ages, will as I conceive appeare by this, that unseasonable weather, for excessive *heat* and *cold*, or immoderate *drought* and *raine*, *thunder* and *lightning*, *frost* and *snow*, *haile* and *windes*, yea and *contagious sicknesses*, *pestilentiall*, *Epidemicall diseases*, arising from the *infection* of the *aire*, by noysome mists and vapours, to which we may adde, *earthquakes*, *burning* in the *bowels* of the *earth*, *blazing Comets*, and the like; were as frequent, if not more, in former ages, then in later times, as will easily appeare to such who please to looke either into the *Generall History* of the World at large, or the severall *Chronicles* of particular nations. Such burnings like that of *Phaeton*, such flouds like that of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*, recorded by *Orosius*, *Pliny*, S. *Augustine*, and *Varro*, the World hath not felt or knowne since those times. To like purpose I remember *Iustus Lipsius*, a man rather partiall for *Antiquity* then for the present age, hath written an *Epistle* upon occasion of a great *drought* which happened in the yeare one thousand six hundred and one, and lasted by the space of above foure moneths, to which he makes this entrance, *Non tamen nimis insolens aut nova, etsi nobis sic visa:* It is no new or unusuall thing, though to us so it seeme: whereupon he produceth sundry instances of excessive *heat* and *drought* in former ages as well from the *Roman History*, as the *Germaine Annals*. Among which the most remarkeable are, that in the yeare one thousand two hundred twenty eight, the *heat* was such, that their harvest was fully ended at *Midsommer*, or to speake in his words, before the *Festivall* of S. *Iohn* the *Baptist*, which we commonly call *Midsommer* day. And againe two yeares after, in the moneth of *Iuly* and *August*, it continued so fervently hot, that men *rosted egges in the sand*.

Epist. Select. 47.

And least we should thinke that their *immoderate cold*, was not answerable to their *heat*, he goes on and tells us that in the reigne of *Lewis* son to *Charlemaigne*, in the yeare eight hundred twenty one, the winter was so long and sharpe, that not onely small brookes and streames, but the *Rhene*, *Danubius*, *Albis*, the *Sene*, and generally all the great rivers both of *France* and *Germany* were so hard frozen, that for the space of thirty dayes or more, loaden Carts passed over them, as it had beene upon Bridges.

Virgil's Georgickes. 3.

Vndaque jam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
Puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustris.

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The river on it's backe now iron wheeles sustaines,
And what did ships ere while, now Wagons entertaines.

But in the yeare one thousand eighty six, the winter continued so bitter, that from S. *Martyns* day, which is the eleventh of *November*, to the first of *April*, the *Rheine* was passable on foote. And for unseasonable cold, in regard of the time of the yeare, he reports out of *Hermannus Contractus*, that in the yeare one thousand sixty three, in the midst of *April* for the space of foure dayes the weather was so cruell with *rageing windes* and abundance of *snow*, that it kild their cattle and birds, and destroyed their vines and trees. And lastly he vouches out of *Robertus de Monte*, that in the yeare one thousand one hundred twenty five, it was so sore and biting a *winter*, that innumerable *Eeles* by reason of the long continuance of the *Ice*, came creeping out of the ditches & hiding themselves in the meddowes, were there found dead, and rotten by the wonderfull excesse of *Cold*, and upon the trees scarce appeared there any leaves till the moneth of *May*: his conclusion is, *Quorsum ego ista? aut opinio illa novitatis eximatur, qua malè in omni dolore aut querelâ blanditur, nunquam tale, nemini tantum: nugæ & plebeij sermones, quos historiæ refutent, & serio lectæ hunc quoque constantiæ fructum in animo gignant.* But now to what end are these examples alleaged by me? Surely to no other purpose but to worke out of mens mindes that opinion of novelty and strangenesse, wherewith wee usually flatter our selves in our griefe and complaints, never was the like, no age ever saw or felt it, in such a measure: Trifling speeches, beseeming the vulgar, but confuted by history which being accurately read, may serve to arme us with constancy against these and the like accidents.

Seneca in the entrance of 2. of his Epistles to *Lucilius*, complaines of unseasonable & unkindly springs by reason of their cold, in the one he calls it *malignum ver & præposterum frigus*, a malignant Spring and preposterous cold; and in the other, *jam inclinatum in æstatem, quo tempore* *Epist. 23.* *calere debebat, intepuit: nec adhuc illi fides est, sæpè enim in hyemem revolvitur.* it now growing on upon Summer, when for the season of the yeare it should bee hot, the weather is but warme, neither yet is any trust to be given to it, for that it often relapses backe into winter: so as the complaint of unseasonable weather is not new. *Epist. 67.*

I thinke wee shall hardly reade or heare of a sharper *frost* in later ages, then that which *Ovid* mentions in the place whither he was banished, at his being there.

Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testa *Ovid. de Trist.*
Vina, nec hausto mersa sed data frusta bibunt.

Bare Wines still keeping forme of Caske stand fast, *Georg. 3.*
Not gulpes, but gobbets of their Wine they tast.

Agreeable whereunto is that of *Virgil*,

Cæduntque securibus humida vina,
And liquid Wines with axes doe they cleave.

Serres in the life of *Francis* the first reports, that at the siege of *Luxenburge*, in the yeare 1543, the weather was so cold, that the provant wine ordained for the Army being frozen, was divided with hatchets, and

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Annal. 13. 8. by the ſouldiers carryed away in baskets. And *Tacitus* ſpeaking of the *Romans* warre in *Armenia*, tells us that the Winter was ſo ſharpe, and the earth ſo long covered with ice, that they could not pitch their tents, unleſſe they had firſt digged the ground; many of their limmes grew ſtarke with extremity of cold, and many died in keeping the watch, and there was a ſouldier noted carrying a fagot, whoſe hands were ſo ſtiffe frozen, that ſticking to his burthen, they fell from him as though they had beene cut from his armes.

SECT. 2.

Of exceſſive drought and cold and raine in former ages here at home, and of the common complaint of unſeaſonable weather in all ages, together with the reaſon thereof.

Survey of *London. ex hh. Bennam.* AND if wee looke nearer home, wee ſhall finde that in the yeare one thouſand one hundred & fourteene, in the fourteenth yeare of King *Henry* the firſt, the river of *Thames* was dried up, & ſuch want of water there betweene the Tower of *London* and the Bridge, and under the Bridge it ſelfe, that not onely horſe, but a great number of men, women and children, did daily wade over on foote. And for exceſſive and unſeaſonable *froſts, raine, ſnow, haile, windes,* & the like, our ſtories are full, ſpecially *Stowes Chronicles*: and many of them were ſo immoderate, as wee have had none in latter times comparable thereunto.

It is true indeed that in generall, all *Ilands*, and ours, I beleeve, above any other in the world, is ſubject to ſuch uncertainty of weather, that many times wee can hardly diſtinguiſh *Chriſtmas* from *Mid-ſummer*, but onely by the length of dayes: So warme it is at *Chriſtmas*, and againe ſo ſtormy and cold at *Mid-ſummer*. And for *raine*, thorow the yeare, I thinke, we have more then any where upon the *Continent*. So that I may juſtly call our *Iland Matulam Planetarum*, the Urinall of the Planets. I will give one inſtance for all: In the two and twentieth yeare *Hollenſhed.* of *Edward* the third, from *Mid-ſummer* to *Chriſtmas*, for the more part, it continually *rain'd*: ſo that there was not one day and night dry together. But this I take to bee, ſpecially for that it is environed by the *Sea*, and withall ſtands ſo farre to the *North-weſt*. Since then it is ſtill ſituate where it was, it is likely that the *aire* was here for the moſt part, tempered or diſtempered in *former ages*, as now it is: Yet I know the complaint is common, that our ſummers by reaſon of cold and moiſt, are not ſo kindely as they have beene:

Sternuntur ſegetes, & deplorata colonis
Vota jacent, longique perit labor irritus anni;

The corne lyes downe, the plow man doth complaine,
His hopes are voide, and toyling all the yeare,
Hee onely hath his labour for his paine.

Neither will I altogether deny it, it may bee *God* hath a quarrell to us for our ſinnes, or ſeekes by this chaſtiſement to draw us neater to himſelfe:

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selfe: But what is this to the universall decay of Nature? Doubtlesse the same complaint hath still beene in the times of our *Fathers* and *Grandfathers*, and *Great Grand-fathers*, and so upward in regard of the *Generations* before them. The Husband-men I am sure so complained in *Virgils* time,

Æstatem increpitant seram, Zephyrosque morantes.

And so did they in S. *Augustines*. *Nonne quotidie hoc murmuratis, & hoc dicitis, quamdiu istis patimur! quotidie pejora & pejora, apud parentes nostros fuerunt dies lætiores, fuerunt dies meliores. O si interrogares ipsos parentes tuos, similiter tibi de diebus suis murmurarent: Fuerunt beati Patres nostri, nos miseri sumus; malos dies habemus.* Doe you not daily murmure, and thus say, how long shall wee suffer these things! All things grow worse and worse: Our Fathers saw better and merrier dayes: But I wish thou would'st aske the question of thy Fathers, & thou shalt finde them murmure likewise in regard of their dayes: saying, Oh our Fathers were happy, we miserable: we see nothing but bad dayes. But had this complaint beene as true as ancient, as just as usuall in all ages, we had not beene left at this day to renue it: wee should by this time have had no weather to ripen our corne or fruites, in any tolerable manner. For my selfe then, mine opinion is, that men for the most part, being most affected with the present, more sensible of punishments then of blessings, and growing in worldly cares, and consequently in discontent, as they grow in yeares & experience; they are thereby more apt to apprehend crosses then comforts, to repine and murmure for the one, then to returne thankes for the other. Whence it comes to passe that unseasonable weather, and the like crosse accidents are printed in our memories, as it were with red letters in an Almanacke: but for seasonable and faire, there stands nothing but a blanke: the one is graven in brasse, the other written in water,

Augustinus in Psal. 33. in illa verba: Quis est homo qui vult vitam & diligit dies videre bonos.

SECT. 3.

Of contagious diseases, and specially the Plague, both here at home, and abroad in former ages.

NOw for *contagious diseases*, and specially the *Plague* it selfe, it is well knowne, that this land hath now by *Gods* favour beene in a manner altogether free from it since the first yeare of his *Majesties* raigne; whereas heretofore, it hath commonly every seaven or eight yeares at furthest, spread it selfe through the greatest part of the land, and swept away many thousand. In the yeare one thousand three hundred forty eight, it was so hot in *Wallingford*, a Towne of *Berkshire*, that in a manner it dis-peopled the Towne reducing their *twelve Churches* to one or two which they now onely retaine. In *London* it had so sharpe and quicke an edge, and mowed downe such multitudes, that within the space of twelve moneths, there were buried in one *Church-yard*, commonly called the *Cistersians* or *Charterhouse*, above fifty thousand. They write further, that through the Kingdome it made such ra-

This was written in the last yeare of King *James*.

Camden in Berkeshire.

Rob. Auesbury & Fabian. Sam. Daniell. Ann. 22. Edwards. 3.

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a ravage, as it tooke away more then halfe of men; *Churchyards* could not ſuffice to bury the dead, new grounds were purchaſed for that purpoſe: And it is noted that there died, onely in *London* betweene the firſt of *Ianuary* and the firſt of *July* 57374. Other *Cities* and townes ſuffering the like according to their proportions: The earth being every where filled with graves, and the aire with cries. In the tenth yeare likewiſe of *Edward* the ſecond, there was ſo great a *peſtilence*, and generall ſickneſſe of the common ſort, cauſed by the ill nutriment they received, as the *living ſcarce ſufficed to bury the dead.*

Idem. 1317.

Now if we caſt our eyes *abroade*, ſuch ſtrange peſtilences as *Virgil* deſcribes in the third of his *Georgickes*, and *Ovid* in the ſeaventh of his *Metam:* wee nowadayes no where heare of, nor yet ſuch as *Thucydides* a grave Hiſtorian mentions in his ſecond booke, which was at *Athens*, and ſome other parts of *Greece*, ſo contagious that the birds being infected with it as they flew in the aire, fell down dead to the earth, & the beaſts of pray which fed vpõ carrion, abſtained from eating the dead bodies. Vnder the Emperors *Vibius Gallus*, & *Volusianus* his ſon about two hundred & fifty yeares after Chriſt, there aroſe a plague in *Ethiopia*, which ſpread it ſelfe into all the provinces of the Roman Empire & laſted by the ſpace of fifteene yeares together, without any intermiſſiõ, & ſo great was the mortality, that in *Alexandria*, as *Dionyſius* himſelfe; at that very time *Biſhop* of that See reports it, there was not one houſe of the whole city free, & the whole remainder of the inhabitants did not equall the number of old men in former times: By meanes whereof S. *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, who lived in the ſame age, tooke occaſion to write, that his excellent Treatiſe *de Mortalitate*: And *Lipſius* his cenſure of this *peſtilence* is, *Non alia unquam major lues mihi lecta, ſpatio temporum ſive terrarum*: I never read of a more grievous contagion, whether woe regard the long laſting or the large ſpreading thereof. Yet was that certainely for the time more impetuous and outragious under *Iuſtinian*, the fierceneſſe whereof was ſuch that only in *Conſtantinople* and the places neere adjoyning thereunto, it cut of at leaſt *five thouſand* and ſome times *tenne thouſand* perſons in the day: Which my ſelfe ſhould hardly bee drawne, either to report or to beleeve, but that I finde it recorded by faithfull Hiſtoriographers of thoſe times. Neither leſſe wonderfull was that *peſtilence in Africa*, which snatcht away onely in *Numidia*, *Octingenta hominum millia*, ſayth *Oroſius*, eight hundred thouſand men. Or that under *Michael Duca* in *Greece*, which was ſo ſharpe and violent, *Vt vivi prorſus pares non eſſent mortuis ſepeliendis* (they bee the words of *Zonaras*) the living were no way ſufficient to bury the dead. But that which ſcourged Italy in *Petrarchs* time, in the yeare one thouſand three hundred fifty nine, as himſelfe relates it, in my minde exceedes all hitherto ſpoken of, there being ſcarce left alive *tenne* of a *thouſand* thorow the whole Country, and if wee credit *Boccace*, there dyed thereof onely in *Florence* from *March* to *July* about one hundred thouſand perſons. Of 70000 inhabitants in Dalmatia ſcarce 10000 were left alive by reaſon of the plague *lues ingens Romæ facta ita ut per multos dies in ephemeriden* 10000 *fermè mortuorum hominum referretur*. Where

Pompon. Letus Zonaras, tom. 2.

Euſebius. l. 7. c.

De conſtant, l. 2. c. 22.

Procopius, l. 11. de bello Perſico. Agathias, lib. 5.

Lib. 5. c. 8.

Lipſius, ut ſupra.

by

by the way I cannot let passe, that under *David*, though by most Divines held to bee supernaturall and miraculous, in which there died of the people seventy thousand men within the space of three dayes: but hee that desires more fully to informe himselfe of the grievous pestilences in ancient times, let him reade *Lancellot* in his *L'Hoggidi: Cap.* 47. 2. Sam. 24. 15.

Now for other *infectious Epidemicall diseases* in former ages, *Pasquier* assignes a whole chapter to them, which he thus entitles, *Des maladies qui ont seulement unifois Cours par La disposition de L'air.* Of those diseases which have but once had their course through the distemper of the aire. And *Plutarch* in the eighth booke and ninth question of his *Symposiacks*, discoursing upon the same subject, tells us of these new unheard of diseases: *mirari non debemus si quadam existant quæ olim non fuere, aut interciderunt quæ antiqui habuerunt*: wee neede not wonder if some bee now rife, which in former ages were not heard of, and others againe be growne out which vexed the ancients: to which purpose hee mentions out of *Agatharcides*, a very wonderfull & grievous disease torturing the inhabitants bordering upon the *Red Sea*, which notwithstanding, *prius aut posterius ullis alijs obtigisse, nemo comperit*, no man ever observed to befall any other before or since. Heere with us, we have not heard of late dayes of any such diseases, as the *shaking of the sheetes*, or the *sweating sickenesse*, touching which, it is very memorable that Mr *Camden* hath delivered in his description of *Shrewesbury*; as for the cause therof, saith he, let others search it out, for mine owne part I have observed that this *malady* hath runne through *England* thrice in the ages afore going, and yet I doubt not but long before also it did the like, although it were not recorded in writing. First, in the yeare of our Lord 1485, in which King *Henry* the seaventh first began his raigne, a little after the great *Conjunction* of the superiour *Planets* in *Scorpio*. A second time yet more mildely, (although the *plague* accompanied it) in the 33 yeare after, *Anno* 1518, upon a great *opposition* of the same *Planets* in *Scorpio* and *Taurus*, at which time it plagued the *Netherlands* and high *Almany* also. Last of all, 33 yeares after that againe, in the yeare 1551, when another *Conjunction* of those *Planets* in *Scorpio* tooke their effects: so that by Gods goodnes, for the space now of these last seventy three yeares, wee have not felt that *disease*. Twise thirty three yeares and more, and the same *Conjunction* and *opposition* of the *Planets* have passed over, and yet it hath not touched us. In the 31 yeare of King *Henry* the first, a terrible murraine of cattell spread through the whole kingdome, insomuch as whole flies of hogges, and whole stalls of oxen were every where suddenly emptied, and it continued so long, *ut nulla omninò hujus regni villa hujus miseria immunis alterius incommoda ridere potest*, (saith *Malmesburiensis*) so as no one village was so free from this misery, that it could laugh at the mishap of others. Lib. 4. c. 25. Novel. hist. l. 1.

Now adayes wee heare not of so frequent, of such foule and fretting kindes of *Leprosies* any-where in the world, as were anciently among the *Iewes*; they had the *Leprosie* of the *skin*, of the *flesh*, of the *scab*, of the *running sore*, of the *haire*, of the *head*, and *beard*: their garmens both Levit. 13.

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both linnen and wollen were infected with it, so as sometimes it increased and spread it selfe in the very *garment*, though separated from the body of the diseased. Nay, which is more strange, the *walles* of their houses were not free from it: it atainted the very stones and the morter with *greenish & reddish spots*, so as they were forced sometimes to plucke downe a part of the house, sometimes the whole, whē no other meanes was found to cleanse it. Now their great multitudes of *Lepers* appeares in this, that they had so many, and solemne *Lawes* for their triall, for their cleansing, and for the shutting of them up without the campe. And though wee may well conceive, that some of them were stricken with this disease immediatly by the finger of *God*, as [a] *Myriam*, *Moses* sister for her murmuring, [b] *Gehazi* for his bribery, [c] *Azariah* for his backwardnesse in reformation of Religion, [d] *Vzziah* for his presumptuous forwardnes in taking upon him the Priests office, yet those *foure* that sate together expecting the charity of passengers at the gate of [e] *Samaria*, and those *tenne* that our [f] *Saviour* healed at once, shew that the number of their ordinary *Lepers* was very great. And heere with us the number of them was doubtlesse much greater, then now by Gods goodnesse wee finde them to bee, as is evident by the many hospitals which through the kingdome were built and endowed for them: in *Leicestershire* is a towne named *Burton Lazers*, so called (saith *Camden*) from a famous hospital which was there foūded for the use of Leprous people, to whose Master all the lesser houses of that kinde were subordinate, as hee himselfe was to the Master of the *Lazers* at *Hierusalem*. By which order of government, it plainely appeares, that not onely in this kingdome, but through *Christendom*, the number of those houses was very great, which at this present, for the most part, are either ruined or growne altogether out of use.

Ibid. v. 55.

Levit. 14. 33. &c.

a Num. 12. 10.
b 2 Kings. 5. 27.
c 2. Kings. 5. 5.
d 2. Chron. 26. 19.
e 2. King. 7. 4.
f Luk. 17. 12.

Lastly, none can bee ignorant, that the sickenesse which wee call the *French* disease, they the *Neapolitan*, and the *Neapolitans* the *Indian*, (because wee borrowed it from the *French*, they from the *Spaniards* at *Naples*, and they againe from the *Indians*) is neither so catching, nor so virulent, nor so contagious, nor so dangerous, as in former times it hath beene, as *Fracastorius*, a famous physition of *Verona* in *Italie*, long since foretold: *hic idem morbus interibit & extinguetur, mox etiam & nepotibus nostris rursùs videndus renascetur, quemadmodum & præteritis ætatibus visum à majoribus nostris credendum est, de quo non pauca indicia etiamnum extant*: this very disease in processe of time shall likewise weare out and be extinguished, and shall againe in future ages be revived, as it is to be thought, that in former ages our ancestours felt it, whereof not a few tokens are extant: and that it was not unknowne to the ancient, though the name of it were lost, he elegantly expresses it in his verses to *Bembus*,

Lib. 2. de morbi contag.

De Morbo Gallico.

Nec semel in terris visam, sed sæpè fuisse
Ducendum est, quanquam nobis nec nomine nota
Hactenus illa fuit, quoniam longæva vetustas
Cuncta situ involvens & res & nomina delet,
Nec monumenta patrum seri videre Nepotes.

Nor

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Nor that it onely now on earth hath beene
May wee conceive, but often hath beene seene,
Though now the name unknowne bee, with rust
Defac'd by tract of time, and wrapp'd in dust,
For that the monuments of former sages
Are not come downe to view of latter ages.

And to this purpose doth hee tell a storie of a barber, a friend of his, who having in his keeping an ancient booke of medicinall experiments, and among the rest, one with this title: *Ad scabiem crassam, quæ cum doloribus junctvrarum accidit*: for the tough scabbe which comes with a paine in the joynts: hee consulted the Physitians what they thought of his receite; they, because it chiefly consisted of quicksilver and brimstone, sharply forbade it, the barber notwithstanding having a while after made tryall thereof, and finding it successefull in the use, grew discontent with himselfe that he had not used it sooner, the gaines which he might thereby well have gotten, by the curing of it at the first appearing, being now much anticipated by others. But mine Authours conclusion thereupon, is: *ex quo videre profectò possumus, alijs ætatibus visum eum morbum fuisse*: from whence wee may see, that this disease hath beene in former ages.

SECT. 4.

Of Earthquakes in former ages, and their terrible effects lively described by Seneca.

TO the pestilences and other contagious diseases of former ages, may be added the *Earthquakes* arising likewise from the distemper of the *aire*, though in another kinde. Of these wee have beene nothing so frequent and fearefull as in the dayes of our more ancient predecessours, insomuch as they chiefly gave occasion to the composing of that *Litanie*, and therein to the petition against suddaine death, which by publicke authority is used through the *Christian* Church at this day. By the force of *Earthquakes*, contrary to the proverbe, Mountaines have met; the City of *Antioch* where the Disciples of *Christ* were first called *Christians*, with a great part of *Asia* bordering upon it, was in *Trajans* time swallowed up with an *Earthquake*, as writeth *Dion*, reporting many marvailous things thereof. By the same meanes at one time twelve famous Cities of *Asia* (Or as *Crinitus* out of *Eusebius* writes thirteen, which he there names) were overturned under the reigne of *Tiberius*. And at another time as many townes of *Campania* under *Constantine*. But that earth quake described by Marcellinus seems to have exceeded any yet spoken of, *Horrendi tremores* (saith hee) *per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subitò, quales nec fabulæ nec veridica antiquitates nobis exponunt; paulò post lucis exortum densitate crebrâ fulgurum vibratorum tremefacta concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis &c.*: of the like universal earthquake I must confesse

Plin. 2.85.
Lib. 68.
Lib. 9. *c.* 7.
Plin. l. 2. *c.* 14.
Anno. 365.

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confeſſe I never yet heard or read. And of the dreadfulneſſe of this accident, above the *peſtilence* or any other incident to mankinde, *Seneca* excellently diſcourſes in the ſixth booke of his *Naturall quæſtions*: *Hoſtem muro repellam*, ſaith he, *prærupta altitudinis Caſtella, vel magnos exercitus, difficultate aditus morabuntur; à tempeſtate nos vindicant portus; nymborum vim effuſam, & ſine fine cadentes aquas, tecta propellunt; fugientes non ſequitur incendium, adverſus tonitrua & minas Cæli ſubterraneæ domus, & defoſſi in altum ſpecus remedia ſunt, ignis ille cæleſtis non tranſverberat terram, ſed exiguo ejus objectu retunditur, in peſtilentia mutare ſedes licet, nullum malum ſine effugio eſt, nunquam fulmina populos percuſſerunt, peſtilens cælum exhauſit urbes non abſtulit, hoc malum latiſsimè patet, inevitabile, avidum, publicè noxium, non enim domus ſolùm & familias, aut urbes ſingulas haurit, ſed gentes totas regioneſque ſubvertit, & modò ruinis operit, modò in altam voraginem condit, ac ne id quidem relinquit ex quo appareat quod non eſt, ſaltem fuiſſe, ſed ſupra nobiliſsimas urbes ſine ullo veſtigio prioris habitus ſolum extenditur.* A wall will repell an enemy, rampiers rayſed to a great height by the difficulty of their acceſſe will keepe out powerfull armies, an Heaven ſhelters us from a tempeſt, and the covering of our Houſes from the violence of ſtormes and laſting raines, the fire doth not follow us if we flie from it, againſt thunder and the threats of Heaven, vaults under ground and deepe caves are remedies; thoſe blaſtings and flaſhes from above, doe not pierce the earth, but are blunted by a little peece of it oppoſed againſt them; in the time of peſtilence a man may change dwellings, there is no miſchiefe but may be ſhunned, the lightning never ſtroake a whole nation, a peſtilentiall ayre hath emptied Cities, not overturned them: but this miſchiefe is large in ſpreading, unavoydable, greedy of deſtruction, generally dangerous. For it doth not onely depopulate Houſes, and families, and townes, but layes waſte and makes deſolate whole Regions and Countries: ſometimes covering them with their owne ruines, and ſometimes overwhelming them, & burying them in deepe gulfes, leaving nothing whereby it may ſo much as appeare to poſterity, that that which is not, ſometimes was, but the earth is levelled over moſt famous Cities, without any marke of their former exiſtence.

Epiſt. 210. *AEneas Sylvius* ſometimes *Pope*, and knowne by the name of *Pius ſecundus*, in a letter of his to the Emperour *Fredericke* thus pittifully deſcribes an Earthquake which fell out in his time, *audies ex latore præſentium quàm mirabilia & incredibilia damna fecerit terræ-motus in regno Apuliæ, nam multa oppida funditus corruerunt, alia magnâ ex parte collapſa ſunt. Neapoli omnes ferè Eccleſiæ & maxima Palatia ceciderunt, pluſquam triginta millia corpora oppreſſa ruinis traduntur, populus omnis habitat in tentoriis.* You ſhall underſtand by the bearer of theſe preſents what wonderfull & incredible loſſes an *Earthquake* hath wrought in the kingdome of *Apulia*, for many townes are utterly ruined, others for the greateſt part ſalne: in *Naples* almoſt all their Churches and fayreſt Palaces are overthrowne, more then thirty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have beene ſlaine, all the inhabitants dwell in tents. But that of S. *Auguſtine* (if

Lib. 2. de Mir. Sc. cap. 8.

the

the booke be his) is almoſt beyond credit, *in famoſo quodam terræ motu centum Lybiæ urbes corruiſſe*, that in a famous earthquake 100 Cities of *Lybia* were demoliſhed.

SECT. 5.

Of dreadfull burnings in the bowels of Ætna, *and* Veſuvius, *and riſing of a new Iland out of the Sea with hideous roaring neere* Putzol *in Italy.*

AS the quakings of the Earth were more terrible in former ages, ſo were the *burnings* in the bowels thereof no leſſe dreadfull, the one being as it were the *cold*, and the other the *hot* fits thereof. The Mountaine *Ætna* in *Sicilia* hath flamed in time paſt ſo abundantly, that by reaſon of thicke ſmoake and vapours ariſing therefrom, the inhabitants thereabout could not ſee one another (if wee may give credite to *Cicero*) for two dayes together. And in the yeare of the world 3912, it raged ſo violently, that *Africa* was thereof an aſtoniſhed witneſſe. But *Virgils* admirable deſcription thereof may ſerve for all. Sandys his Relation. Lib. 4.

Horrificis tonat Ætna ruinis,
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem,
Turbine fumantem picco, & candente favillâ,
Attollitque globos flammarum, & ſydera lambit,
Interdum ſcopulos, avulſaque viſcera montis
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque ſaxa ſub auras
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exæſtuat imo.

Ætna here thunders with a horrid noiſe,
Sometimes blacke cloudes evapoureth to skies,
Fuming with pitchie curles and ſparkling fires,
Toſſeth up globes of flames, to ſtarres aſpires:
Now belching rockes, the mountaines entrals torne,
And groaning hurles out liquid ſtones there borne
Thorow the aire in ſhowres,

But rightly did another Poet divine of this mountaine & the burnings therein.

Nec quæ ſulphurijs ardet fornacibus Ætna
Ignea ſemper erit, neque enim fuit ignea ſemper. Ovid Met. l. 15.

Ætna which flames of ſulphure now doth raiſe
Shall not ſtill burne, nor hath it burnt alwayes.

The like may bee ſaid of *Veſuvius* in the kingdome of *Naples*, it flamed with the greateſt horrour in the firſt, or as ſome ſay, in the third yeare of the Emperour *Titus*: where beſides beaſts, fiſhes & fowle, it deſtroyed two adjoyning Cities *Herculanum* and *Pompeios* with the people ſitting in the Theater: *Pliny* the Naturall Hiſtorian, then Admirall of the Romane Navy deſirous to diſcover the reaſon, was ſuffocated with the ſmoake thereof, as witneſſeth his Nephew in an Epiſtle of his to *Cornelius Tacitus*. Dion Caſſ. hiſt. lib. 66. Plinius Iunior. lib. 6. epiſt. 16. Leand: Albert. de Campan:

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Senſit procul Africa tellus,
Tunc ex pulveryis geminata incendia nymbis;
Senſit & Aegyptus, Memphiſque, & Nilus atrocem
Tempeſtatem illam Campano à littore miſſam,
Nec caruiſſe ferunt Aſiam Syramq; tremendâ
Peſte, nec extantes Neptuni fluctibus arces,
Cyprumque, Cretamque, & Cycladas ordine nullo
Per Pontum ſparſas, nec doctam Palladis urbem:
Tantus inexhauſtis erupit faucibus ardor
Ac vapor.--

They be the verſes of *Hieronymus Borgius* touching the horrible roaring and thundring of this mountaine, and may thus bee Engliſhed.

Then remote *Africke* ſuffer'd the direfull heate
Of twofold rage with ſhowers of duſt repleate,
Scorcht *Egypt*, *Memphis*, *Nilus* felt amaz'd,
The wofull tempeſt in *Campania* [rais'd;
Not *Aſia*, *Syria*, nor the towers that ſtand
In *Neptunes* ſurges, *Cyprus*, *Creet Ioves* land,
The ſcattered *Cyclades*, nor the *Muſes* ſeate
Minervaes towne, that vaſt plague ſcap'd; ſuch heate
Such vapours brake forth from full jawes.—

Marcellinus farther obſerves that the aſhes thereof tranſported in the ayre obſcured all *Europe*, and that the *Conſtantinopolitanes* being wonderfully affrighted therewith (in ſomuch as the Emperour *Leo* forſooke the City) in memoriall of the ſame, did yearely celebrate the twelfth of *November*. Who in theſe latter ages hath ever heard or read of ſuch a fire iſſuing out of the earth, as *Tacitus* in the 13 of his *Annals*, and almoſt the laſt words, diſcribes? The Citie of the *Inhonians* in *Germanie* confederate with us, (ſaith he) was afflicted with a ſodaine diſaſter, for fires iſſuing out of the earth burned Townes, fields, villages every where, and ſpread even to the walls of a Colony newly built, and could not bee extinguiſhed neither by raine nor river water, nor any other liquor that could bee imployed, untill for want of remedy, and anger of ſuch a diſtraction, certaine peſants caſt ſtones a far of into it; then the flame ſomewhat ſlacking, drawing neere they put it out with blowes of clubs, and otherlike, as if it had beene a wilde beaſt, laſt of all they threw in clothes from their backes, which the more worne and fouler the better they quenched the fires.

But the moſt memorable both *Earthquake* and burning, is that which Mr *George Sands* in the fourth booke of his Travels reports to have happened neere *Putzoll* in the kingdome of *Naples* likewiſe, in the yeare of our Lord 1538, and on the 29th of *September*, when for certaine dayes foregoing, the Country thereabout was ſo vexed with perpetuall *Earthquakes*, as no one houſe was left ſo intire, as not to expect an immediate ruine, after that the ſea had retired two hundred paſes from the ſhore, (leaving abundance of freſh water riſing in the bottome) there viſiblely aſcended a mountaine, about the ſecond hower of the night, with hideous roaring, horribly vomiting ſtones, and ſuch ſtore of cinders as over-

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overwhelmed all the buildings thereabout, & the salubrious Bathes of *Tripergula*, for so many ages celebrated, consumed the vines to ashes, killing birds and beastes; the fearefull inhabitants of *Putzoll* flying through the darke with their wives and children naked, defiled, crying out, and detesting their Calamities; manifold mischiefes had they suffered, yet none like this which nature inflicted: yet was not this the first Iland that thus by the force of *Earthquakes* have risen out of the sea, the like is reported both of *Delos* and *Rhodas*, and some others. *Plinylib. 2. cap. 85. 86. 87. Met. lib. 15. Fab. 14.*

SECT. 6.

Of the nature of Comets and the uncertainty of predictions from them, as also that the number of those which have appeared of late yeares, is lesse then hath usually beene observed in former ages, and of other fiery and watry prodigious meteors.

IT remaines that in the next place I should speake somewhat of *Comets* or *Blazing starres*, whether in latter times more have appeared, or more disastrous effects have followed upon their appearance, then in former ages. Some tooke the *Comet* to have beene a *starre*, ordained and created from the first beginning of the world, but appearing only by times and by turnes, of this minde was *Seneca*, *Cardan* likewise in latter times harps much, if not upon the same, yet the like string. But *Aristotle* (whose weighty reasons and deepe judgement I much reverence) conceiveth the matter of the *Comet*, to be a passing hot and dry exhalation, which being lifted up, by the force & vertue of the Sun, into the highest region of the ayre, is their inflamed, partly by the Element of fire upon which it bordereth, and partly by the motion of the heavens which hurleth it about; so as there is the same matter of an *Earthquake*, the *winde*, the *lightning*, & a *Comet*: if it be imprisoned in the bowels of the earth, it causeth an *Earthquake*; if it ascend to the middle region of the ayre, and bee from thence beaten backe, *winde*, if it enter that region and bee there environed with a thicke cloude, *lightning*; if it passe that region, a *Comet*, or some other fiery *Meteor*, in case the matter be not sufficiently capable thereof. *Natur. Quæst. Lib. 7. cap. 22. 23.*

The common opinion hath beene, that *Comets* either as *Signes* or *causes*, or *both*, have alwayes prognosticated some dreadfull mishaps to the world, as outragious windes, extraordinary drought, dearth, pestilence, warres, death of Princes and the like,

Nunquam futilibus excanduit ignibus æther. *Manilius.*

Ne're did the Heaven with idle blazes flame.

But the the late Lord *Privy Seale*, Earle of *Northampton*, in his *Defensative against the poyson of supposed propheses*, hath so strongly encountred this opinion, that for mine one part I must professe, he hath perswaded me, there is no certainty in those *predictions*, inasmuch as *Comets* doe not alwayes forerunne such events, neither doe such events alwayes follow upon the appearing of *Comets*. Some instances he produceth of *Comets*, which brought with them such abundance of all things, and abated their prices to so low an ebbe, as *stories* have recorded it for monu- *Cap. 16.*

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ments, and miracles to posterity: And the like, saith hee, could I say of others, *Ann. Dom.* 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558. after all which yeares nothing chanced that should drive a man to seeke out any cause above the common reach: and therefore I allow the diligence of *Gemma Frisius* taking notice of as many good, as badde effects; which have succeeded after *Comets*. Moreover hee tells us that *Pecuer*, a great *Mathematician* of *Germany*, pronosticated upon the last *Comet*, before the writing of his *Defensative*, that mens bodies should bee parched and burned up with heat: But how fell it out? Forsooth, saith hee, wee had not a more unkindely summer many yeares, in respect of extraordinary cold: never lesse inclination to warre, no Prince deceased in that time, and the plague which had beene somewhat quicke before in *Lombardy*, as God would have it, ceased at the rising of the *Comet*. Besides all this, hee reports of his owne experience, as an eye witnesse, that when diverse went upon greater scrupulosity, then cause, about to disswade Queene *Elizabeth*, lying then at *Richmond*, from looking on a *Comet* which then appeared, with a courage answerable to the greatnesse of her state, shee caused the window to bee set open, and cast out this word, *jacta est alea*; the dice are throwne, thereby shewing that her stedfast hope and confidence, was too firmely planted in the providence of God, to bee blasted or affrighted with those beames, which either had a ground in nature whereupon to rise, or at least-wise no warrant in Scripture to portend the mishap of Princes. Neither doe I remember that any *Comet* appeared either before *her death* (as at her entrance there did,) nor that of Prince *Henry*, nor of *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, the one being a most peereleesse *Queene*, the other a most incomparable *Prince*, and the third for prudence and valour, a matchlesse *King*. And for the last *Comet* which appeared, it was so farre from bringing any excessive heat with it, that for a long time there hath not bin knowne more cold yeares then three or foure immediatly ensuing it. And though it bee true that some great *Princes* died not long after it, yet after that immediatly going before, I cannot call to minde any such effect: but as *Seneca* truely notes, *Naturale est magis nova quàm magna mirari*, it is naturall unto us to bee inquisitive & curious rather about things new and strange, then those which are in their owne nature truly great: Yet even among the Ancients, *Charlemaigne* professed, that hee feared not the signe of the blazing starre, but the *Great* and potent *Creator* thereof. And *Vespasian*, as *Dyon* reports, when the apparition of a *Comet* was thought to portend his death, replied merrily: No said hee, *this bushy starre notes not me, but the Parthian King: Ipse enim comatus est, ego verò calvus sum*: For hee weares bushy locks, but I am bald. Lastly, some *Comets* have bin the Messengers of *happy* and *joyfull* tidings as that at the birth of our *Saviour*, and another at the death of *Nero*; *Cometes summè bonus apparuit qui prænuntius fuit mortis magni illius Tyranni & pestilentissimi hominis*, saith *Tacitus*. There appeared a favourable and auspicious Comet, as an Herauld to proclaime the death of that great Tyrant and most pestilent man.

Ann. 1558.

Ann. 1618.

Natur. Quæst. lib. 7. *c.* 1.

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The prediction then, & ſucceſſe of miſchievous and unfortunate accidents from the appearance of *Comets*, appearing to bee thus uncertaine, it followes in the ſecond place to bee conſidered, whether more have appeared in theſe *latter times*, then in *former ages*. For mine owne part I remember but two, for the ſpace of theſe laſt thirty yeares, and during his late Majeſties reigne but one, whereas my Lord of *Northampton*, (as we have heard before) ſpeakes of foure within the cõpaſſe of foure yeares. Before the death of *Iulius Caſar*, *Virgill* witneſſeth. *Georg. 1.*

Non aliàs cælo ceciderunt plura ſereno
Fulgura, nec diri toties arſerê Cometæ.
Ne're in cleare ſky more lightnings did appeare,
And direfull comets never rifer were.

Beda & *Paulus Æmilius* mention two, which by the ſpace of fourteene dayes appeared together, in the reigne of *Charles Martell*, father to *Charlemaine*, the one in the morning going before the the *Sunne*, and the other in the evening following after it. The like whereunto I doe not remember wee any where read of. Now that which hath beene ſaid of *Comets* may likewiſe bee applied to other fierie and watery *Meteors*, as *ſtreamings*, *ſwords*, *flying dragons*, *fighting armies*, *gapings*, two or three *Sunnes* and *Moones*, and the like appearing in the aire many times to the great terrour and aſtoniſhment of the beholders: of all which and many more of that kinde, hee that deſires to reade more, I referre him to *Vicomercatus*, *Garzæus*, *Pontanus*, and *Lyceſthenes de Prodigijs & Portentis ab orbe condito, uſque ad annum* 1557. Of ſtrange and prodigious accidents frõ the beginning of the world, to the yeare of our Lord 1557. During the raigne of King *Henry* the third ſunnes five were ſeene at once. But the ſtrangeſt apparition in the aire in this kinde that ever I heard, or read of, was that which I finde reported by Mr *Fox*, whiles the *Spaniſh* match with *Queene Mary* was in the heat of treating, and neere upon the concluding, There appeared in *London* on the fifteenth of *February* 1554, a Rainebow reverſed; the bow turning downeward, and the two ends ſtanding upward: a prodigious and ſupernaturall ſigne indeed of thoſe miſerable and bloudy times which quickly followed after. *Garzæus.* *Speed. p. 580.* *Acts & Mon. p. 1637.*

SECT. 7.

Of ſtrange and impetuous windes and lightnings, in former ages above thoſe of the preſent.

IN the laſt place we may adde the impetuous *thunders* and *lightnings*, together with outragious *windes* in former times; ſuch as latter ages have ſcarce beene acquainted with. And becauſe the latter of theſe have of late plaid their parts more fiercely both by ſea & land, it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, that even in the Prophet *Davids* time when in likelihood they lanched not forth into the maine, but coaſted along by the ſhore, they were notwithſtanding by the violence of *tempeſts*, *lifted up to heaven, and carried downe againe to the depths*: which the *Poet* hath in a manner tranſlated word for word: *Ann. 1624.* *Pſal. 107. ver. 26.*

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Tollimur in cœlum, ſublato gurgite & ijdem
Voluimur in barathrum.
With ſurgeing waves to heaven wee lifted are,
And in a trice to hel-ward downe we fare.

It was a terrible *ſtorme*, and ſeldome heard of which encountred *S. Paul* and his company in their voyage towards *Rome*, though they ſayled in ſight of land, rayſed by a tempeſtuous *winde* called *Euroclydon*, inſo-
Acts, 27. 20. much as beſide their imminent danger, neither *Sunne* nor *Starres*, which ſhould have beene their guides, in many dayes appeared unto them. The *concurrence* and combating of contrary *windes*, which is now a dayes not often obſerved to happen, and I thinke in courſe of *Nature* and diſcourſe of *Reaſon* can hardly bee, yet *Virgill* mentions it more then once,

Aeneid. 1. *Vnà Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis*
Africus, & vaſtos volvunt ad littora fluctus.
Th'Eaſtwinde, the Weſt, the Southweſt and by-Weſt,
Ruſh forth together, and with boiſtrous ſtormes
Huge waves to ſhore-ward roll.

Georg. 1. And againe,

Omnia ventorum concurrere prælia vidi,
I ſaw the windes all combating together.

And *Ovid* perchance in imitation of *Virgill*,

Met. 11. *—Omnique à parte feroces*
Fab. 10. *Bella gerunt venti:—*
Fierce windes from every Coaſt
Aſſault each others hoaſt.

Iob. 1. 19. Such a *winde* it ſeemes was that, which ſmote at once all the foure corners of the houſe of *Iobs* eldeſt ſonne.

Let any who is deſirous to inquire into, and compare things of this nature, but read what is recorded by *Lancellot* of the miſerable ſhip-
Cap. 44. wracks of former ages by reaſon of outragious windes: & in the *Turkiſh* hiſtory of two wonderfull great ſtormes, the one by land in *Sultania*, ſet downe in the entrance of *Solymans* life; the other at *Algiers*, not far from the mid'ſt of the ſame life, at *Charles* the 5th his comming thither, as alſo at his parting from thence; and I preſume hee will admire nothing in this kinde, that hath falne out in theſe latter times. Hee loſt (ſaith the ſtorie) in a few houres 140 ſhipps, 15 gallies, beſide boates and Carvils, together with the greateſt part of their men, horſes, victuals and munition.

Deaſoen mentio in Deum per Scal creat. gradu 2. *Vidi ego*, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *quod niſi vidiſſem non crederem, à vehementiſſimo vento effoſſam, ingentem terræ molem, eamque delatam ſuper pagum quendam, ut fovea altiſſima conſpiceretur, unde terra eruta fuerat, & pagus totus coopertus, & quaſi ſepultus manſerit ad quem terra illa devenerat.* I my ſelfe have ſeene, which if I had not ſeene, I ſhould not have beleeved, a very great quantity of earth, digged out and taken up by the force of a ſtrong winde, and carried upon a village thereby, ſo that there remained to be ſeene a great empty hollownes, in the place from whence it was lifted, and the village upon which it lighted, was in a manner all

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all covered over and buried in it. This example I confesse, could not be long since, since *Bellarmine* professes that himselfe saw it: Yet it might well be some skores of yeares before our last great windes, which notwithstanding by some, for want of reading and experience, are thought to bee unmatchable: And I know not whether that outragious *winde* which happened in *London*, in the yeare 1095. during the reigne of *William Rufus*, might not well bee thought to paralell, at least, this recorded by *Bellarmine*: It bore downe in that Citie alone, fixe hundred houses, and blew off the roofe of *Bow Church*, which with the beames, were borne into the aire a great height, six whereof being 27 foote long with their fall were driven 23 foote deepe into the ground, the streetes of the City lying then unpaved. And in the fourth yeare of the same King, so vehement a lightning, (which as hath beene said, is of the same matter with the winde) pierced the steeple of the *Abbey* of *Winscomb* in *Glocester shire*, that it rent the beames of the roofe, cast downe the *Crucifixe*, brake of his right legge, and withall overthrew the Image of our *Lady* standing hard by, leaving such a stench in the Church, that neither incense, holy-water, nor the singing of the Monkes could allay it: But it is now more then time I should descend a step lower, from the *aire* to the *water*. John Stow.

CHAP. 8.

Touching the pretended decay of the waters, and the fish the inhabiters thereof.

SECT. 1.

That the sea, and rivers, and bathes are the same at this present, as they were for many ages past, or what they loose in one place or time they recover in another.

THough the *Psalmist* tell us, *that the Lord hath founded the earth upon the Seas and established it upon the flouds*, because for the more commodious living of man and beasts, he hath made a part of it higher then the Seas, or at least-wise restrained them from incursion upon it, so as now they make but one intire *Globe*; yet because the waters in the first Creation covered the face of the earth, I will first begin with them. Psal. 24. 2.

The learned *Zanchius* in his fourth booke *de operibus Creationis*, hath this *Thesis*.

Oceanus dum manet mundus deficere non potest.

Which he thus proves: *Est enim una ex primis & præcipuis mundi partibus; mundus enim constat ex quatuor elementis, quorum unum est aqua, quæ collecta primò est in Oceano, inde verò in omnes mundi partes distribuitur. Quare licet primò omnes aquæ ab Oceano fluant, & deinde perpetuâ vi solis ex ipso eleventur vapores aquei in sublime, & postremò semper aliquæ Oceani partes* Thes tertia.

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tes in aerem convertantur; fieri tamen inde non potest, ut Oceanus imminuatur. Ratio est, quia quicquid ab eo extrahitur & effluit, mox etiam Dei Providentiâ & gubernatione ei instauratur atque redditur & ad illum refluit. Flumina enim quæ exeunt, etiam ad eum redeunt; vapores quoque qui ascendunt in sublime, resolvuntur etiam in aquam, nivem, & cætera meteora, & tandem ad mare redeunt. Ac si multum aquæ maris in aerem converteretur, vicissim etiam aer mutatur in aquam. Ita semper compensatur quod è mari hauritur: Imo Deus hanc instituit elementorum vicissitudinem inter se, ut melius mundus conservetur ad animalium, atque imprimis hominum utilitatem. Servandus autem est mundus in sempiternum, licet totus ad alterum Christi adventum renovandus sit: Oceanus igitur perpetuò est. Ita apparet insania Democriti, qui (ex eo quod quotidiè ascendunt vapores ab aquis, & à solis consumuntur) dicebat, tandem totum Oceanum exiccatum iri. For it is one of the first and chiefe parts of the world; for the world consists of the foure Elements, one of which is the water, which at first was gathered in the Ocean; and thence dispersed into all the parts of the world. Wherefore although all waters at the first doe flow from the Ocean; and besides, watry vapours are raised out of it by the perpetuall force of the Sun, and last of all some parts of the Ocean are changed into aire, yet it cannot thence come to passe, that the Ocean should bee diminished. The reason is, because whatsoever is drawne and flowes from it, anon by the providence and government of God is restored and rendred, and flowes backe againe unto it. For the Rivers which goe out of it returne againe unto it; the vapours also which ascend on high, are turned into *raine*, *snow*, and other *Meteors*, and at length returne to the *Sea*; and though a great part of the Sea be turned into *aire*, that *aire* is againe turned into water; by which meanes that is repaid which is borrowed from the *Sea*. Nay, *God* hath ordained this change of the Elements among themselves, that the world might the better bee preserved for the commoditie of the beasts, but chiefly of men. And the world is to be preserved for ever, although the whole be to be renovated at the second comming of *Christ*; therefore the Ocean is to be for ever. Thus the madnes of *Democritus* is manifest, who (because that vapours daily arise from the waters, & are consumed by the force of the Sun) said, that the whole Ocean at length would bee dryed up.

See *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. *Sect.* 2.

The mother of waters, then the great deepe hath undoubtedly lost nothing of her ancient bounds or depth, but what is impaired in one place, is againe restored to her in another. The rivers which the earth sucked from her by secret veines, it renders backe againe with full mouth, and the vapours which the Sunne drawes up, empty themselves againe into her bosome

Bartas.

The purest humour in the Sea, the Sun
Exhales in th'Aire: which there resolv'd, anon
Returnes to water, and descends againe,
By sundry wayes into his mother maine.

Her motion of ebbing and flowing, of high Springs and dead Neapes, are still as certaine and constant, as the changes of the Moone, & course of

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of the Sunne: Her native ſaltnes, & by reaſon thereof, her ſtrength, for the better ſupporting of navigable veſſels, is ſtill the ſame. And as the Sea the mother of waters, ſo likewiſe the rivers the daughters thereof, either hold on their wonted courſes and currents, or what they have diminiſhed in one age or place, they have againe recompenſed and repayed in another, as *Strabo* hath well expreſſed it both of the ſea and rivers, *Quoniam omnia moventur & transmutantur, (aliter talia ac tanta administrari non poſſent) exiſtimandum eſt, nec terram ita ſemper permanere, ut ſemper tanta ſit, nec quicquam ſibi addatur aut adimatur, ſed nec aquam; nec eandem ſedem ſemper ab iſtis obtineri, præſertim cùm transmutatio ejus cognata ſit ac naturalis, quinimò terræ multum in aquam convertitur, & aquæ multum in terram transmutatur. Quare minimè mirandum eſt ſi eas terræ partes quæ nunc habitantur, olim mare occupabat, & quæ pelagus ſunt, prius habitabantur. Quemadmodum de fontibus, alios deficere contingit, alios relaxari, item & flumina & lacus.* Becauſe things move and are changed (without which ſuch and ſo great matters could not well be diſpoſed) we are to thinke that the earth doth not remaine alwayes in the ſame ſtate, without addition or diminution, neither yet the water, as if they were alwayes bounded within the ſame liſts, ſpecially ſeeing their mutuall change is naturall & kindely; but rather that much earth is turned into water, & contrariwiſe no leſſe water into earth. It is not then to be wondered at, if that part of the earth which is now habitable, was formerly overflowed with water, and that againe which now is ſea, was ſometimes habitable, as among fountaines ſome are dried up, & ſome ſpring forth afreſh, which may alſo bee verified of rivers and lakes. *Dion* in his booke of the life of *Trajan* gives an inſtance in both, by reaſon of a dreadfull Earthquake, *& aquæ* (ſaith he) *ubi antea viſæ fuerant nunquam, extiterunt: Contrà, nonnullæ ubi fluxerant defecerunt.* Both the rivers, where they never were ſeene before, brake forth: and ſome on the other ſide, where they had uſually runne were dryed up. Wherewith accords that of the Poet. Lib. 17.

Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam ſolidiſſima tellus
Eſſe freturn, vidi factas ex æquore terras: Metamorph. 15.
Et procul à pelago Conchæ jacuere marinæ,
Et vetus inventa eſt in montibus anchora ſummis.
Quodque fuit campus, vallem deſcurſus aquarum
Fecit, & eluvie mons eſt deductus in æquor.
Eque paludoſâ ficcis humus aret arenis,
Quæque ſitim tulerant ſtagnata paludibus hument.
Hic fontes natura novos emiſit, & illic
Clauſit, & antiquis tam multa tremoribus orbis
Flumina proſiliunt, aut exiccata reſidunt.

What was firme land ſometimes, that have I ſeene
Made ſea, and what was ſea made land againe,
On mountaine tops old anchours found have beene,
And ſea-fiſh ſhells to lie farre from the maine.
Plaines turne to vales by water-falls, the downe
By overflowes is chang'd to champaine land,

Dry

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Dry ground erewhile, now mooriſh fen doth drowne,
And fens againe are turn'd to thirſty ſand,
Here fountaines new hath nature opened,
There ſhut up ſprings which earſt did flow amaine,
By earthquakes rivers oft have iſſued,
Or dryed up, they have ſunke downe againe.

The *Poet* there brings inſtances in both theſe. Which is in part verified by that of *Sabin* in his Commentaries upon the *Metam. lib.5. fab.3. Ex annalium monumentis conſtat, anno* 1460. *in Alpibus inventam eſſe navim cum anchoris in cuniculo per quem metalla effodiuntur*: it appeares by the monuments of hiſtory, that in the yeare 1460, in a mine of the *Alpes* was found a ſhip with the anchors. Such an inundation ſhould that ſeeme to have beene which S. *Hierome* ſpeakes of in the life of *Hilarion*, after the death of *Iulian*, *naves ad prærupta delatæ montium pependerunt*, the ſhips being landed upon the tops of the mountaines there ſtucke. Late yeares cannot afford the like examples, either of the furious breaking in of the ſea upon the dry land, or of the wonderfull overflowing of rivers beyond the bankes, as former ages doe: which to be true, hee that ſhall take the paines to read the 44 chapter of *Secundo Lancellotti* his *Hoggidi* will eaſily grant. And to like purpoſe is that of *Pontanus*, for the matter of perpetuall change.

Lib.4. Meteor.

Sed nec perpetuæ ſedes ſunt fontibus ullæ,
Æterni aut manant curſus, mutantur in ævum
Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,
Quodque dies antiqua tulit, poſt auferet ipſa.

Fountaines ſpring not eternally,
Nor in one place perpetually doe tary,
All things in every age for evermore doe vary,
And nature changeth ſtill the courſe ſhe once begunne,
And will herſelfe undoe what ſhe of old hath done.

Which though it be true in many, yet theſe great ones as *Indus*, & *Ganges*, and *Danubius*, and the *Rhene*, and *Nilus*, are little or nothing varied from the ſame courſes and currents which they held thouſands of yeares ſince, as appeares in their deſcriptions by the ancient *Geographers*: But above all methinkes the conſtant riſing of *Nilus* continued for ſo many ages, is one of the greateſt wonders in the world, which is ſo preciſe in regard of time, that if you take of the earth adjoyning to the river and preſerve it carefully, that it come neither to bee wet nor waſted, and weigh it daily, you ſhall finde it neither more nor leſſe heavy till the ſeventeenth of *Iune*, at which day it beginneth to grow more ponderous, and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river, whereby they have an infallible knowledge of the ſtate of the deluge.

Reported by Mr *George Sands* as a common experiment, affirmed by *Alpinus* a Phyſitian, *Marchitus* the Frenſch Conſull, *Eliannus* a Ieſuite, and *Varras* an Engliſh-man.

Now for the *Medicinall* properties of *Fountaines* or *Bathes*, no man I thinke makes any doubt, but that they are both as much and as efficacious as ever: ſome it may be have loſt their vertue and are growne out of uſe: but others againe have inſteed thereof beene diſcovered in other places, of no leſſe uſe and vertue, as both *Baccius* and *Blanchellus* in their

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their bookes *de Thermis* have obſerved. Wholſome medicinall waters have beene of late yeares diſcovered and uſed with good effect in *Eſſex*, *Northampton-ſhire*, and *Surrey*, (which for any thing wee finde) former ages were not acquainted with.

In the yeare 1626, *Eamund Deane* Doctour of *Phyſicke*, dwelling in the Citie of *Yorke*, publiſhed a little treatiſe, which he intitles *Spadacrene Anglica*, or the *Engliſh Spaw-fountaine*, being a briefe relation of the acide and tart fountaine, diſcovered by Mr *Slinsby* in the forreſt of *Knaresborow*, in the Weſt riding of *Yorke-ſhire*. This diſcourſe he dedicates to the Phyſitians of *Yorke*, and touching the vertue of thoſe waters in that Epiſtle writeth, that to extoll it above the *German Spaw*, may be thought to be either indiſcretion or particularity, but why hee may not parallel them, (being in natures and qualities ſo agreeable) he profeſſeth, that neither himſelfe nor they (as hee ſuppoſeth) knew any inducing, much leſſe, perſwading arguments; wherefore ſaith hee, being thus confident, I thought it no part of our duties either to God, our King, or Country, to conceale ſo great a benefit, as may thereby accrew not onely to this whole Kingdome, but alſo in time (after farther notice taken of it) to forraine Nations and Countries, who may perhaps with more benefit and leſſe hazard, partake of this our *Engliſh Spaw-fountaine*, then of thoſe in *Germany*.

And for thoſe hot ones at the Citie of *Bath*, I make no queſtion but *Nechams* verſes may as juſtly be verified of their goodneſſe at this preſent, as they were foure hundred yeares ſince, about which time hee is ſaid to have written them.

Bathonia Thermis vix præfero Virgilianas,
Confecto proſunt Balnea noſtra ſeni.
Proſunt attritis, colliſis, invalidiſque,
Et quorum morbis frigida cauſa ſubeſt.

Our Baines at Bath with *Virgils* to compare,
For their effects I dare almoſt be bold:
For feeble folke, and crazie, good they are,
For bruiſ'd, conſum'd, farre ſpent, and very old,
For thoſe likewiſe whoſe ſickneſſe comes of cold.

So as to it may not untruly that of *Virgil* be applyed,

--Multiſque perhauſtis
Ignibus inſtaurat vires.

It ſpending ſtill the fewell which it burnes,
Yet ſtill to former ſtrength a freſh returnes.

But how this fewell and fire (by which theſe bathes are thus warmed) ſhould thus ſtill continue, is (I confeſſe) a great doubt, and for reſolution herein, referre the curious reader to *Fallopius* his learned diſputations touching that point in his booke *de Thermis*.

SECT. 2.

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SECT. 2.

That the fiſhes are not decayed in regard of their ſtore dimenſions or duration.

BUt it is ſaid, that though the *waters* decay not, yet the *fiſh*, the inhabitants thereof, at leaſtwiſe in regard of their *number* are much decayed, ſo as we may take up that of the *Poet*.

Iuvenal. Sat. 5. *----Omne peractum eſt,*
Et jam defecit noſtrum mare.----
All our Seas at length are ſpent and faile.

The Seas being growne fruitleſſe and barren, as is pretended, in regard of former ages, & that ſo it appeares upon record in our Haven townes: But if ſuch a thing bee, (which I can neither affirme nor deny, having not ſearched into it my ſelfe) themſelves who make the objection, ſhape a ſufficient anſwer thereunto, by telling us that it may ſo bee by an extraordinary judgement of *God*, (as hee dealt with the *Egyptians*) in the death of our fiſh for the abuſe of our fleſh pots, or by the intruſion of the *Hollander*, who carries from our coaſt ſuch ſtore, as we might much better load our ſelves with: and Mr *Camden* in the North-riding of *Yorke-ſhire* aſſures us, that thoſe mighty ſholes of herring, which in time of our fore-fathers had in a manner their ſtation about *Norway*, in this our age by the divine providence yearly ſurrounded our whole Iland by incredible ſwarmes.

And if we ſhould a little inlarge our view, and caſt our eyes abroad, comparing one part of the world with another, we ſhall eaſily diſcerne, that though our coaſt faile in that abundance, which formerly it had, by over-laying it; yet others ſtill abound in a moſt plentifull manner, as is by experience found upon the coaſt of *Virginia* at this preſent. And no doubt but were our coaſt ſpared for ſome ſpace of yeares, it would again afford as great plenty as ever. Finally if the ſtore of *fiſh* ſhould decay by reaſon of the decay of the *world*, it muſt of neceſſity follow that likewiſe the ſtore of *plants*, of *beaſts*, of *birds*, & of *men* ſhould daily decay by vertue of the ſame reaſon. Nay rather, ſince the curſe lighting upon *man* extended to *plants* & *beaſts*, but not to *fiſhes*, for any thing I finde expreſly regiſtred in holy Scripture. As neither did the univerſall Deluge hurt, but rather helpe them, by which the reſt periſhed. There are ſtill no doubt even at this day as at the firſt Creation, in the ſea to be found

Bartas. As many fiſhes of ſo many features,
That in the waters one may ſee all Creatures:
And all that in this All is to be found,
As if the World within the deepes were drown'd.

Now as the *ſtore* of *fiſhes* is no way diminiſhed: ſo neither are they decayed either in their *greatnes* or *goodnes*. I will inſtance in the *Whale*, the King of fiſhes, or as *Iob* termes him, *the King over the children of pride*.

Lib. 51. c. 25. That which S. *Baſil* in his *Hexameron* reports, namely that the *Whales* are in bigneſſe equall to the greateſt *mountaines*, & their backes when they ſhew

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shew above water are like unto *Ilands*, is by a late learned Writer not undeservedly censured, as intollerably *hyperbolicall*. *Pliny* in the ninth booke and third chapter of his *Naturall History* tels us, that in the *Indian* Seas some have beene taken up to the length of foure acres, that is, nine hundred and sixty feet; whereas notwithstanding *Arrianus* in his discourse *de rebus Indicis* assures us, that *Nearchus* measuring one cast upon that shore, found him to be but fifty cubits. The same *Pliny* in the first Chapter of his 32 booke sets downe a relation of King *Iubaes*, out of those books which he wrote to *C. Cæsar*, son to *Augustus* the Emperour, touching the History of *Arabia*, where hee affirmes that in the bay of *Arabia*, *Whales* have beene knowne to be 600 foote long, and 360 foote thicke, & yet as it is well knowne by the soundings of *Navigatours*, that Sea is not by a great deale 360 foot deepe. But to let goe those fancies, and fables. and to come to that which is more probable. This dimension of the *Whale*, saith *Ælian*, is five times beyond the largest *Elephant*: but for the ordinary, saith *Rondeletius*, he seldome exceedes 36 cubits in length, and 8 in height. *Dion* a grave Writer reports it as a wonder, that in the raigne of *Augustus*, a *Whale* leapt to land out of the *German* Ocean, full 20 foot in bredth, and 60 in length. This I confesse was much, yet to match it with later times, *Gesner* in his Epistle to *Polidor Virgil* avoucheth it as most true, that in the yeare of our *Lord* 1532, in the *Northerne* part of our owne land, not farre from *Tinmouth* haven, was a mighty *Whale* cast on land, found by good measure to bee 90 foot in length, arising to 30 *English* yards, the very bredth of his mouth was sixe yardes and a halfe, and the belly so vast in compasse, that one standing on the fish of purpose to cut off a ribbe from him, and slipping into his belly was very likely there to have beene drowned with the moysture then remaining, had hee not beene suddenly rescued. From whence wee may gather, that *Iobs* admirable description of this fish under the name of *Leviathan*, is still true, and that in vastnesse, since *Augustus* his time, he is nothing decreased: And yet I will beleeve, that those on the *Indian* Seas may much exceede ours, which might perchance give occasion to those large relations of *Pliny* and *Iuba*. Hereunto may be added the observation of *Macrobius* touching the growth of the Mullet. *Plinius Secundus*, saith he, *temporibus suis negat facilè mullum repertum, qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majores passim videmus; & pretia hæc insana nescimus.* *Plinius Secundus* denyes that in his time a Mullet was easily to be found which exceeded two pound weight; but now adayes we every where see them of greater weight, and yet are not acquainted with those unreasonable prises which they then paid for them.

Brerewood inquiries. *cap.* 13.

Lib. 6. *cap.* 12.

Lib. 16. *cap.* 11.

Lib. 54.

Lib. 4.

Job. 41.

Satur. l. 3. *c.* 16.

Nat. Hist. 9 17.

I will close up this Chapter with a relation of *Gesners* in his Epistle to the Emperour *Ferdinand* prefixed before his booke *De Piscibus*, touching the long life of a *Pike* which was cast into a Pond or poole neare *Hailebrune* in *Swevia*, with this inscription ingraven upon a collar of brasse fastned about his necke. *Ego sum ille piscis huic stagno omnium primus impositus per mundi Rectoris Frederici Secundi manus, 5 Octobris, anno* 1230. I am that fish which was first of all cast into this poole by the

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hand of *Fredericke* the ſecond governour of the World the fift of *October*, in the yeare 1230. He was againe taken up in the yeare 1497, and by the inſcription it appeared he had then lived there 267 yeares: ſo as it ſeemes, that as fiſhes are not diminiſhed in regard of their ſtore or growth: ſo neither in reſpect of their age and duration.

Ortelius likewiſe in his *Theatre* of the World, makes report of a mighty *Carpe* taken in a river named *Sarte*, among the *Cennomanni*. But I leave floating on the *Waters*, and betake mee to the more ſtable Element the *Earth*.

CHAP. 9.

Touching the pretended decay of the earth, together with the plants and beaſts, and minerals.

SECT. 1.

The divine meditations of Seneca *and* Pliny *upon the Globe of the Earth. An objection out of* Ælian *touching the decreaſe of mountaines anſwered. That all things which ſpring from the earth returne thither againe, and conſequently it cannot decay in regard of the fruitfulneſſe in the whole. Other objections of leſſe conſequence anſwered.*

BOth *Seneca* and *Pliny* have moſt divine meditations upon this conſideration, that the *Globe* of the *Earth* in regard of the higher *Elements*, and the *Heavens* wheeling about it, is by the *Mathematicians* compared to a pricke or point.

Lib. 2. cap. 68. 'Theſe ſo many peeces of *Earth* (ſaith *Pliny*) or rather, as moſt have 'written, this *little pricke* of the World, (for ſurely the *Earth* is nothing 'elſe in compariſon of the whole) is the onely matter of our glory; this 'I ſay, is the very ſeat thereof: here we ſeeke for honour and dignities, 'here wee exerciſe our rule and authority, here wee covet wealth and 'riches, here all mankinde is ſet upon ſtirs and troubles, here wee raiſe 'civill wars ſtill one after another, & with mutuall maſſacres and mur-'thers we make more roome therein: And to let paſſe the publique fu-'rie of Nations abroad, this is it wherein wee chace and drive out 'our neighbour Borderers, and by ſtealth dig turfe from our Neigh-'bours ſoyle to put into our owne: and when a man hath extended his 'land, and gotten whole Countries to himſelfe farre and neare, what a 'goodly deale of earth enjoyeth he? and ſay, that he ſet out his bounds 'to the full meaſure of his covetous deſire, what a great portion there-'of ſhall hee hold, when hee is once dead, and his head laid? Thus *Pliny*, with whom *Seneca* ſweetly accords. *Hoc eſt punctum quod inter tot gentes, ferro & igne dividitur, ô quam ridiculi ſunt mortalium termini! Punctum certè eſt illud in quo navigamus, in quo bellamus, in quo regna diſponimus.* It is but a point which ſo many Nations ſhare with fire and ſword. O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men! It is verily but a point in which wee ſayle, in which we wage warres, in which

Nat. quæſt. l. 1. præf.

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which wee diſpoſe of Kingdomes. But for theſe ſublime ſpeculations, we are to deſcend to the examination of the *Earths ſuppoſed decay.*

Ælian in the eight booke of his Hiſtory, telleth us, that not onely the mountaine *Ætna*, (for thereof might be given ſome reaſon, becauſe of the daily waſting and conſuming of it by fire,) but *Parnaſſus* and *Olympus* did appeare to bee leſſe and leſſe, to ſuch as ſayled at Sea, the height thereof ſinking as it ſeemed; and thereupon inferres, that men moſt skilfull in the ſecrets of *Nature*, did affirme that the world it ſelfe ſhould likewiſe periſh and have an end. His concluſion I cannot but approve, and moſt willingly accept of, as a rich teſtimony for the confirmation of our *Chriſtian* Doctrine, from the penne of a *Gentile*: But that hee inferres it from ſo weake grounds, I cannot but wonder at the ſtupidity of ſo wiſe a man. For to grant that thoſe mountaines decreaſe in their magnitude, yet ſhall I never yeeld an univerſall decreaſe in the whole Globe of the *Earth*, ſince the proportions aſwell of the *Diameter* as *Circumference* thereof, are by *Geometriall* demonſtrations found to bee the ſame which they were in former ages, or at leaſtwiſe not to decreaſe. And for the difference, which is obſerved betwixt the Calculation of *Ancient* and *Moderne* Writers; it is certainely to bee referred to the difference of miles, or of inſtruments, or the unskilfullneſſe of the Authours; not to the different *dimenſions* of the *Earth*, which I thinke no *Geometrician* ever ſo much as dreamed of. Notwithſtanding which truth, I muſt, and doe readily ſubſcribe to that of *Iob, Surely the mountaine falling commeth to nought, and the rocke is removed out of his place*, but let us take *Iobs* reaſon with us which he immediately addes: *The waters weare the ſtones, thou waſheſt away the things which grow out of the duſt of the earth.* This diminution then of the *Mountaines* (as *Blancanus* obſerves) is cauſed partly by *Raine-water*, and partly by *Rivers*, which by continuall fretting, by little and little waſh away and eate out both the tops, and ſides, and feete of *mountaines*: whence the parts thus fretted through, by continuall falling downe, weare out the *mountaines*, and fill up the lower places of the *valleyes*, making the one to increaſe, as the other to decreaſe; whence it comes to paſſe, that ſome old houſes, heretofore fairely built, bee now almoſt buried under ground, and their windowes heretofore ſet at a reaſonable height, now growne even with the pavement. So ſome write of the triumphall Arch of *Septimius*, at the foote of the *Capitoll* mountaine in *Rome*, now almoſt covered with earth, inſomuch as they are inforced to deſcend downe into it, by as many ſtaires as formerly they were uſed to aſcend; whereas contrary-wiſe the *Roman Capitoll* it ſelfe ſeated on the mountaine which hangs over it (as witneſſeth *George Agricola*) diſcovers its foundation plainely above ground, which without queſtion was at the firſt laying thereof deepe rooted in the earth, whereby it appeares, that what the mountaine looſeth the valley gaines; and conſequently that in the whole Globe of the earth nothing is loſt, but onely removed from one place to another; ſo that in proceſſe of time the higheſt mountaines may be humbled into valleyes, and againe the loweſt valleyes exalted into mountaines.

Cap. 11.

Cap. 14. *v.* 18. 19.

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If ought to nought did fall;
Bartas. All that is felt or ſeene within this all,
Still looſing ſomewhat of it ſelfe, at length
Would come to nothing: if deaths fatall ſtrength
Could altogether ſubſtances deſtroy,
Things then ſhould vaniſh even as ſoone as die,
In time the mighty mountaines tops be bated;
But, with their fall, the neighbour vailes are fatted;
And what when *Trent* or *Avon* overflow,
They reave one field, they on the next beſtow.

And whereas another *Poet* tels us that,

Ovid. 15. Met. *Eluvie mons eſt deductus in aquor.*
The mountaine by waſting oft
Into the Sea is brought.

It is moſt certaine, and by experience found to bee true, that as the rivers daily carry much earth with them into the Sea, ſo the Sea ſends backe againe much ſlime and ſand to the earth, which in ſome places, and namely in the North part of *Devonſhire* is found to bee a marveilous great commoditie for the enriching of the ſoyle. *Anaxagoras* (as *Diogenes Laertius* reports it in his life) being demanded what hee thought, whether the mountaines called *Lapſaceni* would in time bee covered with Sea; anſwered *yes, unleſſe time it ſelfe faile*: which anſwer of his ſeemes to confirme the opinion of *Ioſephus Blancanus* profeſſour of the Mathematiques at *Parma*, in his booke *de Mundi fabrica, cap.* 4. where hee maintaines that if the world ſhould laſt long enough, by reaſon of this continuall decreaſe of the mountaines, and the levelling of the valleyes, the earth would againe be overflowne with waters as at the firſt it was: whereas *Blancanus* might have remembred the covenant of God himſelfe, *Gen.* 9. 11. *Neither ſhall all fleſh be cut off any more by the waters of a floud, neither ſhall there any more bee a floud to deſtroy the earth*, for the effecting whereof *hee hath ſhut up the Sea with dooores and barres*: *Iob.* 38. 8. *and ſet boundes to the proud waves thereof, which they may not paſſe over, nor turne againe to cover the earth. Pſal.* 104. 9.

Now as the *Earth* is nothing diminiſhed in regard of the *dimenſions*, (the meaſure thereof from the *Surface* to the *Center*, being the ſame, as it was at the firſt *Creation.*) So neither in the *fatneſſe* and *fruitfulneſſe* thereof, at leaſtwiſe ſince the *floud*, or in regard of *duration* alone any whit impaired: though it have yeelded ſuch ſtore of increaſe by the ſpace of ſo many revolutions of ages, yet hee that made it, *continually reneweth the face thereof*, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, by turning all things which
Pſal. 104. 30. ſpring from it into it againe.

Saith one,

Cuncta ſuos ortus repetunt, matremque requirunt.

And another:

E terris orta, terra rurſus accipit.

And a third:

Lucan. *----Capit omnia tellus*
Quæ genuit.

And

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And a fourth joynes all together:

Quapropter meritò maternum nomen adepta est, Lucr. lib. 2.
Cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante
In terras.

And altogether they may thus not unfittingly be rendred.

All things returne to their originall,
And seeke their mother: what from earth doth spring,
The same againe into the earth doth fall.

Neither doe they herein dissent from *Siracides*, *with all manner of living things hath hee covered the face of the earth, and they shall returne into it againe.* And that doome which passed upon the first man after the fall, is as it were ingraven on the fore-heads, not onely of his posterity but of all earthly Creatures made for their sakes; *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt returne.* 16. 30.

As the *Ocean* is maintained by the returne of the rivers, which are drayned and derived from it: So is the earth by the dissolution and reversion of those bodies, which from it receive their growth and nourishment. The grasse to feede the beasts, the corne to strengthen, and the wine to cheere the heart of man, either are, or might be both in regard of the Earth and Heavens, as good and plentifull as ever. That decree of the Almighty, is like the law of the *Medes* and *Persians* irrevocable; *They shall be for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares.* And againe, *Hereafter seed-time, and harvest, and cold, and heat, and summer, and winter, and day, and night, shall not cease so long as the earth remaineth.* Which is well expressed by *Seneca*, in sense the same, and in words not much different. *Hyems nunquam aberravit, Æstas suo tempore incaluit, Autumni Verisque, ut solet, facta mutatio est, tam solstitium quam æquinoctium suos dies retulit.* The Winter never failed, the Summer in its season waxed hot, the Autumne and Spring have had their changes, both the solstice and the equinoctiall have at a fixed day their constant returnes. Gen. 8. 22. Nat. qu lib. 3. cap. 16.

And were there not a certainty in these revolutions, so that

----In se sua per vestigia volvitur annus, Virgil.

The yeare in its owne steps into it selfe returnes:

It could not well bee, that the *Storke* and the *Turtle*, the *Crane* and the *Swallow*, and other fowles, should observe so precisely as they doe the appointed times of their comming and going. Jer. 8. 7.

And whereas it is commonly thought, and beleeved, that the times of the yeare are now more unseasonable then heretofore, and thereby the fruites of the Earth, neither so faire nor so kindely as they have beene: To the first I answer, that the same complaint hath beene ever since *Salomons* time. *Hee that observeth the winde shall not sow; and hee that regardeth the cloudes shall not reape*; By which it seemes, the weather was even then as uncertaine as now; and so was likewise the uncertaine and unkindly riping of fruites, as may appeare by the words following in the same place: *In the morning sow thy seede, and in the evening let not thy hand rest: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper this or that, or whether both shall bee alike good:* And if sometimes we have unseasonable yeares, by reason of excessive wet and cold, they are againe payd home by immoderate Eccles. 11. 4. v. 6.

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drought and heate, if not with us, yet in our neighbour countries; and with us, I thinke, no man will bee so unwise, or partiall, as to affirme that there is a constant and perpetuall declination, but that the unseasonablenesse of some yeares, is recompensed by the seasonablenesse of others. As this very yeere 1634. by Gods blessing hath hitherto proved. It is true that the erroneous computation of the yeare wee now use, may cause some seeming alteration in the seasons thereof; and in processe of time, must needes cause a greater if it be not rectified: but let that errour be reformed, and I am perswaded that *communibus annis*, we shall finde no difference from the seasons of former ages: at leastwise in regard of the *ordinary course of nature*: For of Gods extraordinary judgments, wee now dispute not, who sometimes for our sinnes emptieth the botles of heaven incessantly upon us: and againe at other times makes the heavens as brasse over our heads, and the earth as yron under our feete.

SECT. 2.

Another objection, touching the decay of the fruitfulnesse of the holy-land, fully answered.

Epist. 129. ad Dardanum. WHen I consider the narrow bounds of the land of *Canaan*, (it being by S. *Hieromes* account, who lived long there, but 106 miles in length, from *Dan* to *Bersheba*, and in bredth but 40. from *Ioppa* to *Bethlem*,) and withall the multitude incredible (were it not recorded in holy Scripture) both of *men* & *cattell* which it

2 Chron. 13.3. fedde, there meeting in one battle betweene *Iudah* and *Israel* twelve hundred thousand chosen men: Nay the very sword-men, besides the

2 Chron. 21. 5. *Levites* and *Benjamites* were upon strict inquirie found to bee fifteene hundred & seaventy thousand, whereof the yongest was twenty yeares old, there being none by the law to bee mustered vnder that age: and which is more strange, the very guards of *Iehosophats* person amounted

2. Chron. 17. 14. to almost an eleven hundred thousand. And for the number of *Cattell*, there were slaine in one sacrifice at the dedication of *Salomons* temple,

2. Chron. 7. 5. two and twenty thousand bullockes, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheepe. When I say, I compare these multitudes of men and cattell with the narrow bounds of that countrey; I am forced to beleeve that it was indeede a most fruitfull soyle, *flowing with milke and honey*, & richly abounding in all kinde of commodities: Yet the reports of some who have taken a survey of it in these latter ages, beare us in hand, that the fruitfulnesse thereof, is now much decayed in regard of those times: From whence they would inferre a generall decay in all soyles, and consequently in the whole course of nature. But it may truly bee said that this wonderfull fruitfulnesse proceeded from a *speciall favour* of *Almighty God* towards this people, as appeares in the 11 of *Deuteronomy*, *this land doth the Lord thy God care for, the eyes of the Lord thy God are alwayes upon it, from the beginning of the yeare even to the end of the yeare.* v. 3. And more clearely in the 26. of *Leviticus*: *If yee walke in mine ordinances,*

and

and keepe my commandements, I will ſend you raine in due ſeaſon, and the land ſhall yeeld her increaſe, and the tree of the field ſhall give their fruite, and your threſhing ſhall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage ſhall reach unto the ſowing time, and you ſhall eate your bread in pleaſantneſſe, and dwell in your land ſafely. But the miraculous providence of *God* ſhewed it ſelfe moſt evidently over this land in anſwering their doubt, what they ſhould eate the ſeaventh yeare, if they ſuffered the land to reſt, as *God* had injoyned them; the reply is, *I will ſend my bleſſing upon you in the ſixth yeare, and it ſhall bring forth fruite for three yeares.* Now then as this *extraordinary fruitfulneſſe* proceeded from an *extraordinary favour*: ſo this favour ceaſing, the fruitfulneſſe might likewiſe ceaſe without any *naturall decay* of the ſoyle: The countrey about *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* was for fruitfulneſſe as the *Paradice*, or garden of the Lord, till the curſe of God fell upon it, then it became a waſt land, and ſo remaines to this day: Yet can it not bee gaine-ſaid but that beſide the ſpeciall bleſſing of God, this ſoyle of *Paleſtina* was naturally very rich in it ſelfe, inaſmuch as it fed one and thirty *Idolatrous* Kings, with their people before the entrance of Gods choſen nation into it, one of which alone poſſeſſed, as it ſhould ſeeme threeſcore cities. And the pomegranats, the figs & the grapes, which the ſpies (ſent by *Moſes* to diſcover the land) brought backe with them, were marvailous goodly & faire. And as this ſoyle was thus rich before the entrance of this people, ſo ſince the diſplanting of them from thence, and the *Saracens* poſſeſſing it, it hath not altogether loſt its ancient fruitfulneſſe whatſoever is pretended to the contrary, if wee may credit *Brocardus*, who about three hundred yeares ſince was himſelfe an eyewitneſſe thereof. His words are theſe. *Non eſt credendum contrarium nunciantibus, neque enim eam diligenter conſiderârunt; his oculis vidi quanta fertilitate Terra benedicta fructificat: frumentum enim ex terra exculta ſine ſtercore & ſimo mirabiliter creſcit & muliplicatur. Agri ſunt velut horti in quibus feniculum, ſalvia, ruta, roſa paſſim creſcunt.* There is no heede to bee given to them who affirme the contrary, For they have not throughly conſidered of the matter; with theſe eyes did I behold the exceeding fertility of that bleſſed land: The Corne with a very little making of the earth proſpers and multiplies beyond beleefe, the fields are as it were gardens of delight, in which fennell, ſage, rue, and roſes every where grow: And ſo having largely deſcribed the admirable fruitfulneſſe thereof in all kindes, at length hee concludes: *Denique illic extant omnia mundi bona, & verè terra fluit rivis lactis & melli.* Finally, there are to be had all the good things the world can afford, ſo that it may ſtill bee truely tearmed, a land flowing with rivers of milke and honey. And if it be degenerated from it's ancient fertility (which upon the report of *Bredenbachius Adrichomius* and others, I rather beeleeve) I ſhould rather inpute it to the curſe of God upon that accurſed nation which poſſeſſeth it, or to their ill manuring of the earth, (from which the proverbe ſeemes to have growne, that where the *Grand Signiors* horſe once treades, the graſſe never growes afterward) then to any *Naturall decay* in the goodneſſe of the ſoyle.

Levit. 25. v. 20 21.

Gen. 13. 10. Wiſdome, 10. 7. Ioſhua. 12. 24.

Numb. 13. 24.

De Terra ſancta, part. 2. c. 1.

My laſt anſwere hereunto ſhall bee in the words of *Iovianus Pontanus*

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to *Aldus Manutius*, in the proeme of his tenth booke *de rebus Cæleſtibus*, *Terra ipſa ſic conſeneſcit, ut per partes regioneſque, multum amittat de veteri ubertate ſolique opulentia: quemadmodum è contrario alia atque alia regiones ac loca novas vires ad fœcunditatem ſuſcipiant, novaque alimenta ad frugum procreationem ac rerum copiam.* The earth it ſelfe ſo waxeth old as by parts and regions it looſeth much of its ancient fatneſſe and fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle: as on the contrary other places and countries recover new ſtrength in their fertility, and freſh nouriſhment for the bearing of ſtore of corne, and the bringing forth of plenty in all kindes.

Which is in effect the ſame with that of *Manilius* in his fourth booke:

Et fœcunda ſuis ſubſiſtunt frugibus arva
Continuoſque negant partus, effœta creando:
Rurſus quæ fuerant ſteriles ad ſemina terræ
Poſt nova ſufficiunt, nullo mandante, tributa.

The fruitfull fieldes do ſomewhere barren grow,
And elſewhere barren, with bleſt fruites do flow.

SECT. 3.

A third objection borrowed from the the third of Geneſis anſwered.

MAny there are who much ſtand upon thoſe words of God himſelfe to *Adam* after hee had ſinned; *Curſed is the ground for thy ſake: in ſorrow ſhalt thou eate of it all the dayes of thy life. Thornes alſo and thiſtles ſhall it bring forth to thee.* To which I anſwere in the words of *Pererius*, taken out of his Commentaries upon that text. *Nec putandum naturalem terræ fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum aut omnino demptam fuiſſe aut diminutam; eodem modo ſe illa habuit ante & poſt hominis peccatum: ſed propterea ita dictum eſt quod ante peccatum non fuiſſet opus homini terram colere ad percipiendos fructus degendæ vitæ neceſſarios, aut certè ſine labore & moleſtia fuiſſet culta. Etenim paradiſi terra in qua verſatus eſſet homo per ſe fertiliſſima, quæcunq; ad hominis victum pertinuiſſent, ſponte naturæ ſuppeditaſſet largiſſimè, poſt peccatum autem felici ſſimo paradiſi loco exterminatus homo, & multo magis quam fuiſſet antea multiplicatus, omneſque per terras diſperſus ex multis ac diverſis terris & pleriſque terilibus, aut ægrè fructus optatos ferentibus alimenta ſibi petere coactus eſt. Ante peccatum igitur etiam terra generabat tribulos & ſpinas, verum non Adamo ſed aut brutis aut ob plenitudinem, & univerſitatem ſpecierum mundi.* And with *Pererius* herein accord both *Torniellus* and *Salianus* in their ſacred or eccleſiaſticall Annals, *Leonardus Marius Profeſor* of *Divinity* in the Vniverſity of *Cullen* in his expoſition of *Geneſis*; *Mercerus* Profeſſor of *Hebrew* in *Paris* in his Prelections upon the ſame booke, and divers others: in ſo much as *Salianus* aſſures us, *Communiſſima nunc eſt probatiſſimaque ſententia omnes omnino Arbores plantaſque à principio Dei juſſu eſſe productas.*

Gen. 3. v. 17. 18

Die tertio num. 23.

Neither is this a new opinion but maintained by *Aquinas* aſwell in his diſputations in *Diſt.* 48. *q.* 3. *art.* 3. as in his poſtills upon that verſe of *Gen.* and before him by S. *Auguſtin*, and before them both by *Philo*

in

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in his booke *de mundi opificio*. But becauſe S. *Auguſtine* is hee from whoſe bright torch both *Aquinas* & others have lighted their candels, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to trace him a little in this point that ſo it may appeare what hee therein held and upon what grounds. True indeed it is, that at firſt hee held thornes and thiſtles and venemous plants, and unfruitfull trees and hurtfull beaſts to have bin brought in after the fall as a puniſhment of ſinne, as it manifeſtly appeares in his firſt booke *de Gen: contra Manichæos cap* 13. but afterwards upon farther deliberation and better adviſe hee recalled that opinion, as wee may ſee in his third booke *de Gen: ad literam cap.*8. where hee thus writes; *Et de ſpinis quidem ac tribulis abſoluta poteſt eſſe reſponſio, quia poſt peccatum dictum eſt homini de terra Spinas & tribulos pariet tibi; nec tamen facile dicendum eſt tunc cæpiſſe iſta oriri ex terra; fortaſſis enim quoniam in ipſis quoque generibus ſeminum multa reperiuntur utilitates, poterant habere locum ſuum ſine ulla pœna hominis. Sed ut in agris in quibus jam pœnaliter laborabat etiam iſta naſcerentur, hoc ad cumulum pœnæ valere credi poteſt, cum poſſent alibi naſci, vel ad avium pecorumque paſtus vel ad ipſorum hominum aliquos uſus. Quanquam & ille ſenſus non abhorret ab his verbis, quo ita intelligitur dictum Spinas & tribulos, pariet tibi; ut hæc etiam antea terra pariens non tamen homini pareret ad laborem, ſed cujuſque modi animalibus convenientem cibum. Sunt enim quæ his generibus & mollioribus & aridioribus commode ſuaviterque veſcantur; tunc autem cæperit iſta homini parere ad ærumnoſum negotium, cum poſt peccatum cæpit in terra laborare; Non quod aliis locis hæc antea naſcerentur, & poſt in agris, quos homo ad capiendas fruges coleret, ſed & prius & poſtea in iiſdem locis. prius tamen non homini, poſt autem homini, ut hoc ſignificetur quod additum eſt, Tibi, quia non eſt dictum, ſpinas & tribulos pariet, ſed pariet Tibi id eſt ut tibi jam iſta naſci incipiant ad laborem, quæ ad paſtum tantummodo aliis animalibus antea naſcebantur.*

And *Aquinas* treading in S. *Auguſtines* ſteps, harps upon the ſame ſtringe, *part.* 1. *queſt.* 69. *art.* 2. *ad ſecundum* Which expoſition is likewiſe followed (beſides thoſe already named) by *Eucherius*, *Beda*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Bonaventura*, *Molina*, *Gregorius de Valentia*, *Martinengus*, *Delrio*, *Cornelius à lapide*, and others, as *Salianus* in his Scholies upon the third day of the world, *Num.* 24. hath obſerved. And in truth, it ſtands with very great reaſon, that almighty God ceaſing from the works of the Creation upon the ſeventh day in regard of the production of any new ſpecies, and having created all the ſeverall kinds of vegetables upon the third day ſhould not afterwards create new kind of plants, as thornes and thiſtles & poyſon-ſome herbs, & the like, which could not man perſiſting in his innocency have bin hurtfull to him but rather helpefull both to him and the other Creatures,

Quippe videre licet pingueſcere ſæpe cicutâ
Barbigeras pecudes homini quæ eſt acre venenum.

Lucretius.

Neither is it more inconvenient that before the fall we ſhould admit of ſuch kind of plants, then of *Wolves* or *Beares*, or *Crocodills*, or *Serpents*, or, *Tygers*, or *Lyons*, or *Scorpions*, or *Vypers*, or *Dragons*, or ſuch like noyſome animals.

SECT 4.

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SECT. 4.

The testimonies of Columella *and* Pliny *produced that the earth in it selfe is as fruitfull as in former ages, if it bee made and manured.*

NOw that which by *Brocardus* hath beene delivered touching the holy land in *particular*, is by *Columella* in his bookes of *Husbãdry* with no lesse assuredneſse averred touching the nature of the *Earth* in *Generall*: nay to shew his confidence herein, hee makes that assertion, the *entrance* to his whole worke, thus beginning the very first chapter of his first booke. *Sæpenumero Civitatis nostræ principes audio culpantes, modo agrorum infœcunditatem, modo Cœli per multa jam tempora noxiam frugibus intemperiem, quosdam etiam prædictas querimonias velut ratione certa mitigantes, quòd existiment ubertate nimia prioris ævi defatigatum & effœtum solum, nequire pristina benignitate præbere mortalibus alimenta; quas ego causas Publi Sylvine procul à veritate abesse certum habeo, quod neque fas est existimare rerum naturam, quam primus ille mundi genitor perpetua fœcunditate donavit (quasi quodam morbo) sterilitate affectam, neque prudentis credere tellurem, quæ divinam & æternam juventam sortita, communis omnium parens dicta sit, quia & cuncta peperit & deinceps paritura sit, velut hominem consenuisse, ne posthæc reor violentiâ Cœli nobis ista, sed nostro potius accidere vitio, qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum velut carnifici noxæ dedimus quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque & optimè tractaverit.* I have often heard the chiefe of our Citty complayning of the unfruitfullneſse of the earth, and sometimes againe of the unkindlineſse of the weather now for a good space hurtfull to the fruites, and some have I heard with shew of reason qualifying these complaints, in that they beleeve the earth beeing worne out and become barren by the exceſsive fruitfulneſse of former ages, not to bee able to yeeld nourishment to mankinde, according to the proportion of her accustomed bounty; but for mine owne part (*Publius Sylvinus*) I am wel assured that these pretended causes are farre from truth, it being a peece of impiety so much as once to imagine that nature (which the first founder of the world blessed with perpetuall fruitfullneſse) is affected with barenneſse, as a kinde of disease, neither is it the part of a wise man to thinke that the Earth (which beeing indued with a *divine and eternall youth*, is deservedly tearmed the *Common Parent* of all things, inasmuch as it both doth and hereafter shall bring all things forth) is now *waxen old like a man*, so as that which hath befalne us, I should rather impute it to our owne *default*, then to the *unseasonableneſse* of the weather, inasmuch as wee commit the charge of our husbandry to the baſest of our slaves, as it were to a publique executioner, whereas the very best of our Ancestours with most happy succeſse underwent that charge themselves, and performed that worke with their owne hands. Now *Sylvinus*, to whom hee dedicated his workes, having received and read this resolute assertion, by reason he knew it to be against the common tenet, and specially of one *Tremellius*; upon whose judgment it seemes he

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he much relyed, made a *Quære* thereof, and ſent it to *Columella*, to which in the very firſt chapter of his ſecond booke hee returnes anſwere with this title prefixed.

Terram nec ſeneſcere nec, fatigari, ſi ſtercoretur.

That the earth is neither wearied nor Waxed old, if it bee made.

And then thus goes on. *Quæris à mè, Publi Sylvine, quod ego ſine cunctatione non recuſo docere, cur priori libro veterem opinionem fere omnium qui de cultu agrorum loquuti ſunt à principio confeſtim repulerim, falſamque ſententiam repudiaverim, conſentium longo ævi ſitu longique jam temporis exercitatione fatigatam & effœtam humum conſenuiſſe.* You demand a queſtion of mee *Sylvinus*, which I will endeavour to anſwer without delay, which is, why in my former booke preſently in the very entrance, I have rejected the ancient opinion almoſt of all, who have writtē of huſbandry, & have caſt of their imagination as falſe, who conceive that the earth by long tract of time and much uſage is growne old and fruitles: where he is ſo farre from recalling his aſſertion, or making any doubt of the certaine truth thereof, that he labours farther to ſtrengthen it with new ſupplies of reaſons, and at length concludes, *Non igitur fatigatione, quemadmodum plurimi crediderunt, nec ſenio, ſed noſtrâ ſcilicet inertiâ minùs benignè nobis arva reſpondent: licet enim majorem fructum percipere, ſi frequenti & tempeſtivâ & modicâ ſtercoratione terra refoveatur.* It is not through the tiredneſſe or age of the earth, as many have beleeved, but through our owne negligence that it hath not ſatisfied us ſo bountifully as it hath done. For wee might receive more profit from it, if it were cheriſhed with frequent, and moderate, and ſeaſonable dreſſing.

And with *Columella* agrees *Pliny* in the eighteenth booke of his *Naturall Hiſtory*, and third chapter, where diſcourſing of the great abundance and plenty in fore going ages, and demaunding the reaſon thereof, he thereupon ſhapes this reply; Surely, ſaith he, the cauſe was this, 'and nothing elſe: Great Lords and Generalls of the field, as it ſhould 'ſeeme, tilled themſelves their grounds with their own hands: And the 'Earth againe for her part, taking no ſmal pleaſure as it were to be aired 'and broken up, *Laureato vomere & triumphali aratore*, with ploughs laureat, & ploughmen triumphant, ſtrained her ſelfe to yeeld increaſe to 'the uttermoſt. like it is alſo that theſe brave men & worthy Perſonages were as curious in ſowing a groūd with corne, as in ſetting a battle 'in aray; as diligent in diſpoſing & ordering of their lands, as in pitching 'a field. And commonly every thing that cōmeth under a good hand, 'the more neat & cleane that the uſage thereof is, & the greater paines 'that is taken about it, the better it thriveth and proſpereth afterwards. 'And having inſtanced in *Atilius Serranus*, and *Quintius Cincinnatius*, 'he goes on in this māner. But now ſee how the times be changed: they 'that do this buſineſſe in the field, what are they but bond ſlaves fetter-'ed, condemned malefactours, and in a word noted perſons, ſuch as are 'branded and marked in their viſage with an hot iron, yet we forſooth 'marvaile that the labour of theſe contemptible ſlaves and abject vil-

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'laines doth not render the like profit, as that travaile in former ages, of 'great Captaines and Generals of Armies. By which it appeares that *Columella* & *Pliny* imputed the barrenneſſe of the *Earth* in regard of former ages (if any ſuch were) not to any *deficiency* in the earth it ſelfe, but to the *unskilfullneſſe* or *negligence* of ſuch as manured it. To which purpoſe *Ælian* reports a pretty ſtory of one *Miſes* who preſented the great King *Artaxerxes*, as hee rode through *Perſia*, with a pomegranat of wonderfull bigneſſe: which the King admiring, demaunded out of what *Paradiſe* he had gotten it, who anſwered, that he gathered it from his owne garden, the King ſeemed therewith to bee marvailous well content, and gracing him with royall gifts, ſwore by the *Sunne*, this man with like diligence and care might as well in my judgment of a little city make a great one. *Videtur autem hic ſermo innuere*, ſaith the Authour, *omnes res curâ & continuâ ſollicitudine, & indefeſſo labore meliores & præſtantiores quàm Natura producat, effici poſſe.* It ſeemes by this, that all things by labour and induſtry may bee made better then Nature produces them. And it is certaine that God ſo ordained it, that the *induſtry of man* ſhould in all things concurre with the *workes of Nature*, both for the bringing of them to their perfection, and for the keeping of them therein being brought unto it. As the Poet ſpeaking of the degenerating of ſeedes hath truly expreſſed it.

Vidi lecta diu & multo ſpectata labore
Degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis.
Maxima quæque manu legeret.

Oft have I ſeene choice ſeedes, and with much labour tryed,
Eftſoones degenerate, unleſſe mans induſtry,
Yearely by hand did leaſe the greateſt carefully.

And this I take to bee the true reaſon (as before hath beene touched) why neither ſo good, nor ſo great ſtore of *wine* is at this day made in this kingdome, as by *records* ſeemes to have beene in former ages; the neglect I meane, of planting and dreſſing our vines as they might be, & at this preſent are in forraine countreyes, and with us formerly have beene; & this neglect hath perchance ariſen from hence, that we & the *French* being often and long at defiance, & all friendly commerce ceaſing betwixt us, *partly* to croſſe them in the venting of their commodities, & *partly* to inrich themſelves, men were either by publique authority ſet on worke, or they ſet themſelves on worke, to trie the utmoſt of their indeavour in the making of wines; but ſince *peace* and *trade* hath beene ſetled betwixt both kingdomes, that practice hath by degrees growen out of uſe, for that men found by experience that both better wines & better cheape might bee had from *France* then could be made heere; and I make no doubt but as tillage with us; ſo the planting of *Vineyards* is increaſed with them, and for this reaſon, together with the Cauſes before alleadged, it ſeemes to be, that the *French* wines are better cheape with us at this preſent then they were in the raigne of *Edward* the ſecond, as ſhall by Gods helpe be fully manifeſted in the next Section. And that which hath beene ſpoken of the making of *wines* may likewiſe be underſtood of the making of *Bay-ſalt* in this kingdome in former

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former ages, for which (as I am credibly informed) *records* are likewise to be seene, for to ascribe either the one or the other to the *Sunnes* going more *Southerly* from us in Summer, is in my judgement both *unwarrantable* and *improbable*. *Unwarrantable* as hath already beene shewed in this very booke Cap. 4. Sect. 4. *improbable* for that if this plant should decay for this reason, all other *plants*, and *trees*, and *hearbes*, and *flowers* should consequently partake of the like decay, at leastwise in some proportion, which our best *Physitians* and *Herbalists* have not yet found to be so, nay the contrary is by them avouched; and as our wines are in a māner utterly decayed here so their strength in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *Italy*, in *Hungary*, in *Germany*, should upon the same supposition be much abated, which nothwithstanding I have no-where found to be observed. *In Cap. 3. v. 18.* I will conclude this Section with that of *Calvin* in his Commentaries on *Genesis*: *falsum est quod quidam dicunt, terram longo temporis successu exarescere, quasi eam lassaret pariendi assiduitas*: It is false which some say that the earth by long tract of time is growen barren, as if the assiduity of bringing forth had tyred it out.

SECT. 5.

An argument drawne from the present state of husbandmen, and another for the many and miserable dearths in former ages, together with an objection taken from the high prizes of victuals answered.

BVt that which farther perswadeth me, that neither the *goodnes* of the soyle, nor the *seasonablenesse* of the weather, nor the *Industry* of the husbandman is now inferiour to that of former ages, is this, that both his fyne and rent being raysed, his apparell and education of his children more chargeable, & the rates of publique payments more burdensome, yet he fares better, and layes up more money in his purse, then usually in those times he did.

Besides it is certaine, that if we compare time with time, the famines of former ages were more grievous then ours: I omit those of *Ierusalem* and *Samaria*, because occasioned by the sieges of those Cities, as also those which either *Civill* warres, or *forraine* invasions hath drawen on. Of the rest, that of *Lipsius* is undoubtedly true. *Iam de fame nihil profectò nos aut ætas nostra vidimus, si videmus antiqua.* Now touching famine, verily wee and our age have seene nothing, if wee behold ancient records. During the reigne of *Valentinian*, the famine through *Italy* was so extreamly sharpe, that fathers were forced to sell their sonnes, *ut discrimen mortis effugerent*, that they might shunne the danger of death, and thus to part with them *pietatis genus putabant*, they thought it a kinde of pietie. Under the Emperour *Honorius*, so great was the scarcity and dearth of victuals in *Rome* it selfe, that in the open market place this voice was heard, *Pone pretium humanæ carni*, set a price to mans flesh: to which grievous dearth, St *Ierome* alluding, as it should seeme, in his epistle to *Principia*, thus writes thereof: *Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, & sua invicem membra laniârunt: dum mater non*

De Const. l. 2. 12

Novel. tit. 11. apud Cod. Theod

Zozimus 6. Annal. Lib. 4.

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parcit lactanti infanti, & ſuo recipit utero, quem paulo ante effuderat. The rage of the hunger ſtarved brake forth into abominable exceſſe, in as much as they mutually devoured the members of each other: nay, even the mother her ſelfe ſpared not the ſuckling-child, but received him againe into her bowels, whom a little before ſhee had brought forth. And long before, when *L. Minutius* was made the firſt over-ſeer of the graine, *Livy* reports, *multos è plebe, ne diutinâ fame cruciarentur, capitibus obvolutis ſeſe in Tyberim præcipitaſſe.* That many of the Commons leſt they ſhould bee tortured with long famine, covering their faces, caſt themſelves headlong into *Tyber*. Even in King *Numa* his time, the Poet aſſures us, that the earth anſwered not the labour & expectation of the husbandman, but miſcarried ſometimes by reaſon of exceſſive drought, and ſometimes againe by meanes of exceſſive wet.

Ovid. l. 4. Faſt.

Rege Numa, fructu non reſpondente labori
Irrita decepti vota colentis erant,
Nam modo ſiccus erat gelidis Aquilonibus annus,
Nunc ager aſſiduâ luxuriabat aquâ.

And *Plato*, who lived neare about the ſame age with *Numa*, in his booke *de contemnenda morte*, ſpeaking of husbandry; *dulcis* (ſaith he) *eſt agricultura, eſt ſanè, nonne tota tamen eſt quod aiunt ulcus? ſemper paratam doloris habens cauſam, nunc quidem ſiccitatem, nunc pluvias, nunc uredinem, nunc rubiginem, nunc vel æſtum intempeſtivum, vel frigus, conquerens?* Husbandry is pleaſant, truely it is, yet is it not in a manner wholly an ulcer? having alwaies in readines ſome occaſion of complaint, ſometimes of drought, ſometimes of rain, ſometimes of blaſting, ſometimes of ruſt, ſometimes of unſeaſonable heat, and ſometimes of cold? What a miſerable dearth was that in *Egypt*, (held by the *Ancients* for abundance of corne, the *Granary* of the world) when for want of bread, their greateſt Nobles were forced to ſell, not only their lands, but thēſelves, & become bond-ſlaves to *Pharaoh*? How univerſall was that fore-told by *Agabus*, which alſo came to paſſe under *Claudius Cæſar*, as both *Dion* and *Suetonius* beare witneſſe to S. *Luke*. But to come nearer home, few *Hiſtories*, I thinke, exceed our owne in this point. About the yeare 514, during the raigne of *Ciſſa*, King of *South-Saxons*, in his Countrey raigned ſuch an extreame famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies caſt themſelves from the rockes into the Sea; in the yeare 1314, about the beginning of the reigne of *Edward* the ſecond, the dearth was generally ſuch over the land, that purpoſely for the moderation of the prices of victuals, a Parliament was aſſembled at *London*: but it increaſed ſo vehemently, that upon S. *Lawrence* Eve, there was ſcarcely bread to be gotten for the ſuſtentation of the Kings owne family. And the yeare following it grew ſo terrible, that horſes and dogges, yea men & children were ſtollen for food, and which is horrible to thinke, the theeves newly brought into the Goales, were torne in peeces, and preſently eaten halfe alive by ſuch as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed that no corne ſhould be converted to Brewers uſes, which Act the King (moved with compaſſion toward his Nation) imitating, cauſed to be executed through all the Kingdome: otherwiſe ſaith *Walſingham*, he

Gen. 47. 23.

Acts 11. 28.

Beda l. 4. c. 13.

Thomas de la Moore.

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greater part of the people had perished with penury of bread. And againe, to conclude this sad discourse, in the yeare 1317, in the tenth yeare of the same King, there was such a *murraine* of all kinde of *cattell* together with a generall fayling of all fruits of the *Earth* by excessive raines and unseasonable weather, as provision could not be had for the *Kings* house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their *Tables*: Inasmuch as they put away their servants in great numbers, who having beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, scorning to beg, fell to robbery and spoyle, which added much to the misery of the *Kingdome*. *Sam. Daniell.*

It will be said, if the plenty of *corne* and *victuals*, be as great as in former ages, how comes it to passe that their *prices* are so much inhanced? But if we compare our prices with those of the ancient *Romanes*, wee shall finde that theirs farre exceeded ours. The *Romane* penny by the consent of the learned, and the judgement of our last Translatours in diverse parts of their Marginall notes, was the eighth part of an *ounce*, accounting five *stillings* to the ounce, so that it was worth of our money *seaven pence halfe penny*. Now by the testimony of *Varro* and *Macrobius*, their *Peacockes* egges (which are now of no reckoning with us,) were sold with them for five *Roman* pence a peece: and the *Peacockes* themselves for fifty. *Thrushes* and *Ousells* or *blackbirds* were commonly sold for three pence a peece. Nay *Varro* mentions one *L. Axius* a *Romane* Knight, who would not let goe a paire of, *doves*, *minoris quadringentis denarys*, for lesse then foure hundred pence. But these *insana pretia*, as *Macrobius* calls them, mad, and unreasonable prices, wee shall have fitter occasion to speake of, when wee come to treate of the *luxury* of the *Ancients*. In the meane time it shall not bee amisse to remember what our *Saviour* tells us in the *Gospell*, that two *Sparrowes*, or *passerculi*, as *Beza* renders it, were then sold for a *farthing*, thereby implying their great cheapenes: Yet for the same money, it being the tenth part of a *Romane penny*, and answering in valve to halfe penny farthing of our coyne, more may bee had at this day with us: But I leave *forraine Nations* and returne to our owne. If then together with the inhancing of *prices*, wee likewise take into our consideration the inhancing of *Coyne*, it will appeare that the prices of things are not so much inhanced as is supposed. About three hundred yeares agoe, in the latter part of the reigne of *Edward* the second, and beginning of *Edward* the third, an *ounce* of silver was valued at one *shilling* and eight *pence*, whereas now it is valued at five *shillings*: so that one hundred pounds then was both in *weight* and *worth* fully as much as three hundred *pounds* are now; and consequently, if they gave a *grote* for that which wee now give a *shilling*, they gave just the same price which we now giue The price of *Claret wine*, as appeares upon *record* among the statutes of *Edward* the second, was at that time *twelve pence* the *gallon*, so that by proportion the price should now bee *three shillings*, and looke how much it comes short of that price, it is certaine that so much the cheaper it is at this day, then it was in that age. Whereunto may bee added the plenty of *coyne* and multitude of *men*, both which are doubtles in regard

De Re Rust. l. 3. c. 6. *Sat. l. 3. 13.* *Varro, l. 3. c. 2.* *Cap. 7.* *Cap. 16.* *Mat. 10. 29.*

gard of thoſe times much increaſed. For the former of which, though it bee true that ſome great ones heaped up huge *Maſſes* of treaſure, yet I thinke it will not bee denied, but that there are now more rich men then in thoſe times: Some wiſe men being of opinion that there is now more *plate* in the land, then there was in *Edward* the thirds time both *money* and *plate*: And for the latter, hee that ſhall duely conſider the daily inlarging of our *cities* and *townes*, and the adding of new *Iles* to the greateſt part of our *Pariſh Churches*, within theſe laſt two or three hundred yeares, will eaſily beleeve that the *number* of our people is not a little increaſed. Either of which aſunder, but much more both together muſt needes be a meanes of raiſing the prices of all things: yet the complaint as it hath beene in all ages ſo will it ſtill continue, *ſince we left to burne incenſe to the Queene of heaven, & to powre out drinke offeringes unto her, wee have had ſcarceneſſe of all things, and have beene conſumed with the ſword and with the famine.*

Ier. 44. 18.

SECT. 6.

That there is no decreaſe in the fruitfulneſſe, the quantities or vertues of plants and ſimples, nor in the ſtore and goodnes of mettalls and minerals, as neither in the bignes or life of beaſts, together with an objection touching the Elephants *in the firſt of* Maccabees, *anſwered.*

NOw if ſuch be the condition of the *Earth* it ſelfe, and the *fruites* thereof, what reaſon have we to conceive otherwiſe of the *trees* and *plants*, ſpringing up and nouriſhed from thence? I cannot finde that either *Dioſcorides*, *Theophraſtus*, or *Pliny* among the *Ancients*; or among later writers, *Ruellius*, *Fuchſius*, or our owne *Gerard* ever obſerved any *decay*, either in the *growth*, the *vertues*, or *duration* of theſe *Vegetables*; the *Oake* and *Beetch*, riſe to as great an height and bignes, ſpread their branches and rootes as farre, laſt as long, bring forth as faire maſt, as they did a thouſand yeares agone. Thoſe *under-ground trees*, whoſe bulkes are ſometimes taken up intire, in *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and other places, and are commonly thought to have lyen buried there ever ſince *Noahs* flood, are not found in *length* or *largeneſſe* to exceed the bodies of ours at this day. In former ages I graũt was greater choyce of good *timber*, becauſe greater plenty of woods, but thoſe being cut downe, *tillage* hath ſucceeded in the place thereof, which in regard of our increaſe of people, ſeemed of the two, the more neceſſary, & for *fewell*, it is in moſt places ſupplied with other kindes which were not then thought upon.

Camden.

The like may be ſaid for the *vertues* of *Plants*, *Iſſop*, *Garlicke*, *Hemlocke*, and the reſt, they are ſtill indued with the ſame *temper*, with the ſame degrees of *heat* or *cold*, and are availeable for the ſame *uſes*, as in former ages; as may eaſily appeare by comparing *Galen de ſimplicium medicamentorum facultatibus* with *Wecker* a moderne *Phyſitian*. The former makes *Garlicke* hot in the fourth degree, ſo doth the latter. The former *Iſſop* hot in the third degree, and ſo doth the latter. The former *Hemlocke*

Practic. General. l. 4.

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locke extreamely cold, so doth the latter. These may suffice for a taste, and thus may wee parallel *simples*, as for their *first* so for their *second* and *third* qualities, and *application* to diseases. The difference of their strength is doubtles very great in regard of the different *Clymats* they grow in: But that it should by succession of ages be abated in their severall *species*, and in the same *Clymate*, is more I thinke then ever any *Herbalist* in his writings, or learned *Physitian* in his practise hath yet observed.

Now for the height and bignes of trees, some of the Ancients I confesse have made strange reports, yet have not some later writers bin wanting who therein have paralelled them, as namely S. *Francis Drake* in the relations of his third voyage into the west *Indies*; where mention *Pag.* 5. is made of a mighty great tree more thē any 4. men joyning hands could fathome about; And in the next page save one, of many trees like unto our ashes of a marvailous height, & supported as it were by five or sixe naturall buttresses growing out of their bodies, so farre that three men might so bee hidden in each of them, that they who shall stand in the very next buttresse shall not bee able to see them; one of them especially was marked to have seven of those stayes or buttresses for the supporting of his greatnes and height, which beeing measured by a line close by the barke & neere to the ground, as it was indented, or extant, was found to bee about 39. yards about.

But that of Sr *Walter Rawly* in the 1. part of his 1. book of the history *Cap.* 4. §. 2. of the world seemeth yet to bee more strange, where discoursing of the *Indian* figtree hee thus writes; They grow (saith he) in moist grounds and in this manner; After they are first shot up some 20. or 30 foote in length, (some more some lesse according to the soyle) they spread a very large top, having no bow or twig in the trunke or stemm; for from the utmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummy juice which hangeth downeward like a cord or sinew and within a few moneths reacheth the ground, which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then beeing filled both from the top boughs and from his owne proper roote this cord maketh it selfe a tree exceeding hastily; from the utmost boughes of those young trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare & lesse (in that world of a perpetuall spring) become also trees of the bignes of the nether part of a lance & as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade and making such a kinde of grove as no other tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones may indeed shrowd 400. or 4000 horsemen if they please, for they cover whole vallies of ground. Urstitius in his historie of *Basil*, mentioneth a tree there growing, which I my selfe have seene, whose mighty and manifold armes supported by an infinite number of posts or beames spread themselves to an incredible compasse; and I have heard of a Gentleman of Wales who in the entrance of his house hath a beame set with these verses on it in letters of gold;

Sexaginta pedes fuerant in stipite nostro
Exceptâ comâ, quæ speciosa fuit.

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So that the tree it ſhould ſeeme was threeſcore foote high in the very body of it, beſides a deepe roote and a fayre top.

And if there be no *decay* found in the *Vegetables*, very likely it is that the ſame may likewiſe be verified of the *beaſts*, thoſe at leaſtwiſe which make them their food, and are nouriſhed by them. Surely hee that ſhall compare the preſent proportions of the *elephant*, the *Cammell*, the *horſe*, the *dogge*, with the deſcriptions of *Ariſtotle*, as alſo the preſent extention of their lives, with that which both hee, and other Ancients record of them, will eaſily finde that there is in them, no ſenſible *decreaſe*: *Vita equorum*, (ſaith hee) *plurimis ad decimum octavum, atque etiam viceſimum annum, ſed nonnulli vigenti quinque, & triginta egerunt: Et ſi cura diligenter adhibeatur vel ad quinquaginta protrahitur ætas*: horſes commonly live eighteene or twenty yeare, yet ſome laſt five and twenty or thirty, and if they bee very well kept, they may come to forty or fifty; which hee makes in a manner their utmoſt period. Whereas *Albertus* tells us, that himſelfe was aſſured by a ſouldier, that the horſe hee then uſed, was threeſcore yeares old, and yet was ſerviceable in the warres. And *Auguſtinus Niphus* yet latter, that hee was crediblely informed by the horſemen of *Ferdinand* the firſt, that there was then in the *Kings* ſtable an horſe that was ſeaventy yeares old.

Hiſt. Animalium, lib 12. c. 8.

Buteo, a man much commended for his rare learning by many learned writers, labouring to demonſtrate by *Geometricall* proportions, that the *Arke* was capable of ſo many ſeverall kindes of beaſts, as are ſaid to have beene in it, as alſo their proviſion for one yeares ſpace, takes the ground of his demonſtration from the preſent dimenſions of their bodies, and their preſent allowance for foode, proportioning the capacity of the *Arke* thereunto, and is therein applauded not only by *Goropius Becanus*, but by *Pererius* and Sr *Walter Rawleigh*: whereas were there ſuch a continuall diminution in the quantity of their bodies, and conſequently in their foode, as is ſuppoſed, his ground were falſe, and his demonſtration frivolous. Whereunto may be added that the ſame allowance of foode, which *Cato* and *Varro* and *Columella*, in their bookes of husbandrie agreed upon to be ſufficient for an oxe, or a horſe, or a ſheepe in their times, is now likewiſe thought to bee but competent: And the ſame proportions of body, which the ancient *Painters* and *Carvers* allowed to horſes and dogges, is now likewiſe by the skilfulleſt in thoſe *Arts* found to be moſt convenient. Indeede in the firſt booke of *Maccabees* & ſixth chapter, is ſomewhat a ſtrange relation made of *Elephants*, which are there deſcribed to be ſo bigge, that each of them carryed a wooden towre on his backe, out of which fought thirty two armed men, beſides the *Indian* which ruled the beaſt. Whence ſome have conceited that the *Elephants* of thoſe times were farre greater then thoſe of the preſent age: But doubtles the Authour of that booke ſpeakes of the *Indian* race, which are farre beyond the *Ethiopian*, as *Iunius* in his annotations on that place hath obſerved out of *Pliny*. And there are of them, ſaith *Ælian*, nine cubits high, which is thirteene foote and a halfe. And thoſe which haue beene in the *great Mogulls* countrey aſſure us, that at this day they are there farre more

v. 37.

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vaſt and huge then any that we have ſeene in theſe parts of the World. But leaving the *Vegetables* and *beaſts* ſpringing and walking upon the face of the earth, let us a little ſearch into the bowels thereof, and take a view of the *mettalls* and *mineralls* therein bred. Of the *nature, cauſes,* and *growth,* whereof, beſides *Matheſius* in his *Sarepta* and *Lideate de Subterraneis, Georgius Agricola* hath written moſt exactly, but neither hee nor any man elſe, I thinke, ever yet obſerved that by continuance of time their veines are waſted and impaired, one treatiſe he hath expreſly compoſed *de veteribus & novis metallis*; wherein he ſhewes that as the old are exhauſted, new are diſcovered. It is true indeed which *Pliny* 'hath obſerved, that wee deſcend into the entralles of the earth, wee 'goe downe as farre as to the ſeat and habitation of the infernall ſpi- 'rits, and all to meete with rich treaſure, as if ſhee were not fruitfull e- 'nough, and beneficiall unto us in the upper face thereof, where ſhee 'permitteth us to walke and tread upon her: Yet notwithſtanding by 'the covetouſneſſe and toyle of men, can her mines never bee drawne 'dry, nor her ſtore emptied. *Lib. 33. in Proem.*

The Earth not onely on her backe doth beare
Abundant treaſures gliſtring every where,
But inwardly ſhee's no leſſe fraught with riches,
Nay rather more (which more our ſoules bewitches)
Within the deepe folds of her fruitfull lappe,
So *bound-leſſe mines* of treaſure doth ſhee wrappe,
That th'hungry hands of humane avarice
Cannot exhauſt with labour or device.
For there be more then there be ſtarres in heaven,
Or ſtormie billowes on the Ocean driv'n,
Or eares of corne in Autumne on the fields,
Or ſavage beaſts upon a thouſand hils,
Or fiſhes diving in the ſilver flouds,
Or ſcattred leaves in winter in the woods. *Bartas 3. day of the 1. weeke.*

I will not diſpute it, whether all mineralls were made at the firſt creation, or have ſince received increaſe by tract of time, which latter, I confeſſe, I rather with *Quercetan* incline unto, they being ſomewhat of the nature of ſtones, which undoubtedly grow, though not by *augmentation* or accretion, yet by aſſimulation or *appoſition*, turning the neighbour earth into their ſubſtance; yet thus much may wee confidently affirme, that the *minerals* themſelves waſte not in the *ordinary courſe*, but by the *inſatiable deſire of mankinde*. Nay, ſuch is the *divine providence*, that even there where they are moſt vexed and wrought upon, yet are they not worne out, or waſted in the *whole*. Of late within theſe few yeares *Mendip* hils yeelded, I thinke, more lead then ever, and at this day I doe not heare that the *Iron mines* in *Eſſex*, or the *Tin workes* in *Cornwall* are any whit abated, which I confeſſe to bee ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering that little *corner* furniſhes in a manner all the *Chriſtian* world with that mettall: and for *mines of gold* and *ſilver*, though by ſome it be thought that they faile in the *Eaſt Indies* in regard of for- *In his Epiſtle to Albertum de ortu & cauſis metallorum.*

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mer ages; yet moſt certaine it is, that in the *Weſt Indies*, that ſuppoſed defect is abundantly recompenſed.

SECT. 7.

The opinion touching the growth of mettals, confirmed by the teſtimonies of good Authors; and that Terra ſigillata *hath loſt nothing of its vertue, but is now every way as good as in former ages.*

BEcauſe a great doubt is made by ſome, whither *metals* and *mineralls* grow or no in the bowels of the earth, and ſo ſupply from their growth what from thence hath beene extracted, it ſhall not perchance bee impertinent by the teſtimony of learned men, to confirme the opinion touching their generation, and increaſe of new matter in their ſeverall kindes. There are (ſaith Mr *Carew* in his ſurvey of *Cornewall*) who leaving theſe ſtrange and new ſearching, doe take in hand old mines which by former adventurers have beene given over, and oftentimes they finde good ſtore of *Tinne* both in the rubbiſh caſt up before, as alſo in veines which the firſt workemen followed not. From hence there groweth a diverſity of opinion, amongſt ſuch Gentlemen as by judgement and experience can looke into thoſe matters; ſome of them ſuppoſing that the *Tinne* groweth, and others that it only ſeperateth from the conſumed *offall*; but whoſoever readeth that which *Francis Leandro* hath written touching the *Iron mineralls* in the *Ile* of *Elba*, will cleave perhaps to a third conceit; for he avoucheth that the trenches out of which the oare there is digged within 20. or 30. yeares, become alike full againe of the ſame *mettall* as at firſt. And hee confirmeth it by ſuitable examples borrowed from *Clearchus* of *Marble* in *Paros Iland*, and of ſalt in *India*, deducing thence this reaſon; that the *aire* and *water* repleniſhing the voyde roome, through the power of the univerſall agent, and ſome peculiar celeſtiall influence are turned into the ſelfe-ſubſtance; and ſo by conſequence neither the oare groweth, nor the earth conſumeth away: And this opinion *Munſter* in his *Coſmography* doth ſeeme to underprop, affirming that neare the the Citie of *Apolonia* in *Dalmatia*, the veines whence *braſſe* is digged, are filled in like manner. So doth he report, that neare *Ptolomais* there lyeth a round valley, out of which glaſſie ſand being taken, the windes fill the pit againe from the upper part of the adjoyning mountaines, which matter is converted into the former ſubſtance, and that even mettals throwne into this place, doe undergoe the like *Metamorphoſis*.

Lib 1. pag. 9.

Cap. 11.

And herein accords Doctor *Iorden* in his diſcourſe of *naturall baths* and *minerall waters*, lately publiſhed; Our *Salt-peter men* (ſaith hee) finde that when they have extracted *Salt-peter* out of a floore of earth one yeare, within three or foure yeares after, they finde more *Salt-peter* generated there, and doe worke it over againe; the like is obſerved in *Allum* and *Coppres*. And for mettalls our *Tinners* in *Cornewall* have experience of pits which have beene filled up with earth after they have wrought

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wrought out all the *Tinne* they could finde in them, and within thirty yeares they have opened them againe, and found more *Tinne* generated. The like hath beene observed in *Iron*, as *Gaudentius Merula* reports of *Ilua* an Iland in the *Adriatique* Sea, under the *Venetians*, where the *Iron* breeds continually as fast as they can worke it, which is confirmed also by *Agricola* and *Baccius*, and by *Virgil* who saith of it

Ilua inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis.

The like wee reade of at *Suga* in *Ligys*, where they digge over their *Iron mines* every tenth yeare: *Iohn Matheſius* gives us examples almost of all sorts of *mineralls* and *mettalls*, which hee hath observed to grow and regenerate: The like examples you may finde in *Leonardus Thurneiſerus*. *Eraſtus* affirmes that hee did see in S. *Ioachims* dale, silver growne upon a beame of wood, which was placed in the pit to support the workes; and when it was rotten, the workemen comming to set new timber in the place, found the silver sticking to the old beame. Also hee reports that in *Germany* there hath beene unripe and unconcocted silver found in mines, which the best workemen affirmed would become perfect silver in thirty yeares. The like *Modeſtinus Fachius*, and *Matheſius* affirme of unripe and liquid silver; which when the workemen finde, they use to say, we are come too soone. But I need not produce (saith hee) any more proofes for this purpose, as I could out of *Agricola*, and *Libavius*, and others, seeing our best *Philosophers* both *ancient* and *moderne*, doe acknowledge that all *mineralls* are generated.

Ionſtonus likewise in his *Thaumatographia naturalis*, brings divers authorities to the same purpose: *Gigni quidam à calore ſubterraneo foſſilia exiſtimant, creata primò à Deo ſeminali quodam ſe propagare principio alij ſentiunt, & certè ex quibuſdam vaporibus fieri metalla veritati haud abſonum. In Perſide non ſemel area corpora, hamatis ſagittis ſimilia cœlo coruſcante decidiſſe narrat Avicenna. In Hiſpania verò, maſſa lapidea venis metallicis infecta è nubibus lapſa eſt. Lydiat de font. cap. 6. poſterius ſcriptorum quorundam confirmat teſtimonium: Nam aurum Corbachij in Weſphalia ſingulis quadriennijs creſcit & recreſcit in cumulis. Vena plumbi in Sclavonia in argentum quadrageſimo tranſit anno: Squamma æris ſicca, in anno in aurum, ferrum in Sileſia ad Saganum decimo refoditur anno. In Sueviâ limus ruber paluſtris, uno anno ſoli expoſitus in bonum ferrum abit. Feſſularum mons in Hetruria lapides plumbarios habet, qui ſi excindantur brevi temporis ſpacio, novis inſtaurantur incrementis: de ferro quod in Ilua Tyrrheni maris inſula effoditur, refert Caſalpinus, lib. 3. de metall. cap. 6. terram metalli inanem quæ eruitur, dum vena effoditur, totum præcedente tempore in venam converti. In India denique mons eſt Oromenus, in quo lapicidinarum modo, ſal ceditur renaſcens. Caſalp. lib. 1. de metall. cap. 1. Inſigne verò illud eſt quod Garzias ab Horto de adamante ſcribit, Simpl. Indiæ lib. 1. cap. 47. Adamantes, inquit, qui altiſſimè in terræ viſceribus multiſque annis perfici debebant, in ſummo ferè ſolo generantur, & duorum aut trium annorum ſpatio perficiuntur. Nam ſi in ipſa fodina hoc anno ad rubiti diſcindendos fodias, adamantes reperies, poſt biennium rurſus illuc excavato ibidem invenies adamantes. Cæterum quomodo id fiat difficile dictu eſt.* Class. 1. cap. 8

* Zanchius

a *Lib. 3. de oper. Dei cap. 6. thes. 9.*
b *De subtil. l. 5. pag. 150.*

a *Zanchius* and b *Cardan* attribute life to these *mineralls*, and consequently accretion and augmentation, as in all other vegetables; which opinion though it please not *Scaliger* and the schoole of *Conimbrica*, yet they all agree that by the divine providence a supply is made in these mineralls.

In lib. meteor. tract. 13. cap. 1. 2. 3.

Sunt qui putent (say the *Conimbricenses*) *metalla omnia initio mundi à Deo procreata fuisse, neque ullam dari vim eorum effectricem in natura; verum sicuti Deus cum in prima rerum molitione, animalia arbores atque alia ejusmodi produxit, ijsdem vim similia in posterum gignendi contulit: sic conveniens fuit, ut licet tunc magnam in terræ gremio metallorum copiam (id enim mundi ornatus & absoluta perfectio exigebat) effinxerit, tamen physicis rebus facultatem ad alia etiam metalla progressu temporum efficienda tribuerit; quod & ita esse docet experientia, quâ compertum est augeri in matricibus metalla, eadem interdum in nubibus gigni, & in terram decidere, uti suprà memoravimus; si enim expiratio potest in aëre in metallum concrescere, multò faciliore negotio poterit in terræ gremio; in aëre enim motus quo expiratio fertur raro sinit eam solidari in densitatem quam metalli natura exigit. Idem docet Rovio lib. 2. de cœlo & mundo, cap. 3. q. 1. & ijsdem ferè verbis.*

To conclude this point, there being so great an affinitie betwixt the generation of *stones* and *mettalls*, if it shall appeare that in Quarries after the digging up of stones, they are againe filled in a naturall course with stuffe of the same kinde; mee thinkes little doubt should be left, but that the same also may be done, and is done by the same course of nature in digging up of mettals, though happily shee require a longer tract of time for the effecting of the one then the other. Now for the former of these, for the repleniſhing I meane of Quarries with matter of the same kinde, wee have witnesses beyond all exception: *Ipsa marmora in lapicidinis crescere, author est Papyrius Fabianus, naturæ rerum peritissimus*, saith *Pliny*: *Exemptores quoque affirmant, compleri sponte ipsa montium hulcera.* The same likewise doe the French Authors affirme of the Quarries in the *Burgundian* and *Pyrrhinean* Mountaines, as witnesseth *Thomas Lansius* in his oration for *France*. And lastly *Nonnius* in his description of *Spaine* hath the like narration of the mountaine of *Iupiter*, not farre from *Bursinone*: *In quo inexhausta* (saith hee) *& perennis lapicidina, ac licet ad urbis muros & ad complures nobilium domos assiduè hinc materia petatur, adimplet tamen liberalis natura montis illa ulcera, & cicatricem obducit, ut tot annorum decursu nihil penè excisum videatur.*

Lib. 36. c. 15.
Pag. 186.
Cap. 28.

Now for *Terra sigillata*, or *Lemnia* so called, because it is taken up in the Ile of *Lemnos*, & solemnely sealed by the Magistrates of that place, it is found by the confession of the Physitians to have the same vertue at this day as anciently it had. Besides, *Hodiè habetur Bolus Toccaviensis in Hungaria qui instar lutiri contra catharrum valet, ita ut Armenia præferatur. Sennertus Scient. Natur. lib. 5. cap. 11. Inventor ejus Iohannes Montanus Silesius, qui scriptum de illa edidit; Conversum esse aurum, Dei providaque naturæ ordinatione, in præeminentem præparatum medicinam transmutatumque, peculiariter adversus venena utilem, non minùs quam medicamenta, quæ magnis sumptibus ex auro Vngarico conficiuntur.*

Ionstonus Thaumatogr. nat. class. 4. cap. 3.

Consulting in this point with my worthy friend Dr *Clayton*, his Majesties Professour of *Physicke* in the University of *Oxford*, I received from

from him this answer. "The *Terra sigillata* of *Silesia* found out in this "age, is as I take it as good as that of *Lemnos*; I have a little tract of this "*Silesian* earth published in English, *Anno* 1587. in *Germany* some se-"ven yeares before by one *Andrew Berthold* with testimonies, and ex-"periments of eight dogs all poysoned with *Mercurie* sublimate; foure "by this *terra* escaped, the other foure without it died: a condemned "man poysoned and saved, and many other vertues against many great "diseases. The *Bole Armeniack* is also held as efficacious as *Lemnia* "by late writers; so that I thinke wee may say with *Rhenodæus* a mo-"derne French Physitian, wee may be as well without the Turks *terra* "*Lemnia*, as we may live without their carpets and tapistry.

SECT. 8.

An objection taken from the Eclypses of the Planets, answered.

BEfore wee conclude this Chapter, there remaines yet one rubbe to bee removed, touching the *Eclypses* of the *Sunne* and *Moone*: for as some have beene of opinion, that the *bodies* of those *Planets* suffered by them, so many have thought that these *inferiour bodies* suffered from them, & consequently that the more *Eclypses* there are, (which by tract of time must needs increase in number) the more doe all things depending upon those *planets*, decay and degenerate in their *vertues* & *operations*. But as the former of these opinions is already proved to be *certainely false*, so is this latter altogether *uncertaine*. What effects *Eclypses* produce, I cannot punctually define. Strange accidents I grant, aswell in the course of *Nature*, as in the *Civill* affaires, have often followed upon them, as appeares in *Cyprianus Leovicius*, who hath purposely composed a tract of them. And Mr *Camden* observes, that the towne of *Shrewsbery* suffered twice most grievous losse by fire within the compasse of fiftie yeares upon two severall *Eclypses* of the *Sunne* in *Aries*; but whether those Accidents were to bee ascribed to the precedent *Eclypses*, I cannot certainely affirme. Once we are sure that the *Moone* is *Eclypsed* by the interposition of the *Earth*, as is the *Sun* by the *Moone*. Since then the night is nothing else but the interposition of the *Earth* betweene us and the *Sunne*, I see no reason but wee should daily feare as dangerous effects from every night or thicke cloud, as from any *Eclypse*. But I verily beleeve, that the ground of this error, as also of the former, sprang from the ignorance of the *Causes* of *Eclypses*: *Sulpitius Gallus* being the first amongst the *Romans*, and amongst the *Greekes*, *Thales Milesius*, who finding their nature, did prognosticate and fore-shew them. After them, *Hipparchus* compiled his *Ephimerides*, containing the course and aspects of both these *Planets* for six hundred yeares ensuing, and that no lesse assuredly, then if hee had beene privy to *Natures counsells*. "Great persons, and excellent doubt-'lesse were these, saith *Pliny*, who above the reach of all humane capaci-'ty, found out the reason of the course of so mighty starres, and divine *Lib. 2. cap. 12.*

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'powers. And whereas the weake minde of man was before to ſeeke, 'fearing in theſe *Eclypſes* of the ſtarres, ſome great wrong, or violence, 'or death of the *Planets*, ſecured them in that behalfe. In which dread-'full feare ſtood *Steſicorus* and *Pindarus* the *Poets*, notwithſtanding their 'lofty ſtyle, and namely at the *Eclypſe* of the *Sunne*, as may appeare by 'their Poems. In this fearefull fit alſo of an Eclypſe, was King *Archelaus*, (as witneſſeth *Seneca* in his fifth booke and ſixth chapter *de beneficijs*) *ut quo die Solis defectio fuit, regiam clauderet, & filium* (*quod in luctu, & rebus adverſis moris eſt*) *tonderet*: that the day in which the *Sunne* was Eclypſed, hee ſhut up his Palace, and ſhaved his ſonne, which in time of mourning and affliction was the cuſtome. And in the like agonie, *Nicias* the Generall of the *Athenians* (as a man ignorant of the cauſes thereof) feared to ſet ſaile with his fleet out of the haven, and ſo greatly indangered and diſtreſſed the ſtate of his Countrey. But on the contrary, the fore-named *Sulpitius* being a *Colonell* in the field, the day before that King *Perſeus* was vanquiſhed by *Paulus*, was brought forth by the *Generall* into open audience before the whole hoſt to fore-tell the *Eclypſe* that ſhould happen the next morrow, whereby hee delivered the Army from all penſiveneſſe and feare, which might have troubled them, in the time of battell, and within a while after he compiled alſo a booke thereof. Thus farre *Pliny* touching the harmeleſſe and innocent nature of *Eclypſes*, himſelfe in the next chapter reducing their certaine revolutions, and returnes to the ſpace of two hundred twenty two moneths. *Atqui hic ibit ordo per ſecula* (ſaith *Seneca*) *quæ diſpoſitos ac prædictos dies habent, quibus Sol intercurſu Lunæ veretur omnes radios effundere*: and this order ſhall continue in all ſucceeding ages, which have certaine ſet and fore-told dayes, in which the *Sunne* by the interpoſition of the *Moone* looſeth his light. And the *Roman* Oratour hath obſerved in his ſecond booke *de natura Deorum*: *Defectiones Solis & Lunæ prædicatas in omne poſterum tempus quæ, quantæ, quando futuræ*: The Eclypſes of the *Sun* and *Moone*, are both knowne, & may be prognoſticated for all ages to come, both in what faſhion & in what quantitie, and at what time they ſhall happen: notwithſtanding the cleare evidence of which truth, ſome have beene found, and thoſe not of the vulgar only, but of profeſſed Mathematicians, conſtantly to affirme (as witneſſeth *Bartholinus* in his *Enchiridion* of Naturall Philoſophy,) that *Eclypſes* are in theſe latter ages more frequent then in former times, which opinion hee there plainely confutes to be moſt erroneous: the more I wonder at our late learned Dr *Caſe*, who in his *Lapis Philoſophicus*, *lib.* 8. among other weake arguments for the *worlds decay*, makes the *irregularitie* of our late *Eclypſes* to bee one. And for their threatning aſpect, (which hee there likewiſe urgeth) former ages, no doubt, have ſeene as fearefull ones as ever we, or our next predeceſſours ſaw: I will inſtance in two, the one mentioned in the Chronicle of the Kings of *Mann*, annexed by Mr *Camden* to his *Britannia*, *anno* 1133, in which yeare, ſo great (ſaith the Chronicle) was the *Eclypſe* of the *Sun*, *ut dies in noctem verteretur*, that the day was turned into night: the other recorded by *Malmesbury*, in the 2d booke of his *Hiſt. Novell.*

De Benefic. lib. cap. 6.

Lib. 3. cap. 32. Pro. 2.

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anno 1140: at which time, the Eclypse of the same planet was so terrible, *ut homines antiquum Chaos timerent*; (saith hee) that men feared the returne of all things into the first *Chaos* or confusion.

I will shut up all with a memorable story to this purpose taken out of *Iohn de Royas* in his Epistle to *Charles* the fifth, prefixed to his *Commentaries* upon the plaine *Sphere*, *Colonus* the leader of King *Ferdinands* Army, at the *Iland* of *Iamaica*, being in great distresse for want of victuals, which he could by no meanes obtaine of the inhabitants, & by his skill foreseeing an *Eclypse* of the *Moone* shortly to ensue, tooke order that it should bee declared to the Governours of the *Iland*, that unlesse they supplyed him and his with necessaries, imminent danger hanged over their heads; in witnesse whereof, they should shortly see the *Moone Eclypsed*. The *Barbarians* at first refused his demaunds, and contemned his threatning: but when at the set time they indeede beheld the *Moone* by degrees to faile in her light, and understood not the cause thereof, they first gave credite to his words, and then supply of victuals to his Army, casting themselves to his feete, and craving pardon for their offence.

Finally to the present objection, if any harmefull malignant effect be for the present, or afterward produced by the *Eclypse* in those parts where it is seene, yet no man I thinke will deny it, but to bee *repairable* by the tract and revolution of time; or if not *repairable*, yet this decay in the Creatures ariseth not from any *deficiency* in themselves, from any waxing old by long duration, or removall from their first originals; (which is the very point in question) but from an *adventicious* and *externall cause*. And so I passe from the other Creatures to the Consideration of *Man* the *Commaunder* and *Compendium* of all the rest, for whose sake both they were first made, and this discourse was first undertaken.

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LIB. III.

Of the pretended decay of mankinde in regard of age and duration, of ſtrength and ſtature, of arts and wits.

CHAP. I.

Touching the pretended decay of men in regard of their age, and firſt by way of compariſon betweene the ages of the Ancients, and thoſe of latter times.

SECT. I.

Of the ſhort life of man in regard of the duration of many other Creatures, and that hee was created Mortall, but had he not falne, ſhould have beene preſerved to immortality.

SInce upon examination we have found that there is no ſuch *perpetuall & univerſall decay* as is pretended in the *Heavens*, in the *Earth*, in the *Aire*, in the *Water*, the *Fiſhes*, the *Plants*, the *Beaſts*, the *Mineralls*: I ſee no reaſon but that from thence we might ſafely and ſufficiently conclude, that neither is there any ſuch decay in *man*. But becauſe this diſcourſe was principally undertaken and intended for the ſake of *mankinde*, I will conſider and compare them of former ages with thoſe of latter; firſt, in regard of *age*; ſecondly, in regard of *ſtrength* and *ſtature*; thirdly, in regard of *wits* and *inventions*; fourthly, in regard of *manners* and *conditions*. And if upon due conſideration and compariſon it ſhall appeare that there is no ſuch decay in any of theſe as is ſuppoſed, the *Queſtion*, I truſt, touching the *worlds decay* in generall, will ſoone be at an end.

The ordinary *age* of man being compared with that of the *heavens*, the *ſtones*, the *mettals*, ſome *beaſts* and *trees*, is very ſhort; but the longeſt being compared with *God* and *eternity*, is but as a *ſpan*, a *ſhadow*, a *dreame* of a *ſhadow*, nay meere *nothing*, which the *Roman Orator* hath both truly obſerved, and elegantly expreſſed. *Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europæ parte in Pontum influit, Ariſtoteles ait beſtiolas quaſdam naſci quæ unum diem vivant; ex ijs igitur hora octava quæ mortua eſt, provecta ætate mortua eſt, quæ verò occidente ſole decrepita, eo magis ſi etiam Solſtitiali die. Confer noſtram longiſſimam ætatem cum æternitate, in eadem propemodum brevitate quæ iſtæ beſtiolæ reperiemur.* *Ariſtotle* writes, that by the river *Hypanis*, which on the ſide of *Europe* falls into *Pontus*, certaine little *animals* are bred, which live but a day at moſt: Amongſt them then, ſuch as die the eighth houre, die old; ſuch as die at Sun-ſet, die in their decrepit age; ſpecially if it be upon the day of the Summer Solſtice. Now compare our *age* with *eternity*, and we ſhall be found in regard of duration almoſt in the ſame ſtate of ſhortneſſe that thoſe Creatures are.

Pſal. 39. 5.

1. *Tuſculan.*

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The body of man even before the fall was doubtleſſe in it ſelfe by reaſon of contrary Elements, contrary humours, and members of contrary temper whereof it was compoſed, *diſſolable* and mortall: As alſo by reaſon of outward accidents, the daily waſting of his native heate, and the diſproportionable ſupply of his radicall moiſture: But theſe defects his *Creator* ſupplyed, arming him againſt outward accidents by *divine* providence, the guard of *Angels* & his owne excellent *wiſedome*, againſt the contrarieties fighting in his body, by the *harmony* of his ſoule: againſt the waſting of his native heate and radicall moyſture by that ſupernaturall vertue and efficacy which he gave to the fruit of the tree of life: He was then *Naturally Mortall*: (for otherwiſe even after his fall ſhould he have continued *immortall*, as the *Apoſtate Angels* did) but by *ſpeciall priviledge* and diſpenſation *immortall*: *mortalis erat*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris*: He was *mortall* in reſpect of his naturall body, but *immortall* by the favour of his Creator: Yet doubtles had he not ſinned, had he not ſtill lived here upon earth, though in likelihood his age might be extended to ſome thouſands of yeares, but ſhould have beene at length tranſlated from hence to heaven, where hee could neither have ſinned nor dyed: *Sic eſt immortalis conditus*, ſaith *Gregory*, *ut tamen ſi peccaret, & mori poſſit; & ſic mortalis eſt conditus, ut ſi non peccaret etiam non mori poſſit, atque ex merito liberi arbitrij beatitudinem illius regionis attingeret, in qua vel peccare vel mori non poſſit.* He was ſo created *immortall* that if he ſinned, he might die: and againe ſo was hee created *mortall*, that if hee ſinned not, hee could not die: But by the merit of his free-will ſhould have beene tranſlated to that place of bliſſe where hee could neither ſinne nor die.

Lib 7. de Gen. ad Lit. c. 25.

Moral. lib. 4. cap. 26.

SECT. 2.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and of the manner of computing their yeares, and that Almighty God drew out the lines of their lives to that length for reaſons proper to thoſe firſt times.

THough upon the *fall of man* the duration of his continuance here upon the earth was much ſhortned, yet certaine it is that many of the Ancient *Patriarches* before the floud lived above nine hundred, and ſome to almoſt a thouſand yeares: Neither ought this to ſeeme incredible, though *Pliny* mentioning ſome who were reported to have lived five, ſixe, or eight hundred yeares, at length concludes that all theſe ſtrange reports ariſe from the ignorance of times paſt, and for want of knowledge how they made their account. 'For 'ſome, ſaith he, reckoned the Summer for one yeare, & the Winter for 'another. There were alſo that reckoned every quarter for a yeare, as 'the *Arcadians*, whoſe yeare was but three moneths, and ſome againe 'you have, as namely the *Egyptians*, who count every change of *New* '*Moone* for a yeare, and therefore no marvell if ſome of them are repor-'to have lived a thouſand yeares. Thus *Pliny*. But *Ioſephus* to juſtifie 'the

Lib. 7. cap. 48

Lib. 1. Antiq. Cap. 4.

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the truth of *Moſes* his hiſtory touching the age of the firſt *Patriarchs*, vouches the authority of *Manathon* the writer of the *Egyptian* ſtory, *Beroſus* of the *Chaldean*, *Moſchus* and *Eſthieus* of the *Phœnician*, as alſo *Heſiodus*, *Hecataus*, *Elamius*, *Acuſelaus*, *Ephorus* and others, all affirming that thoſe of the firſt age lived to a thouſand yeares, but how they made their computation, *Ioſephus* doth not expreſſe: Whereupon ſome have beene ſo bold as to tell us, that the yeares *Moſes* there ſpeakes of, are not to bee computed as ours, but were ſomewhat above the monethly yeare containing in them thirty ſixe dayes, which is a number quadrate, being made up of ſixe times ſixe: So that one of our yeares containes tenne of them, and thoſe dayes being divided into twelve moneths, there could not above three dayes be attributed to each of them. But this opinion (for I will not ſpare it though it make for mee,) how not onely falſe it is, but manifeſtly repugnant to the *ſacred Scriptures*, any man may of himſelfe eaſily diſcerne. For if wee embrace this computation, it will from thence follow that *Cain* and *Enoch* begat children when they were but ſixe yeares old and an halfe, or ſeaven at moſt, for the *Scripture* tells us, that the one begat them when he was but ſixty five yeares old, and the other at ſeventy: ſo that if ten of their yeares made but one of ours, it would conſequently follow, that they begat children when they were yet but ſeaven yeares of age: Beſides, ſince none of thoſe Ancient *Patriarchs* attained to a thouſand yeares, if their yeares were ſo to bee accounted, as theſe men would have it, none of them ſhould have arrived to ninety ſeaven yeares; and yet many wee know are now found to paſſe an hundred. Againe, the *Scripture* teſtifies, that *Abraham died in a good old age full of dayes, being one hundred ſeaventy five yeares old*, which number, according to their computation, makes but ſeaventeene yeares and an halfe; a ridiculous old age. *Laſtly*, in the ſeaventh and eight of *Geneſis*, in that one yeare alone, in which the floud laſted, mention is made of the *firſt*, *ſecond*, and *tenth* moneth, & leaſt they ſhould imagine, that thoſe moneths laſted onely three dayes, wee have there named the *ſeaventeenth* day of the ſecond, and the *twenty ſeaventh* of the ſame moneth.

Gen. 5. 21. Gen. 5. 12. Gen. 25. 7. 8. Gen. 7. 11. & 8. 4. 5. 13. 14. Gen. 11. & 8. 14.

To take it then as granted, that *Moſes* his computation of the yeare, was the ſame with ours, and that thoſe firſt *Patriarches* lived much longer then any of longer times, yet from thence cannot any ſufficient proofe be brought, that there hath beene & ſtill continues, *a conſtant and perpetuall decreaſe in mans age*, ſince for ſpeciall reaſons, and by *ſpeciall priviledge Almighty God* granted that to them, which to their ſucceſſours was denyed: which I will rather chooſe to expreſſe in *Ioſephus* his words then in mine owne. Where having aſſigned ſome other cauſes thereof, peculiar to thoſe times and perſons, at length hee concludes. *Deinde própter virtutes & glorioſas utilitates quas jugitur perſcrutabantur, id eſt, Aſtrológiam & Geometriam, Deus ijs ampliora vivendi ſpatia condonavit, quæ non ediſcere potuiſſent, niſi ſexcentis viverunt annis, per tot enim annorum curricula magnus annus impletur.* Againe in regard of the excellent and profitable uſe of *Aſtronomy* and *Geometry*, which they daily ſearched into, *Almighty God* granted them a longer ſpace of life, in as much

Lib. 1. Antiq. Cap. 4.

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much as they could not well finde out the depth of those *Arts*, unlesse they lived sixe hundred yeares, for in that revolution of time, the *great yeare* comes about. Where what he meanes by the *great yeare*, since the most learned make a great doubt, I for my part will not undertake positively to determine. But to this reason of *Iosephus* may well be added another principall one, which is, that God spared them of this first age the longer, *for the multiplying of the race of mankinde*, and repleniſhing the *Earth* with Inhabitants. Wherupon *Rabbi Levi* (as witnesseth *Genebrard* in the first of his *Chronologie*) calls the *Longevitie* of the *Patriarches opus providentia non naturæ*, a worke of the divine providence, not of nature. And as hee graunted them for these reasons a longer space of life by *speciall priviledge*: so likewise hee fitted their *foode*, their *bodies*, and all other *necessaries* proportionable thereunto; as extraordinary carefulnesse and skilfulnesse in the moderation & choice of their diet together with a singular knowledge in the vertue of *plants*, and *stones*, and *mineralls*, and the like, as well for the preservation of their health, as the curing of all kinde of diseases; which well agrees with that of *Roger Bacon*, speaking of the *Patriarches* in his book *de scientia experimentali*. *Quum fuerunt magna sapientia præditi, excogitaverunt omne regimen sanitatis & medicinas secretas quibus senectus retardabatur, & quibus cum venit potuit mitigari; & filij eorum hoc regimen habebant & experimenta contra senectutem, nam Deus illustravit in omni sapientia, & ergo diu vivere potuerunt.* They being indued with singular wisedome, found out the whole course of the regiment of health and secret medicines, whereby the pace of old age was slackned, and when it arrived the rigour of it was abated, and from them their sonnes as by a tradition derived this skill, and these experiments against old age, for God enlightned them with all kinde of wisedome; and from hence it came to passe that they lived long. Yet even among them before the *floud*, wee finde that the *first man*, who in case of decrease should in reason have lived longest, was notwithstanding in number of yeares exceeded non onely by *Mathusalath*, and *Iered* before, but by *Noah* after the floud, except wee will adde unto *Adams* age threescore yeares, as some divines doe, upon a supposition that hee was created in the flower of mans age, agreeable to those times.

SECT. 3.

Another reason assigned out of Torniellus, why the Patriarchs might in the course of Nature live longer then their posteritie.

THat wee may yet more fully satisfie the curious disquisition of Naturalists; another cause may be assigned why the *Patriarchs* lived longer then their posteritie: which *Torniellus* in his sacred Annals hath thus expressed. *Quinta causa assignatur benignus quidam ac specialis aspectus Syderum; ex quo Dei providentia, super illam præsipuè regionem quam incolebant prisci illi Patres proveniebant influxus valdè salutares, & ad conservandam diuque producendam hominum vitam efficacissimi. Talis* Anno Mundi 2656.

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autem ac tam diuturnus Syderum aſpectus ſive influxus aiunt provenire non potuiſſe ex motu raptûs Cœlorum, qui quotidie perficitur ac renovatur; neque ex motu proprio Planetarum quorum Saturnus, qui omnium tardiſſimus eſt triginta annorum curriculo, circulum ſuum abſolvit, ſed ſecundum proprium motum octavæ, vel ut alij exiſtimant nonæ ſphæræ: Hæc enim adeò ſegniter curſum ſuum abſolvit, ut non niſi centum annis gradum unum conficiat: quo fit ut in totâ primâ mundi ætate, quæ fuit mille ſexcentorum quinquaginta ſex annorum, non potuerit variari prædictus Cœli aſpectus, niſi per ſex gradus cum dimidio, duobus circiter abſectis minutis: undè cùm ab iſto Cœli motu & aſtrorum proſpectu, quantum attinet ad cauſas naturales, potiſſimum pendere credatur hominum vita & mors, non mirum eſt ſi in tota prima mundi ætate, parum immutata eſt eorundem hominum longævitas. Oportet autem benignum illum aſtrorum aſpectum, quando poſt primam mundi ætatem ſtellati Cœli motu, ad alias terræ regiones devenit eadem Dei Providentia, per aliquos contrarij influxûs Planetas concurrentes ac prædominantes à memorato producendi hominum ætatis effectu, fuiſſe impeditum, & idcirco nullibi deinde viſos eſſe homines qui communiter tam diù viverent. Sanè quod attinet ad prædictum octavæ Sphæræ motum, aiunt ab eo quoque alias admirabiles quaſdam cauſari in hoc mundo inferiori mutationes, puta quod aliqua terrarum plaga, fluctibus maris tota paulatim operiatur, & è converſo, non modica maris portio aquis ſenſim recedentibus, arida relinquatur, & item quòd aliqua terra prius optima & benè culta, poſtmodum reddatur infructuoſa & inhabitabilis, & qua erat ſterilis & deſerta, ferax admodum efficiatur, & habitatoribus plena, & alia hujuſmodi mirabilia quæ probati Authores prodiderunt. Which one reaſon of his mee thinkes may well ſerve not onely to ſalve a number of other doubts, but very ſufficiently to ſatisfie the moſt curious Naturaliſts who deſire to bee informed by reaſon, in that which wee profeſſe to beleeve by faith.

SECT. 4.

That ſince Moſes *his time, the length of mans age is nothing abated, as appeares by the teſtimony of* Moſes *himſelfe, and other grave Authours, ſpecially* Petrarch *and* Mantuan, *compared with the experience of theſe times.*

HOwſoever it fared with the *Patriarchs*, ſure wee are that ſince *Moſes* his time, who was borne in the yeare of the world 2434, or thereabout, above three thouſand yeares agoe, when the World was now well repleniſhed, and the moſt neceſſary ſciences depending upon obſervation and experience, in a manner perfected, *the length of mans age is nothing abated*, as clearely it appeares by that moſt famous and evident teſtimony of his: *the time of our life*, (ſaith hee) *is threeſcore yeares and tenne, and though men bee ſo ſtrong that they come to foureſcore yeares, yet is their ſtrength then but labour and ſorrow, ſo ſoone paſſeth it away, and wee are gone.* And that indeed theſe are the words of *Moſes*, appeares by the very *Title* of the Pſalme prefixed to it. *A Pſalme of Moſes the man of God.* For though S. *Auguſtine* ſeeme to make ſome doubt

Pſal. 90. 10.

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doubt of it, becauſe hee findes it not recorded in his hiſtory. And *Aben Ezra* a *Iewiſh Rabbin*, thinkes the Authour to have beene one of *Davids* ſingers ſo named, yet S. *Hierome* doubts not conſtantly to averre it to be that ſame *Moſes*, who was the penman of holy writ, and the Captaine of the *Hebrewes*, and that wee might not call it into queſtion, the *Holy Ghoſt* ſeemes purpoſely to have annexed that *Epithite*, *The man of God*, that is, not onely a godly religious and excellent man, but a man endued with a propheticall ſpirit, and ſo is it taken, 1. *Sam.* 2. 27. and 1. *Kings* 13. 1. In which regard *Moſes* himſelfe gives himſelfe this ſame *Title*, *Deuter.* 33. 1. *This is the bleſſing wherewith Moſes the man of God bleſſed the children of Iſrael before his death.* And for S. *Auguſtines* objection, hee would leave very few *Pſalmes* to *David* himſelfe, were his argument of any force. Yet ſome *Expoſitours* there are, who referre it to that *ſtory* of the *Iſraelites*, written in the 32 of *Exodus*, others in the 14 of *Numbers*; which I the rather am induced to beleeve, for that of all thoſe ſix hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, which under the conduct of *Moſes* came out of Ægypt, only two, *Caleb* and *Ioſhua* entred into the land of promiſe, all the reſt, men, women, and children, young and old, leaving their carkaſes in the Wildernes within the ſpace of *forty yeares*. True indeede it is, that both *Moſes* himſelfe and his brother *Aaron* out-lived the number of yeares ſet downe in that *Pſalme*; yet ſayth judicious *Calvin*, *de communi ratione loquitur*, hee ſpeakes of the ordinary courſe, how it commonly faired with men in that reſpect even in thoſe times. And thus do I take *Herodotus* to bee underſtood jumping in the ſame number with *Moſes*, *ſpacium vivendi longiſſimum propoſitum eſſe octoginta annos*, that the utmoſt ſpace of mans life is foureſcore yeares: Though *Solon* come a degree ſhorter, making the age of man threeſcore and tenne, as both *Laertius* and *Cenſorinus* in his booke *de die natali* teſtifie of him. *Plato* who had (as *Seneca* witneſſeth) a ſtrong and able body, borrowing his name from his broad breſt, not without much care and diligence arrived to the age of *eighty* one years, which was then held a rare and admirable matter, and therfore did the *Magitians* ſacrifice unto him, as being more then a man. And *Barzillai* who lived in *Davids* time, is ſaid to have beene *Senex valdè*, a very aged man, yet was hee by his owne confeſſion, but *foureſcore* yeares old. Nay *David* himſelfe is ſaid to have beene *old*, *ſtriken in yeares*, and *ſatur dierum*, full of dayes, inſomuch as *they covered him with cloathes*, *but hee got no heate*: yet was hee but *threeſcore and ten* when hee died, *thirty* when hee began to raigne, and *forty* yeares hee raigned, being naturally of a ſound and healthfull conſtitution. *Solomons* age wee cannot by *Scripture* certainely determine: ſome *Divines* conjecture, that he little exceeded *forty*, but the moſt learned, that hee paſſed not *fifty* or *threeſcore* at moſt, yet is it noted of him, that *cùm ſenex eſſet*, when hee was old, his wives turned away his heart after other Gods: Of all the Kings of *Iudah* and *Ieruſalem* which followed after, the greateſt part came not to *fifty*, very few to *threeſcore*, and none full home to *threeſcore* and *tenne*. In the whole *Catalogue* of *Romane*, *Greeke*, *French*, and *Germane Emperours*, onely *foure* are found which attained to *foureſcore*, and thoſe not among

In *Thalia*.

Laert. l. 1. c. 14.

Epiſt. 51.

2. Sam. 19. 32. v. 35.

1. King. 1. 1.

1. Chro. 19. 28.

2. Sam. 5. 14.

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the firſt of that ranke. In the bed roll of *Popes five* only lived to ſee thoſe yeares, and thoſe of latter dayes in compariſon, namely *Iohn* 23. *Gregory* 12 and 13 *Paulus* 3 and 4: and which is more remarkeable, our *Queene Elizabeth* of freſh and bleſſed memory out-lived all her predeceſſours ſince the *conqueſt*, raigning the yeares of *Auguſtus*, and living the age of *David* Nay if wee ſhould Compare the Kings of *Iuda* beeing 21. in number with thoſe of England from King Stephen to King Iames which makes up the ſame number or ſhall take the ſame number of the laſt *French* or *Spaniſh* Kings, wee ſhall eaſily find that theſe latter have much exceeded the former in number of yeers aſwell in regard of their raignes as their lives.

Petrarch a grave Author, (as himſelfe tels it in the ſixteenth booke of his Epiſtles which hee intitles *Rerum Senilium*) having heard of a Lawyer who in his publique Lectures (thereby to ſlight the induſtry of the more ancient, and to excuſe the ſloath of the preſent times) was wont to aſcribe the difference betweene them in matter of learning, to the difference in the duration of their lives, the one being longer, the other ſhorter; ſent him word by a ſcholler of his, that hee ſhould no more ſo ſay, *ne inter doctos ipſe indoctus haberetur*, leaſt among the learned himſelfe might perchance be held unlearned: and thereupon preſently addes *à duobus & eo amplius annorum millibus circa humanæ vitæ ſpacium nulla mutatio facta eſt*: For the ſpace of two thouſand yeares and more, there is no change made in the ſpace of mens lives; and then goes on and ſhewes how the auncients ordinarily lived the ſame number of yeares that wee doe: and laſtly, if (ſaith hee) you object to mee *Varro* and *Cato* and others who lived to an hundred, I have thoſe in readineſſe whom I can oppoſe againſt them, but becauſe their names are obſcure, I will inſtance onely in one inſtead of many, and that is *Romualdus* of *Ravenna*, a famous *hermite*, who notwithſtanding his continuall watchings and faſting for the loue of *Chriſt*, arrived to the age of an hundred and twenty yeares. Epiſt. 2.

And with *Petrarch* herein doth *Baptiſta Mantuanus* fully accord, who in the latter end of his fourth booke *de Feſtis*, ſpeaking of the contracting of the yeare of *Iubily* from one hundred to fifty, and againe from fifty to five and twenty, upon a ſuppoſition that the age of man is likewiſe contracted in compariſon of former times; profeſſedly oppoſeth himſelfe againſt that opinion, though maintained by the Biſhops of *Rome*, as being the principall reaſon by them pretended for that change.

Iudice me concors vero ſententia non eſt
Tempora quæ dicit vitæ breviata, ſuperſunt
Nunc quoque qui vivunt Centum vel circiter annos
Incolumes, vidi ipſe hominem quem diceret annos
Vndecies vixiſſe decem, vicinia tota,
Ire ſuis alacrem plantis, & viribus uti.
Nec ſe deſidiæ nec inerti dedere ſomno,

If I may judge, th'opinion is not true
Which ſayes the life of man is ſhortned; you

Even

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Even now may see, some such still kept in store
As live one hundred yeares, in perfect health and more,
My selfe have seene a man whom all the towne
With full an hundred yeares and ten did crowne,
Yet did he walke vpright, with strength and nimblenesse
Not given to sleepe, nor restie idlenesse.

SECT. 5.

The same confirmed by the testimony of other Ancient and learned Writers.

HEsiodus the first Writer as I take it (saith *Pliny*) who hath treated of this argument, in his fabulous discourse touching the *age of man*, affirmeth, (but upon what ground I know not) that a *crow* liveth nine times as long as we, and the *Harts* or *Stagges* foure times as long as the *crow*, but the *ravens* thrice as long as they: And if wee should consult with *Astrologers*, *Epigines* saith, that it is not possible to live an *hundred and two and twenty yeares*: and *Berosus* is of opinion, that one cannot passe an *hundred and seaventeene*. *Ausonius* out of *Hesiod* makes the just age of an old man to be nintie sixe yeares. *Lib. 7. c. 48. 49.*

Ter binos decieſque novem superexit in annos
Iusta senescentum quos implet vita virorum.

These verses of *Hesiod* are alleaged by *Plutarch* in his treatise of the cessation of Oracles, & translated by *Ausonius* in his eighteenth *Edyllium*.

In the Oracle of *Sybilla Erithræa* by the testimonye of *Phlegon Trallianus* are found these verses.

Viginti & centum revolutis protinus annis
Quæ sunt humanæ longissima tempora vitæ.
When six score winters are expir'd, which fate
Of humane life hath made the longest date.

Moreover *Trebellius Pollio* in his booke to *Constantius* thus writeth, *Doctissimi Mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos judicant, neque amplius cuiquam concessum dicunt, illud etiam adjicientes, Mosen ipsum, (ut Iudæorum libri testantur) Dei familiarem viginti quinque ac centum annos vixisse, qui cùm interitum hunc ut immutatum fortè quereretur, ferunt illi ab incerto Numine responsum, neminem deinceps amplius esse victurum.* The most learned *Mathematicians* are of opinion, that a man can live but an *hundred and twenty yeares*, and that none can goe beyond that period, yet they adde, that *Moses* himselfe, as the writings of the *Iewes* testifie, beeing familiar with *God*, lived to the age of one *hundred twenty five* yeares, who when he complained of this change, they report this answere to have beene given him by some *divine power*, that no man after that should passe those bounds. Thus *Pollio*: ignorantly mistaking the age of *Moses*, but alluding as it seemes to that speech of *God* in the sixth of *Genesis*, *his dayes shall be an hundred & twenty yeares*. Which words notwithstanding I should rather choose to referre to the comming of the floud, then to the duration of the age of particular men. For it is certaine that after this, not onely *Noah*, but *Sem*, and *Arphaxad*, and *Salah*, and *Eber*, and *Peleg*, and *Nahor*, and *Terah*, and *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, some of them by much, and all of them by some number of yeares exceeded this proportion.

Crinitus

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Crinitus in his ſeaventh booke *de honeſta diſciplina* reports out of *Terentius Varro* from the authority of *Dioſcorides* a great Aſtrologer, that the *Egyptians*, (who tooke ſpeciall care about the imbalming of dead bodies) by ſubtill and witty kinde of reaſoning found out, within what bounds of ſpace to the very utmoſt the *age* of man is confined, taking their eſtimate from the weight of the heart; they affirmed then that the life of man is limited to *one hundred yeares*, ſo that it could not paſſe that tearme, which the heart of thoſe, ſay they who dye not untimely, doth many feſt; inaſmuch as together with *age* if it bee examined, it either receives *increaſe* or *decreaſe*; It receiving the increaſe of two drams every yeare till a man come to *fifty*, & then againe the *decreaſe* of two yearely, till hee arrive to an *hundred*, and ſo returning to its originall weight, it can then make no farther progreſſe. Now this obſervation though it be doubtleſſe more *curious* then *true*, yet doth it ſhew that the common opinion of the *Ancients* was, that men did ſeldome paſſe *one hundred years*. *Seculum centum annorum ſpacium vocârunt, dictum à ſene, quòd longiſſimum ſpacium id putârint ſeneſcendorum hominum*, ſaith *Varro*, *Seculum* was the ſpace of an *hundred yeares*, ſo called *à ſene*, becauſe they held that to bee the utmoſt point of growing old. And with *Varro* herein accords the ſon of *Syrarch*, *The number of a mans dayes at the moſt are an hundred yeares*. Aud with the ſonne of *Syrach* the Prophet *Eſay*, *The ſinner being an hundred yeares old ſhall bee accurſed*, and with them all the divine *Seneca*, *Pervenisſe te ad ultimum ætatis humanæ videmus, centeſimus tibi premitur annus*, wee ſee thou art come to the utmoſt point of the age of mankinde, thou art now in thy hundreth yeare: nay the ſame *Seneca* in the very next chapter there following tells us, that even then few arrived to fifty or ſixty; though himſelfe, if we may beleeve *Calvin* in the life of *Seneca* prefixed before his Commentaries upon the booke *de Clementia*, reached to an hundred and fifteene Tacitus in the life of Agricola makes 15 yeers a great part of mans life and that epiſtle in *Baruch* which goes under, the Prophet *Ieremies* name Calls the 70 yeers of the *Babiloniſh* Captivitie, 7 generations, allowing but 10 yeers to one generation. So as that prerogative extraordinary of *Longevity* was as I take it, ſpecially annexed, as to thoſe firſt ages of the world, ſo to the *Church* and people choſen by *God* in thoſe times. For had men in all *places* and all *ages* arrived to the lives of the *Patriarches*, the *Earth* by this time had not beene able to ſuſtaine them with foode, nor hardly to containe their multitude; yet can it not be denyed but that in all times, and in all *Nations* ſome have beene alwayes found who have exceeded that nnmber of yeares which many of the *Ancients* (as wee have heard) accounted the utmoſt *period* of mans life.

Lib. 5 de lingua latina.

Ecclus 18.8.

Cap. 65. v. 20.

De brevit. c. 3.

cap. 4.

But Calvin I doubt was herein miſtake.

SECT 6

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SECT. 6.

That in all times and nations some have beene found who have exceeded that number of yeares which the wisest of the ancients accounted the utmost period of mans life, and that often those of latter ages have exceeded the former in number of yeares, as is made to appeare as well from sacred as prophane story.

TO let goe fabulous and uncertaiue reports of the *Arcadian* kings and such like, certaine it is, that *Marcus Varelius Corvinus*, lived one hundred yeares compleate, *Metellus* the *Pontife*, or *Supreame Priest* lived full as long. *Epimenides* the *Cretian* lived one hundred and fifty, whereof the last fifty he spent under ground in a Cave. *Zenophanes* the *Colophonian* one hundred and two at the least: for hee travelled at twenty five, and returned at seventy seven after his setting forth, but after his returne how long he lived it is uncertaine. *Gorgias* the *Sicilian* a famous Rhetorician in his time, lived to one hundred and eight. *Hippocrates* the renowned *Physitian* to one hundred and foure, both approving and honouring the excellencie of his Art by his age. *Asinius Pollio* inward with *Augustus*, though of a luxurious life, surmounted an hundred. And for women *Ciceroes* wife *Terentia* lived till shee was one hundred and three. *Clodia* wife to *Ofilius* went beyond her, and saw one hundred & fifteene yeares, & yet had she in her youth fifteene children: *Luceia* a common *vice* in playes followed the stage and acted thereon an hundred yeares, such another *vice* that played the fooles part, and made sport betweene whiles in *interludes*, named *Galeria Copiola* was brought againe to act her feates upon the stage when *Cn. Pompeius* and *Q. Sulpitius* were Consuls, at the solemne playes vowed for the health of *Augustus Cæsar*, when she was in the hundred and fourth yeare of her age. The first time that ever shee entred the stage to shew proofe of her skill in that profession, was ninety one yeares before, and then was shee brought thither by *M. Pomponius* an *Edile* of the Commons in the yeare that *C. Marius* and *Carbo* were *Consuls*. And once againe *Pompeius* the great, at the solemne dedication of his stately *Theater*, trained the old women to the stage, thereby to make a shew of her to the wonder of the world. *Plinyl.7.c.48.*

And if from *prophane* stories wee should come to the *sacred*, wee shall there likewise finde that some in all ages have reached to that number of yeares, and that often (which I desire to bee observed) those of *later* times have exceeded the *former*. To let goe the *Patriarches* of whome as far as *Iacob* I have in part already spoken, *Ioseph* attained to an hundred & ten, his brother *Levi* to one hundred thirty seven, and *Moses* and *Aaron* were each of them one hundred and twenty at the least. *Phineas* *Aarons* nephew, it may be by *speciall favour* for his great *Zeale*, is supposed to have lived *three thundred yeares*: & justly no doubt, if the warre of the *Israelites* against the tribe of *Benjamin*, (in which expedition *Phineas* was consulted with) were acted in the same *series* of time, in which the *histo-* Gen. 50. 26. Exod. 6. 16. Deut. 34. 7. Num. 33. 39. Iud. 20.

ry

Ios. 24. 29. Iob. 42 16. ry is recorded. *Ioshua* lived one hundred and tenne. *Iob* after his restitution lived one hundred and forty yeares, notwithstanding that before his affliction hee had children of the age of men and women. *Elizeus* seemes to have beene above an hundred, inasmuch as hee lived three-score yeares after the assumption of *Elias*, and such hee was at that assumption as the children taunted him for his bald pate. Tob. 14. 13. & 16. *Tobias* the *Elder* lived to one hundred fifty and eight, the *yonger* to one hundred twenty seven. Long after this *Anna* the *Propheteſſe* mentioned by S. 2. cap. v. 37. *Luke* seemes to have out pitched an hundred, as our common translation, reads it, she being a widow foure-score and foure yeares, married seven, & by common account no lesse then foureteene or fifteene when she was married, which being put together make up an hundred and six yeares or there about: though I am not ignorant that *Iunius* and our last translation agreeable to the *originall* render it thus, *& erat vidua annorum quasi octoginta & quatuor*, shee was a widdow of about foureſcore and foure yeares, that is according to an usuall *Hebraisme*, about foure-score and foure yeares old, as *Noah* is said to have beene *filius quingentorum annorum*, the sonne of five hundred yeares, that is, *natus quingentos annos*, five hundred yeares old. Gen. 5. 32. *Iohn* the divine and beloved *Disciple* an *Apostle* a *Prophet* & an *Evangelist*, who of all the *Apostles* only died in his bed, all the rest suffering martyrdome for the name of *Christ*, was doubtlesse very aged when hee resigned his spirit, for as witnesseth *Eusebius* out of *Irenæus*, he deceased in the 2 yeare of *Traian* which was the 101 from the nativity, the 68. frō the passion of *Christ*; *Cedrenus* affirms that hee lived to 106, but surely considering hee wrote his *Gospell* after hee was 90 by the testimony of *Epiphanius*, it is more then probable that hee drew neere upon 100 if hee exceeded it not. In Chron. In Comp. Har. 51.

After this againe *Pliny* to shew the errour of some *Mathematicians*, who thought that the life of man could not even then be extended beyond an *hundred* yeares, produced a *taxation* or review of the severall ages of men betweene *Apennine* & the *Poo* made under the Emperours, *Vespatian* the father, and the sonne, in which upon examination were found at *Parma* three men that had lived each of them *one hundred and twenty* yeares, at *Brixels* one that was *one hundred twenty five* yeares old: Moreover at *Parma* two, *one hundred and thirty* yeares of age; at *Plaisance* one elder by a yeare: at *Faventia*, there was one woman *one hundred thirty two* yeares old: at *Bononia L. Tarentius* the son of *Marcus*, and at *Ariminium M. Aponius* reckoned each of them *one hundred and fifty* yeares. About *Playsance*, is a towne situate upon the hils named *Velleiacum* wherein six men brought a certificate that they had lived *one hundred and ten* yeares a piece, fourt likewise came in with a note of an *hundred and twenty* yeares, & one of an *hundred and forty*: But because we will not dwell (saith he) upon a matter so evident & commonly confessed; in the *review* taken of the *eighth Region* of *Italy*, there were found in the *role fifty foure* of one *hundred* yeares of age, *fifty seaven* of one *hundred* & *tenne*, *two* of one *hundred twenty five*, *foure* of one *hundred and thirty*, as many that were an *hundred thirty five*, or one *hundred thirty seaven*, and last of all three men of one *hundred and forty*. Lib. 7. c. 49.

Now

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Now had *Pliny vir unus apud Latinos in observandis investigandisque Naturæ arcanis diligens & accuratus*, the onely man among the *Latines* who is a diligent and curious tracer of the prints of *Natures* footsteps, had this man I say observed any such decrease as is pretended in mens ages in regard of former times, hee would doubtlesse have noted it, either in that chapter where so faire an opportunity was offered him, or some where else through his *history*: which I presume cannot be found: and I doubt not but if the like *review* and list were made in those parts at this day, as many of like ages would bee found within the like compasse, or if there were found defect in that place, it may happily be supplied in another; or if a generall defect in this age by reason of some accidentall occasions, yet may it bee repaired and recompenced againe in future times by their removall: The defect then (if any be) is not in the course of *Nature*, but in our wronging it; and yet I make no doubt, but a number in succeding ages have equalled and some exceeded those recounted by *Pliny* in number of yeares.

SECT. 7.

The same assertion farther proved and inlarged by many instances, both at home and abroad.

ARtesius the Philosopher boasted, as witnesseth *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum* among which this perchance may bee one, that hee had lived 1029 yeares, and farther addes that himselfe had spoken with many eye-witnesses worthy Credit who knew a man *qui magnifico medicamine sumpto vixerat nongentis & multis alijs annis, & habuit literas Papales in testimonium hujus rei*; who having used a princely preservative, lived nine hundred yeares, and had the Popes letters testimoniall to shew for it. Though herein I presume his Holinesse will not challenge to himselfe an infallibility of judgment.

To say nothing of the *wandring Iew*, by some named *Iohannes Buttadeus*, of whom about six yeares since, being seene and conferred with at *Antwerpe*, and againe about sixteene before that in *France*, was every where in those times so much talke, as if hee had beene present at our *Saviours* passion, and had lived in this wandring manner ever since: among bookes published to that purpose, I will onely referre the curious Reader, (who desires to be farther informed in that point) to the relations of *Guido Bonatus*, (who lived about 400 yeares since) in the first part, 5 tract, and 141 consideration of Iudiciary *Astrologie*, and the seaventh booke of the *History* of the peace betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* in the yeare 1604. where the storie is not onely related but learnedly disputed; and to an old manuscript *Chronicle de gestis Regis Iohannis* lately in the keeping of the ever renowned Sr *Henry Savill*, where report is made that in the yeare of *Grace* 1228, an Archbishop of *Armenia* arriving as a pilgrime in this kingdome to visite the reliques of our *Saints*, and demaunded if hee could say any thing touching the

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wandring Iew, of whom at that very time was much rumour; a certaine Knight in his traine made answere for him in *French*, that he knew him well, and had often conversed with him; and thereupon describes him both for his person, and manners, and the occasion of his living in that fashion, much like as doth *Paul* of *Eitsen*, Bishop of *Sleswing*, who is said to have met & conferred with him at *Hamborough*, in the yeare 1542, in the *French history* before alleaged, but leaving him to his wandring life, and the Reader to his liberty of beleefe, I returne to more certaine Relations.

Paul the *Hermite* lived to one hundred and fifteene, S. *Anthony* to one hundred and five. *Gartius Aretinus* great Grandfather to *Petrarch*, arrived to one hundred and foure. *Gulielmus Postellus*, a French-man in our age held out to almost an hundred and twenty; the tops of his beard in his higher lip being then somewhat blackish and not altogether white. But above all, most memorable is the age of *Iohannes de Temporibus*, 'which *Verstegan* out of the *Dutch* Authours thus reports: Here by the 'way, saith hee, I must note to the Reader that *Iohannes de Temporibus*, 'that is to say, *Iohn of times*, so called for the sundry times or ages hee 'lived, was *shieldknave* or *Armour bearer* to *Charles the Great*, of whom 'he was also made *Knight*. This man being of great temperance, sobrie-'ty, and contentment of minde in his condition of life, but above all, of 'a most excellent constitution of body, residing partly in *Germany* 'where hee was borne, and partly in *France*, lived unto the ninth yeare 'of the reigne of the Emperour *Conrade*, and died at the age of *three hun-'dred sixty one yeares*, seeming thereby a very miracle of *Nature*, and one 'in whom it pleased *God* to represent unto latter ages the long yeares & 'temperate lives of the ancient *Patriarches*. Mine *Authour* goeth on; 'tis said that there hath a man lately lived in the *East Indies*, of some 'thought to be yet living, of greater age then this *Iohn of Times*: The 'certainty hereof I cannot affirme, but it is credibly reported that awo-'man lately lived at *Segovia* in *Spaine* of an hundred and threescore 'yeares of age. And *Franciscus Alvarez* saith, that hee saw *Albuna Marc*: chiefe Bishop of *Ethiopia* beeing of the age of an hundred and fifty yeares: *Anthony Fume* an *Historiographer* of good account, reporteth that in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seaventy, there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman Generall* of the *Turkes* army, who had out lived three hundred yeares. And Sr *Walter Rawleigh* tels us, that himselfe knew the old Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the yeare 1589 and many yeares since, & yet was married in *Edward* the fourths time, and held her joynter from the Earles of *Desmond* till then: And that this is true (saith he) all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witnesse. My Lord of S. *Albans* casting her age, brings her to one hundred and forty at least, adding withall, *ter per vices dentisse*, that shee recovered her teeth after casting them three severall times. The same Authour reports that a while since in *Hereford-shire* at their *Maygames* there was a *Morice* daunce of eight men, whose yeares put together made up eight hundred, that which was wanting of an hundred in some superabounding in others. Mr *Carew* in his *Survey* of *Cornwall*

This story is confirmed by *Petrus Mexias*, and *Fasciculus Temporum*.

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Cornewall, assures us upon his owne knowledge that foureſcore, and foureſcore and tenne yeares of age is ordinary there in every place; and in moſt perſons accompanied with an able uſe of the body and their ſences. One *Polezew*, (ſaith he) lately living reached to one hundred and thirty, a kinſman of his to one hundred and twelve. One *Beauchamp* to one hundred and ſixe; and in the pariſh where himſelfe dwelt hee profeſſed to have remembred the deceaſe of foure within foureteene weekes ſpace, whoſe yeares added together made up the ſumme of three hundre and forty. The ſame Gentleman made this merry Epigram or Epitaph upon one *Brawne* an Iriſh man, but *Corniſh begger*.

Heere *Brawne* the *quondam* begger lies
Who counted by his tale
Some ſixcore winters and above;
Such vertue is in Ale.
Ale was his meate, his drinke, his cloth,
Ale did his death reprive,
And could hee ſtill have drunke his Ale,
Hee had beene ſtill alive.

And I make no doubt but the like obſervation might be made in other countries under his Majeſties dominions, aſwell as in thoſe two ſhires, if the like particular ſurvey and ſearch were made.

I have beene credibly informed that *Pawlet* Marqueſſe of *Winchester*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*, who died in the tenth yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the laſt yeare of *Henry* the ſixth, hee lived in all 106 yeares 3 quarters, and odde dayes, during the raigne of nine Kings & Queene of *England*: as alſo that *Iames Sands* of *Horborne* in *Stafford-ſhire* neere *Bremnigham*, lived 140 yeares, and his wife 120, and died about tenne yeares paſt, hee out lived five leaſes of 21 yeares a peece made unto him after he was married.

Buchanan in his *Scottiſh* hiſtory toward the latter end of his firſt booke, ſpeaking of the *Orcades*, names one *Laurence* who dwelling in one of thoſe Ilands married a wife after hee was one hundred yeares old, and more then ſo, *centeſimum quadrageſimum annum agens, ſaviſſimo mari in ſua navicula piſcatum prodibat*; being now ſevenſcore yeare old in a tempeſtuous ſea hee went out a fiſhing in his owne little boate.

Nos ipſi vidimus ſenem ſaith *Bellarmine lib. 1. de verbo dei Cap. 7, annorum 105 ita robuſtum & vegetum ut multos adhuc annos ſupervicturus videretur*: wee our ſelves have ſeene an olde man of 105 years of age ſo luſtie and ſtronge as hee was likely to have lived many yeares Longer.

I my ſelfe have ſeen an old man (ſaith Dr *Willet*) of 124. yeares of age, at *Everſden* in the county of *Bedford*, who dyed about the yeare 1600. or. 1601. he could remember *Boſworth-feild* at the comming in of *Henry* the 7. being then as hee affirmed ſome 15 yeares old. But if Henry 7. entred in the yeare 1485. & the ſaid old man dyed in the years 1600. being of the age of 15. yeares at that Kings entrance; then could hee bee no leſſe then 130 yeares old as by the computation will eaſily appeare. *In Gen. Cap. 5. v. 5.*

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Lib. 134 *an.* 1605.

Robert Conſtantin (as witneſſeth *Thuanus*) being borne at *Cana* in the lower *Normandie* a man very skilfull in the three languages lived to the age of 103 years perfectly ſound in all the ſenſes of his bodie and faculties of his minde, ſpecially in his memorie which in old men Commonly firſt failes; and at laſt died of a pleuriſie which argues ſtrength of nature and abundance of blood and heate. The ſame yeere (as writeth the ſame author in the ſame place) died Emanuel *Demetrius* and his wife, in the low Countreys, the one being 103 the other 99 yeares olde having beene married 75 yeers, the one out lived the other by the ſpace only of three houres and were both buried at the ſame time at Delph in *Holland*.

Vaſſæus in his Chronicle of Spaine makes it no marvaile to find a man of an hundred years old, many ſuch (as he affirmeth) being to bee found in *Portugall* and that himſelfe knew an old woman at that time where hee wrote of the age of 110 whoſe Mother was ſayed to have reached to 120.

And if wee pleaſe a little to caſt our eyes farther abroad, wee ſhall likewiſe finde that even at this day the *Indians*, a barbarous people and living according to *Nature*, reach to a marvailous great age, matchable to any that we read of ſince the flood, either in *ſacred* or *prophane* ſtory. Sr *Walter Rawleigh* in his diſcovery of *Guiana* reports that the King of *Aromaia*, being one hundred and tenne yeares old, came in a morning on foote to him from his houſe which was foureteene *Engliſh* miles, and returned on foote the ſame day: but that which is written by *Monſieur Beſanneera* a *French* Gentleman in the relation of Captaine *Laudonneireis* ſecond voyage to *Florida*, is much more ſtrange, and not unworthy to be ſet downe at large. Our men, ſaith hee, regarding the age of their *Paracouſſy* or Lord of the countrey, began to queſtion with him thereabouts, whereunto hee made anſwere that hee was the firſt living *Originall* from whence five generations were deſcended, ſhewing them withall another old man which farre exceeded him in age, and this man was his father, who ſeemed rather an *Anatomie* then a living body: for his ſinewes, his veines, his arteries, his bones, and other parts appeared ſo clearely thorow his skin, that a man might eaſily tell them, and diſcerne them one from another. Alſo his age was ſo great that the good man had loſt his ſight, and could not ſpeake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. *Monſieur d'Ottigni* having ſeene ſo ſtrange a ſight turned to the younger of theſe two old men, praying him to vouchſafe to anſwere to that which hee demaunded touching his age: then called he a company of *Indians*, and ſtriking twice upon his thigh and laying his hand upon two of them, hee ſhewed by ſignes that theſe two were his ſonnes; againe ſmiting upon their thighs, he ſhewed him others not ſo old, which were the children of the two firſt, and thus continued he in the ſame manner untill the *fifth generation*: But though this old man had his father alive more old then himſelfe, and that both their haire was as white as was poſſible, yet it was told them that they might yet live *thirty* or *forty* yeares more by the courſe of nature, although the younger of them both, was not leſſe then *two hundred* & *fifty* yeares old.

Mr

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Mr *George Sands*, in the second booke of the *Relation of his journey*, in the *history of Ægypt*, alledging those verses of *Lucan*,

--- Vesanus in ortus
Cambyses longi populos pervenit ad ævi, *Lib.* 10.
Furious *Cambises* to the longliu'd went,

Tels us that the *Æthiopians* are there to be understood, who (saith hee) are said ordinarily to live unto 120 yeares which notwithstanding it should seeme in ancient time was not so, for that *Plutarch* in his fifth booke and thirtieth chapter *de placitis philosophorum* affirmes, that *Asclepiades* reports that the *Æthiopians* are accounted old if they live to 30. whereas in *Britaine* (saith hee) many live to 120. My L. of S. *Albans* sayes to 150. *Hist de vita & Morte pag.* 162

Torquemado in the first journey of his discourse assures us, that being at *Rome* about the yeare 1531: it was bruted thorow all *Italy* that at *Tarentum* there lived an old man, who at the age of an *hundred* yeares was *growne young* againe, hee had changed his skin like unto the snake and had recovered a new, being withall become so young & fresh, as those which had seene him & knowne him before, could then scarce beleeve their owne eyes: and having continued above *fifty* yeares in this estate, he grew at length to be so old, as hee seemed to bee made of barkes of trees; whereunto hee further adds (and that the above written relation, saith he, may not seeme impossible) we have a more admirable thing in the same kinde, recorded by *Ferdinand Lopez* of *Castegnede*, historiographer to the King of *Portugall* in the eighth booke of his *Chronicle*, where hee saith, that *Nonnio de Cugne*, being *Viceroy* at the *Indies* in the yeare 1536, there was a man brought unto him as a thing worthy of admiration, for that it was averred by good proofes and sufficient testimony, that hee was *three hundred and forty* yeares old, hee remembred hee had seene that Citty wherein hee dwelt unpeopled, beeing then when hee spake it one of the chiefe of all the *East Indies*; hee had growne young againe foure times, changing his white haire and recovering new teeth. When the *Viceroy* did see him, hee then had the haire of his head and of his beard blacke, although he had not much, and there being by chance a *Phisitian* at that time present, the *Viceroy* willed him to feele the old mans pulse, which he found as good and as strong as a young mans in the prime of his age. This man was borne in the Realme of *Bengala*, and did affirme that he had had at times neere seaven hundred wives, whereof some were dead some were put away. The King of *Portugall* advertised of this wonder, did often inquire, and had yearely newes of him by the fleete which came from thence: Hee lived above *three hundred and seaven yeares*. The same *Castegnede* addes, that in the time of the same *Vice-roy*, there was also found in the Citty of *Bengala* another man, a *Moore* or *Mahometane* called *Xequepeer* borne in a *Province* named *Xeque*, who was *three hundred yeares* old, as he said: all those that did know him did also certifie it having great presumption so to doe. This *Moore* was reputed among them an holy man by reason of his austereneſse and abstinence: The *Portugals* did converse familiarly with him. Now besides that the histories of *Portugall* touching the *Indies* are

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faithfully collected and certified by very authenticall witnesses, there were in my time, saith *Torquemado*, both in *Portugall* and *Castile* many which had seene these old men.

I may not here forget a discourse, written by *Thomas* of *Ravenna*, and dedicated to Pope *Iulius* the third *de vita hominis ultra* 120 *annos protrahenda* of protracting the life of man beyond 120 yeares, wherein hee prefixed this title to his first chapter, *Qui ævo nostro presenti ultra annos* 120 *supervixêre*; of those who in this *present age* have out lived 120. Nor yet that which *Fœlix Platerus* late Professour at *Basil*, in his *quæstiones Hygieinæ* reports of his grandfather that he lived to 126. Nor lastly that which *Iohannes Temporarius* in his *Chronologicall demonstrations*, writes to this purpose of his owne experience, *anno mundi* 410. Cap. 4. *Duos ipsi novimus qui agresti manuum labore vitam traduxerunt alterum ad annos* 112, *alterum ad* 116, *vitæ commodis nihilominus fruentes, mente sana in corpore sano.* Wee our selves have knowne two, who getting their living by the labour of their hands, the one of them lived to 112 the other to 116. injoying their life in a commodious manner, as having a sound minde in a sound body.

Qu. 7. 4.

SECT. 8.

That if our lives be shortned in regard of our Ancestours, wee should rather lay the burthen of the fault upon our intemperance, then upon a decay in Nature, as is proved by the authority of Leonardus Lessius, *and* Ludovicus Cornarus.

THe *High-landers* likewise in *Scotland*, and the wild *Irish* commonly live longer then those of softer education, of nice and tender bringing up, (which often falls out in the more civill times and countries) being no doubt a great enemy to *Longevity*, as also the first feeding and nourishing of the *Infant* with the milke of a strange dug; an *unnaturall curiosity*, having taught all women but the beggar to finde out nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them. Whereunto may be added *hasty marriages* in tender yeares, wherein nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her, and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any roote sufficient to maintaine her owne top. And such halfe-ripe seedes, for the most part, wither in the bud, and waxe old even in their infancy. But above all things the pressing of *Nature* with *over-weighty burdens*, & when we finde her strength defective, the helpe of strong waters, hot spices, and provoking sauces, is it which impaires our health, and shortens our life,

---Simul assis
Miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
Dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomacoque tumultum
Lenta feret pituita; vides ut pallidus omnis
Cœna desurgat dubia:
Mixe sod with rost, and fish with flesh, straightwayes
The sweet will turne it selfe to bitter gall:

Horat. lib. 2. Sat. 2.

Tough

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Tough flegme will in the ſtomacke tumults raiſe,
Seeſt not how doubtfull ſuppers make men pale?

But elegant to this purpoſe are thoſe verſes of *Lucan*,

----O prodiga rerum
Luxuries! nunquam parvo contenta paratu,
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ!
Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam,
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhaque bibunt, ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit, ſatis eſt populis fluviuſque Cereſque.

O waſtefull riot! never well content
With low-priz'd fare, hunger ambitious
Of Cates by land and ſea farre fetcht and ſent,
Vaine-glory of a table ſumptuous!
Learne with how little, life may be preſerv'd,
In gold and myrrhe they neede not to carouſe,
But with the brooke the peoples thirſt is ſerv'd,
Who fed with bread and water are not ſtarv'd.

Multos morbos multa fercula fecerunt, ſaith *Seneca*, our variety of dainty diſhes hath bred variety of diſeaſes. And againe, *Maximus ille medicorum, & hujus ſcientiæ Conditor, fœminis nec capillos defluere dixit, nec pedes laborare: atqui hæ jam & capillis deſtituuntur, & pedibus ægræ ſunt, non mutata fœminarum natura, ſed vita eſt.* The greateſt of *Phyſitians* & the founder of that Science affirmes, that women neither looſe their haire, nor grow diſeaſed in their feete: but now wee ſee they are both bald and gowty, not becauſe their nature is chang'd, but the courſe of their life. *Beneficium ſexus ſui vitijs perdiderunt, & quia fœminam exuerunt, damnatæ ſunt morbis virilibus.* They have forfeited the priviledge of their ſexe by their owne viciouſneſſe, & having together with their modeſty put off their womanhood, they are deſervedly plagued with mens diſeaſes. *Epiſt. 95.*

Two diſcourſes I have lately met with, written by two learned men, in both which it is ſufficiently proved that if we fall ſhort of the length of our predeceſſours lives, it is rather by reaſon of our intemperance then their antiquity: the one by *Leonardus Leſſius* a Jeſuite, which hee intitles *Hygiaſticon, ſeu vera ratio valetudinis bonæ & vitæ unà cum ſenſuum judicij & memoriæ integritate ad extremam ſenectutem conſervandæ*: wherein hee makes the principall meanes of preſerving health to bee a moderate & temperate diet, by which meanes the *Brachmanes* among the *Indians*, the *Votaries* among the *Mahometans*, the *Eſſens* among the *Iewes* lived till they were very old; & among *Chriſtians, omitto plurimos noſtræ ætatis* (ſaith hee) I omit many of our age, who by obſerving ſobrietie in their diet, have ſpunne out the thread of their lives, and that in perfect health, ſome to 80, ſome to 90, ſome to 95, ſome to more yeares; whereunto hee farther addes, that there are ſome monaſteries of women, in which they uſe ſo ſpare and thinne diet, as thereby they ordinarily live to 80 or 90: *adeo ut ſexagenariæ & ſeptuagenariæ vix inter ſeniores numerentur*, ſo as with them thoſe of 60 or 70 are ſcarce

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ranked among the elder ſort. The other diſcourſe tending to the ſame purpoſe, is written by *Ludovicus Cornarus* a Gentleman, and I thinke a Senatour of *Venice*, *de vitæ ſobriæ commodis*, whereof himſelfe had made tryall from his 36th yeare even to his laſt, and being before but of a weake and ſickly diſpoſition, thereby became ſo ſtrong & quicke, both in body and minde, that at 83 he wrote a pleaſant Comedie, and at 95 another booke, his diet being by preciſe weight 14 ounces of drinke and 12 of bread and meate by the day, hee likewiſe tells us, how of latter times *Pope Paul* the 3d, Cardinall *Bembus*, and two Dukes of *Venice* *Landus* and *Donatus* held out very long by uſing the like temperance; and at laſt concludes, that as many of the ancients by that meanes outreached 100, ſo might wee too, *eundem ducem ſequuti*, following the ſame guide and treading in the ſame ſteps.

Beſides, our *Anceſtors* uſed ſome things now growne out of uſe with us, which were no doubt ſpeciall meanes to preſerve their health and prolong their lives, as the annointing of their bodies, their frequent uſe of ſaffron and hony, their wearing of warmer cloathes, and dwelling in cloſer houſes with little doores and windowes, chooſing rather to admit leſſe aire then much light, preferring their health before their pleaſure, as alſo for the moſt part they uſed leſſe Phyſicke and more exerciſe: ſo that if our lives be ſhortned in regard of them, wee have reaſon to acquit and diſcharge nature, and to lay the whole burden of the fault upon our ſelves.

-----Natura beatis
Omnibus eſſe dedit, ſi quis cognoverit uti.
Nature allowes that all ſhould bleſſed be,
Knew they to uſe her bounty prudentlie.

And doubtleſſe through our owne ignorance or negligence it is if wee make not that uſe of Natures bounty which wee might and ſhould: and herewith that of *Roger Bacon* accords in his booke *de retardatione accidentium ſenectutis*: *Mundo ſenescente ſeneſcunt homines, non propter mundi ſenectutem, ſed multiplicationem viventium inficientium ipſum aërem qui nos circumdat, & negligentiam regiminis & ignorantiam illarum rerum, illarumve proprietatum quæ regiminis defectum ſupplent.* The world waxing old, men likewiſe waxe old, not ſo much by reaſon of the worlds old age, as the multiplication of living Creatures, infecting the aire which invirons us, and our negligence in the government of our health, and our ignorance in the vertue of thoſe things which ſhould ſupply the defect of that government: and againe in his booke *de ſcientia experimentali*. *Cauſa autem hujuſmodi prolongationis & abbreviationis exiſtimaverunt multi à parte cæli, nam exiſtimaverant quod cæli diſpoſitio fuit optima à principio, & mundo ſenescente omnia tabeſcant, æſtimantes ſtellas fuiſſe creatas in locis convenientioribus, & in meliori proportione earum ad invicem ſecundùm diverſitatem aſpectuum, & projectionem radiorum inviſibilem, & quod ab illo ſtatu paulatim receſſerunt, & ſecundùm hunc receſſum ponunt vitæ decurtationem uſque ad aliquem terminum fixum in quo eſt ſtatus, ſed hoc habet multas contradictiones & difficultates de quibus non eſt modo dicendum.* The cauſe of this prolonging

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longing and shortning our lives, many conjecture to bee in regard of the Heavens, for they thought that the Heavens were best disposed at the first, and that as the world waxeth old, all things decayed, supposing that the Starres were created in more convenient places, and in a fitter proportion each to other according to the diversities of their aspects, and the invisible projection of their beames, & that by degrees they are fallen off from that estate, and according thereunto they proportion the decrease of life untill it come to some setled period, beyond which there is no farther progresse; but this assertion includes many contradictions and difficulties, of which I cannot now speake.

Petrus Paduanensis, or *Aponensis*, commonly knowne by the name of *Conciliator*, who lived & wrote about three hundred thirty years agoe, *differentia nona* proposeth this question. *An natura humana sit debilitata ab eo quod antiquitus?* and having argued the point too and fro somewhat doubtfully, seemes to conclude, that accidentally by reason of the luxurie of latter ages it is weakned; yet with this caution; *Attendendum tamen quod licet dictum sit quod natura humana isto tempore ac istis climatibus sit debilitata & perfectionibus minorata: contingit alijs temporibus & regionibus fortificari & perfici magis.* And againe, *Cum natura humana & ordo ejus cum alijs sit, ut quidam circulus secundo de generatione; dicendum talem motum non fortificari in fine, sed remanere ejusdem dispositionis, aut diversificatum parumper ut ejus excitant causæ.* To the authoritie of *Moses*, (which hee takes to be *Davids*) The time of our life is threescore yeares and ten; and to that of *Hippocrates*, distinguishing the severall stages of mans life as wee doe now, hee makes none other answer but this, *Dicendum quod illud tempus non est multum elongatum à nobis, etsi sit multum à generatione distans mundi.* And in conconclusion utterly enervates the force of his owne strongest argument: *Ad illud quod dicebatur unumquodque debilitatur per distare à suo principio: dicendum quod verum est, si illud quod distat totum esse accipit ab illo principio & non ab alio; sic autem non est in proposito: nam quod distat & quod generatur non solum recipit esse à generante particulari sed ab universali, ut à corporibus superioribus jam dictis cum homo hominem generet & sol: etenim videmus quod filius generatus, fortior est & longioris vitæ quàm patet generans, cum filius magis distet à principio quam pater.*

Yet mee thinkes it may be demonstrated by evident reason, besides the arguments already alleadged, that at the least for these last *thousand* or *two thousand yeares*, the age of mankinde is little or nothing abated, which I will endeavour to make good in the next Chapter.

CHAP. 2.

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CHAP. 2.

Farther reasons alledged, that the age of man for these last thousand or two thousand yeares, is little shortned, or nothing abated.

SECT. 1.

The first reason taken from the severall stops and pawses of nature in the course of mans life, as the time of birth after our conception, our infancie, childhood, youth, mans estate, and old age, being assigned to the same compasse of yeares as they were by the Ancients; which could not possibly be, were there an universall decay in mankinde in regard of age; And the like reason there is in making the same Clymacterical yeares, and the same danger in them.

THat the *age* of mankinde for these last thousand or two thousand yeares is nothing shortned, will farther appeare by the severall *stayes* and *stops* which the *Ancients* have marked out, aswell in the growth of the infant in the mothers wombe, and time of birth, as in the distribution of mans age after the birth, agreeable unto that which is generally received by the learned, and for the most part wee finde to be verified by experience at this day. As among *Plants*, those which last longest, have likewise their seedes longest buried under the earth before their springing above ground: so likewise among *beasts*, those which live longest, are carried longest in the wombe of their dammes; the *bitch* carries her young but three moneths at most, the *mare* nine, the *Elephant* two yeares (not *ten* as some have vainely written); and looke what proportion is found betwixt their *conception* and *birth*, the like is commonly found betwixt their *birth* and *death*. *Nature* then in her proceedings in naturall actions being alike, aswell to them as to *mankinde*, it should in reason seeme, that as their time is the same which the *Ancients*, (namely *Hippocrates* and *Aristotle*) have left upon record from their *conception* to their *birth*, and againe ordinarily (or *caeteris paribus*, as in Schooles we speake) from their *birth* to their *death*; so it should fare with *mankinde* too: If then it shall appeare that the *Ancients* assigned the same space of time for the delivery of a woman with childe, which we now doe, mee thinkes the consequent from hence deduced should bee more then probable, that as the space of their abode in the *wombe* of the mother, and comming from thence into the world, is the same as then it was, so likewise ordinarily, and in the course of nature (if shee be not wronged or interrupted, nor on the other side by a supernaturall power advanced above her selfe) it should bee the same during their abode heere in the world, and their returne to the *wombe* of their common mother the earth: Now though it bee true, that the space of time from the conception to the birth of man is more variable then that of any other Creature (perchance becaus his foode and fancie are more variable, or becaus nature is more sollicitous of him, as being

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being her darling) yet most certaine it is, the same *periods* which by *Hippocrates* were assigned for his first comming into the light, are now also by Physitians observed, and that so precisely as they exactly agree with him, not onely in the number of moneths but of dayes; the moneths assigned by him, were the *seaventh*, the *ninth*, the *tenth*, & sometimes the *eleventh*, and so they still remaine, and as the *eight* was by him held dangerous & deadly, so is it now; & as the *tenth* moneth is our usuall computation, so was it likewise theirs, as appeares by that of *Neptune* in *Homer* speaking to a *Nymph*. *Lauren. hist. Anat. lib. 8.*

Anno circumacto speciosum partum edes
nimirum decimo mense. *Odis. 4.*

The yeare ended thou wilt bee delivered
of a faire child, that is to say, in the 10th moneth.

From whence it may be observed that the *Æolians* (of whom was *Homer*) counted their yeare from thence, as did also the *Romanes* till *Numa's* raigne, I meane from the usuall time of a womans going with childe.

Quod satis est utro matris dum prodeat infans, *Fast. lib. 1.*
Hoc anno statuit temporis esse satis.

Saith the Poet speaking of *Romulus*,

That space which is unto our birth assign'd,
The same by him was to the yeare confin'd.

And to the end wee may fully know what space is there by him understood, he presently addes.

Annus erat decimum cum luna receperat orbem,
Hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit,
Seu quia tot digiti per quos numerare solemus,
Seu quia bis quino fœmina mense parit.

Our yeare tenne full-moones did containe,
This number then was honoured,
For that a woman going in paine
So long, was then disburdened.

But I proceede from the time of the birth, to the *Ancients* distribution of *mans age* after the birth.

Some of them divided the age of man into *three*, some into *foure*, some into *five*, some into *six*, some into *seaven* parts: which they resembled to the seaven *Planets*; comparing our *infancy* to the *Moone*, in which we seeme only to live & grow as plants; the second age or *childhood* to *Mercury*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; the third age or *youth* to *Venus*, the dayes of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong flourishing and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honour and victory, & in which our thoughts travell to ambitious ends; the sixth to *Iupiter*, in which wee begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding: the last and seaventh to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and overcast, and in which wee finde by deere and lamentable experience, & by the losse which never can be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth. *Rodig. 10. 61. 62.*

Philo

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Philo Iudæus in that excellent book of the workmanship of the world, discoursing of the admirable properties of the *sacred* number of *seaven*, among many other things alleadged to that purpose, he affirmes, that at the end of every *seaventh* yeare, there is some notable change in the body of man, and for better proofe thereof, hee produceth the authority of *Hippocrates*, and an *Elegie* of *Solons*, which thus begins.

Impubes puers septem volventibus annis,
Claudunt enatis dentibus eloquium:
Post alios totidem Divorum numine dextro,
Occultum pubis nascitur indicium.
Annus ter septem primâ lanugine malas
Vestiet ætatis robore conspicuus. &c.

When children once to seaven yeares have aspired,
The tale of all their teeth they have acquired.
By that the next seaven ended have their date,
Pubertie comes, and power to generate.
The third seaven perfects growth, and then the chin
With youthly downe to blossome doth begin.

Cap. 6. But among all the *Ancients* I have met with *Macrobius* in his first booke of *Scipio's* dreame, extolling (as *Philo* doth) the rare and singular effects of the *septenary* number, most clearely and learnedly expresseth the remarkeable pawses and changes of *Nature* every *seaventh* yeare in the course of mans age, as the casting of the *teeth* in the *first* seaven, the springing of the *pubes* in the *second*, of the *beard* in the *third*, the utmost period of *growth* in the *fourth*, of *strength* in the *fifth*, a *consistence* in the *sixth*, and a *declination* in the *seaventh*. Now that which these *Ancients* observed touching these secret *stations* and *progresses* of *Nature* in the state of mans body and course of his life, is still found to be true, aswell by the *Verdict* and judgement of learned men, as by the proofe and tryall of *Experience*, which could not possibly bee, were there a constant abatement in the length of our whole age, by such an universall and irrevocable decay of *Nature* as is pretended: for then should men doubtlesse grow to ripenesse and perfection sooner, as they are supposed sooner to hasten to death and dissolution, which must needes draw on an alteration and confusion in all the noted *changes* through the course of mans life: And therefore the holy Scripture assigning the *Patriarchs* a longer life, assignes them likewise proportionably thereunto a longer time before they were ripened for generation, as *Peter Martyr* hath rightly noted.

Loc. Com. c. 12. Classis. 1.

It is true and ever was, which *Galen* in his sixth book of the regiment of health hath observed, that these changes cannot so bee tyed to any such precise number of yeares, but that a *variation* of *latitude* is to bee admitted in them in regard of some particulars: some growing to their *puberty* at fourteene, others at fifteene: some declining at *thirty*, others at *thirty five*, according to their severall constitutions, educations, diet, situation of Climates and Countries, and the like; The *Poet* professed of himselfe above *sixteene hundred* yeares agoe, that his beard began to sprout and paint his cheekes before twenty.

Quamvis

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Quamvis jam juvenile decus mihi pingere malas Ovid.
Caperit, & nondum vicesima venerit ætas.
Though now my beard began my cheekes to grace,
Nor had I lived yet twice tenne yeares space.

And of another at sixteene.

--4- Octonis iterum natalibus actis Met. 3.
Signarat teneras, dubia lanugine, malas.

But as all rules in Science, so these are held sufficiently currant and warrantable, if they bee found *infallible* in the greatest part, and *uniforme*, where all circumstances concurre in a like degree.

It is now commonly thought, that *thirty three*, or betweene that and 35 yeares, is the flowre and perfection of mans age, (it being the midway to seventy, which both *Moses* and *Solon* held the Epilogue and conclusion thereof: so as those who runne beyond that, are like Racers which runne beyond the goale,) And this was the age of our blessed *Saviour*, to the perfection whereof, the *Apostle* seemes to allude in the fourth to the [a] *Ephesians*: *Till we meet together unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the age of the fullnesse of Christ*: which passage [b] S. *Augustine* interpreting, is of opinion, that wee shall rise againe by reason of the perfection thereof, *in ea ætate usque quam Christum pervenisse cognovimus*, as men of that age unto which *Christ* himselfe the head of the *Church* arrived. I know there want not some, as namely [c] *Irenæus* and others, who by occasion of that speech of the *Iewes*, [d] *Thou art not yet fifty yeares old, and hast thou seene Abraham?* conjecture that he was about that age: but whether it were his cares and troubles that made him seeme elder then indeed hee was, or the *Iewes* would thereby signifie that though he had beene much elder then hee was, yet was it not possible for him to have seene *Abraham* in the flesh; certaine it is that he came not to forty: some late *Divines* being of opinion that he reached *thirty five*, but the most part, as also the most Ancient and most learned, that hee little exceeded *thirty three*: Nay, long before the birth of our *Saviour*; *Heraclitus*, as witnesseth *Plutarch* in his booke of the ceasing of *Oracles*, accounted the most flourishing estate of mans age to bee about *thirty*, because it is the time when the father may have begotten a sonne able to beget another: since then our *iufancie* ends and *child-hood* begins, our *childhood* ends and *youth* begins, our *youth* ends and *manhood* begins, and lastly our *manhood* ends and our *declining estate* begins where it did a *thousand* or *two thousand* yeares agoe; I see no reason, but wee may safely conclude, that at leastwise since that time *mankinde* is nothing *decayed* in regard of *age*: and the like reason there is in their observing anciently the same *Clymacterical* yeares, and in them the same danger of sicknesse or death that wee doe, as appeares not onely in *Brodeus* his *Miscellanea lib. 6. cap. 26.* and in a little discourse, which Mr *Wright* hath written and annexed to his booke of the *Passions of the minde*, (occasioned as hee there professeth by the death of *Queene Elizabeth*) but much more fully in *Baptista Codronchus* a famous both Philosopher and Physitian, who hath purposely composed a large treatise *de annis Clymactericis* in which he thus begins his preface to that worke: *Antiquissimi*

S. *Augustine* makes it sooner. *Circa 30 quippe annos desinerunt esse etiam hujus Seculi doctissimi homines juventutem, qua cum fuerit spacio prio terminata inde jam hominem in detrimenta pergere gravioris & senilis ætatis. Civit. Dei. 22. 15.*

a *vers. 13.*
b *De Civit. Dei. Lib. 22. cap. 15.*
c *Lib. 2. cap. 39.*
d John 8. 57.
e *Dechertus de anno ortus & mortis Christi.*

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& peritiſſimi rerum naturalium obſervatores, nec vulgares homines vitæ humanæ curriculum conſiderantes ſeptimo quoque anno & præſertim tertio ſupra ſexageſimum homines pleroſque corporis & animi affectionibus conflictari, in diſcrimine verſari, ac ſæpius interire pluribus obſervationibus ac periculis cognoverunt. The moſt ancient and skilfull ſearchers into naturall things, and thoſe no meane men taking into conſideration the courſe of mans life by many obſervations and tryals, they found that every ſeaventh yeare, & eſpecially in the 63 moſt men are ſorely affected both in body and minde, are brought into great danger, and many times die outright; I will bring onely one inſtance from *Antiquity* to ſhew their agreement as in the other before mentioned, ſo likewiſe in this point with theſe latter ages; it is borrowed from *Gellius* in his *fifteenth* booke, and ſeaventh chapter of his *Noctes Attica*, where he thus ſpeakes of this matter, *Obſervatum in multa hominum memoria, expertumq; eſt in ſenioribus pleriſque omnibus, ſexageſimum tertium vitæ annum cum periculo & clade aliqua venire, aut corporis morbique gravioris, aut vitæ interitus, aut animi ægritudinis.* It hath beene of a long time obſerved and experienced, in almoſt all old men, that the 63 yeare of their life, hath proved dangerous and hurtfull unto them, either in regard of ſome greivous ſickneſſe of body, or death, or great griefe of minde: & going on, he alledges to this purpoſe a part of a letter which *Auguſtus Cæſar* wrote to *Caius* his Nephew. *Ave mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundiſſimus: quem ſemper medius fidius deſidero quum à me abes; ſed præcipuè diebus talibus, qualis eſt hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium; quem ubicunque hoc die fuiſti, ſpero lætum & benevolentem celebraſſe, quartum & ſexageſimum natalem meum: nam ut vides* Κλιμακτῆρα *communem ſeniorum omnium tertium & ſexageſimum annum evaſimus:* I greet thee well my *Caius*, mine owne deare heart, whom in truth I alwayes finde wanting as oft as thou art abſent from me, but chiefly upon ſuch dayes as this is, mine eyes long to behold my *Caius* which whereſoever thou wert, I hope thou haſt kept feſtivall, it being my *ſixty fourth* birth-day, for as thou ſeeſt I have eſcaped my *ſixty third* yeare, being the common *Clymactericall* of all old men.

SECT. 2.

The ſecond is drawne from the age of Matrimony and Generation, which among the Ancients was fully as forward as ours now is, if not more timely.

FOR the better clearing of which point, it ſhall not bee amiſſe ſomewhat farther to inſiſt upon the age of *Generation* and *Marriage*, which among the Ancients was both in opinion held, and in practiſe proved to bee the ſame or little different from that which amongſt us is in uſe at this day: The third councell of *Carthage* ordained that publike *readers* in the *Church*, *cum ad annos pubertatis venerint aut cogantur uxores ducere aut continentiam profiteri*, when they came to yeares of puberty, ſhould be forced either to marry or vow chaſtity; and *Quintilian* of his owne wife profeſſeth that having borne him two

Cap. 19.

Proem. Lib. 6.

ſonnes,

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sonnes, she died, *Nondum expleto ætatis undevicesimo anno.* Being not yet full nineteene yeares of age. *Mulieres statim ab anno decimo quarto, viris Domina vocantur,* saith *Epictetus*: women no sooner passe foureteene, but presently they have given them from men, or from their husbands the titles of *Mistresses*. The [a] *Civill* Lawes allowed a woman marriage at twelve, so did the [b] *Iewish Talmud* and the [c] *Canons* of the *Church*, [d] *Hesiod* at fifteene, [e] *Xenophon* and the [f] *Comedian* at sixteene, *anni sedecem filios ipse*, [g] *Aristotle* at eighteene, [h] *Plato* at twenty: The reason of the difference I take to bee this: The *Lawes* would not permit them to marry sooner, and *Plato* held it not fit they should stay longer. And as wee commonly are both ripe for marriage, and marry about the same yeares the Ancients did, so men for the most part leave begetting, and women bearing of children about the same time as they did.

Tiberius made a Law, knowne by the name of *Lex Papia*, by which he forbad such men as were past *sixty*, or women past *fiftie* to marrie, as being insufficient for generation. To which *Lactantius* out of *Seneca*, seemes to allude, thus jesting at the *Ethnickes* touching their great God *Iupiter*. *Quare apud Poetas salacissimus Iupiter desiit liberos tollere, utrum sexagenarius factus, & ei lex Papia fibulam imposuit?* How comes it to passe that in your Poets the lecherous *Iupiter* begets no more children, is hee past *sixtie*, & restrained by the *Papian* Law? Yet this Law by the Emperour *Claudius* in part, but by *Iustinian* (almost five hundred yeares after) was fully repealed as insufficient, in asmuch as men after that age were, and still are found to be sufficient for that act; Seldome indeede it is that men beget after *seaventie*, or women beare after *fiftie*, and the same was long since both observed & recorded by the principall both *Secretarie* & great *Register of Nature* in his time, adding farther, that men commonly left begetting at *sixtie five*, and women bearing at *fortie five*: When *Abrahams* body was now dead in regard of generation, he was short of 100. Indeed *Plutarch* reports of *Cato Major*, that hee begat a sonne at *eightie*: and *Pliny* of *Masinissa*, after *eightie sixe*: but they both reported it as a wonder, neither want their presidents in this age to parallel either of them. *Levinus Lemnius* in his fourth booke and 24th chapter, *de occultis naturæ miraculis*, reports, that being at *Stocholme* in *Sweden*, hee was there assured by a ship-master worthy of credit, that himselfe was present at the marriage of one, who being an hundred yeares old, tooke a wife of about thirty, with whom hee lived long and had many children by her. And farther hee tells us, that in the countrey of *Brabant* where the aire is temperate, and the people frugall, *inauditum non est sed propemodum vulgare*, it is not a thing seldome heard of, but usually seene, that men of fourescore marry young women and get children by them.

I well know that the accusation is common, and perchance in part not unjust, that men now adayes generally marry sooner then their *Ancestours* did, which is made to bee one of the chiefe causes of our supposed shorter lives: but that many of them abstained not so long from marriage as wee now commonly doe, it may bee evidenced by

[a] *Enchirid c. 55.*
[b] *Digest. l. 4. de sponsal.*
[c] *Rusdorf. Obs. Ind. 3.*
[d] *Lancelot. l. 2. tit. 11.*
[e] *Oper. & Dierum.*
[f] *De Spartana Repub.*
[g] *Eunucho. Act. 2. sc. 3.*
[h] *Polit. 7. 15.*
De Repub. & 6. de Legibus
Tranquillus in Claudio, c. 23.
Lib. 1. divin. inst. cap. 16.
L. Sanctimus 27. c. de nupt.
Arist. hist. Animal. lib. 5. c. 14.
Rom. 4. 19.

theſe following examples, drawne from the *Oracles* of *ſacred* writ. There deſcended from *Abraham* in the ſpace of foure hundred yeares and little more, and from *Iaacob* and his ſonnes, within 200 or thereabout, above *ſix hundred thouſand men*, beſide children and thoſe who died in the interim, and were ſlaine by the *Egyptians*: which wonderfull multiplication within the compaſſe of that time, ſhould in reaſon argue that they married timely. In the forty ſixth of *Geneſis*, *Moſes* deſcribing old *Iaacobs* journey downe into *Egypt*, tells us that the number of perſons ſpringing from his loynes, which accompanied him in that journey, were ſixty ſix ſoules; and not content with the groſſe ſumme, hee ſpecifies the particulars, among which the ſonnes of *Iudah* are named to be *Er*, and *Onan*, and *Shelah*, and *Pharez*, and *Zerah*; (but *Er* and *Onan*, ſaith the text, died in the land of *Canaan*) and the ſonnes of *Pharez* were *Hezron* and *Hamul*; ſo that he begat *Pharez* upon *Thamer* his daughter in Law, after the death of his eldeſt ſonne *Er* and *Onan*, who according to the Law had married her ſucceſſively, and *Pharez* begat *Hezron* and *Hamul*, and yet at this time was *Iudah* himſelfe but forty foure yeares of age at moſt, as appeares by this, that *Ioſeph* was then but thirty nine, ſixteene he was when he was ſold by his brethren, & twenty three yeares after, was his fathers journey into *Egypt*. Now it is evident that *Iudah* was but foure yeares elder then *Ioſeph*, the one being borne in the eleventh yeare of their Fathers abode in *Meſopotamia*, and the other after the expiration of the fourteenth: In the compaſſe then of *forty foure yeares* or thereabout, had *Iudah* ſonnes which were married, namely *Er* & *Onan*, after that himſelfe by miſtake begets another ſonne upon their wife *viz.* *Pharez* who had likewiſe two ſonnes, at this time when *Iaacob* went downe into *Egypt*. S. *Auguſtine* is, I confeſſe, much perplexed in the looſing of this knot; and ſo is *Pererius* treading in his ſteps: They both flying for the ſalving of the Text, to an *Anticipation* in the ſtorie, as if ſome of thoſe who are named by *Moſes* to have deſcended with *Iaacob* into *Egypt*, had beene both begotten & borne long after his ſetling there: But this gloſſe ſeeming to *Pareus* ſomewhat hard, (as in truth it is) hee reſolves the doubt by making both *Iudah*, and *Er*, & *Onan* and *Pharez* to marrie all of them at the entrance of their *foureteenth yeare*, which in the ordinary courſe of nature both then was, and ſtill is the yeare of *pubertie*, and then thus concludes hee: *In his omnibus nihil coactum, aut contortum, nihil quod non conſueto naturæ ordine fieri potuerit, ut nec miracula fingere ſit opus, nec filios Pharez qui in deſcenſu numerantur, in Ægypto demum natos aſſerere ſit neceſſe*: In all this there is nothing ſtrained or wreſted, nothing but may well be done in the *ordinary courſe of nature*, ſo as we need not either flie to *miracles*, or affirme that the ſonnes of *Pharez*, who are ranked in the number of thoſe who deſcended with *Iaacob*, were afterward borne in *Egypt*. And with *Pareus* herein accords the learned [a] *Arniſæus*, (ſome ſmall difference betweene them in the calculation of yeares ſet apart) wondring that two ſuch great Clarkes, as *Auguſtine* and *Pererius* ſhould trouble themſelves ſo much about ſo ſlender a difficultie, not conſidering, as it ſeemes, the Examples of the like or more timely marriages, recorded

Exod. 12. 37.

Gen. 46. 26.

verſe 12.

Gen. 38. 18.

Gen. 37. 41. 45.

Gen. 29. 30.

Quæſt. 128. in Geneſ. Comment. in 38. Gen. qu. 1.

Comment. in 38. Gen. part. 1.

As doe the *Iewes* in the Sedorolam, making *Er* to marry at 9, and *Perez* to beget a ſonne at 9.

[a] *De jure Connubiorum, c. 20. Sect. 3.*

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recorded in *holy Scripture*. Whereof we have a notable one in the ſame Chapter of *Benjamin*, who at the ſaine time is made the father of tenne ſonnes, and yet was he then but twenty three or twenty foure yeares of age; being borne in the hundred and ſixth yeare of his father, which was the yeare before the ſelling of *Ioſeph*. *Dina* by the teſtimony of *Polyhiſtor*, when ſhee was raviſhed and ſued unto for marriage by *Sichem*, was but ten yeares of age, and by the computation of *Cajetan* but foureteene, of *Pererius* but fifteene or ſixteene at utmoſt. The *bleſſed Virgine* when ſhee brought forth our *Saviour*, but fifteene. Somewhat more evident is that of *Ioſiah*, who was but thirty nine yeares old when he died, eight he was when he began to reigne, and hee reigned thirty one; yet was *Eliakim* his ſonne *twenty five* yeares old when he began to reigne, being by *Pharaoh Neco* ſubſtituted in the place of his brother *Iehoahaz*, after he had reigned three moneths; ſo that *Ioſiah* by juſt computation could not well exceed *foureteene yeares* of age, when hee was firſt married: But that of *Ahaz* is yet more remarkeable, who lived but thirty ſixe yeares in the whole, twenty yeares old was hee when he began to reigne, and he reigned ſixteene yeares; yet was his ſonne *Hezekiah*, who immediatly ſucceeded him, *twenty five* yeares old when he began to reigne: By which account *Ahaz* was married, & begat *Hezekiah* at eleven or before. And though *Funcius* in his *Chronologie*, moved with the ſtrangenes hereof, would make *Hezekiah* the *legall*, not the *naturall* ſonne of *Ahaz*, by *adoption*, not by *generation*, and *Iunius* in his *Annotations* referre thoſe words; *twenty yeares old was he when he began to reigne*, to *Iothan* the father of *Ahaz*; yet herein they both ſtand alone, aſwell againſt *reaſon*, as the ordinary phraſe of *Scripture*, and ſtreame of *Interpreters*. S. *Hierome* in his Epiſtle to *Vitalis* to make it good, hath recourſe to *Gods Omnipotence*, *Neque enim valet natura*, ſaith hee, *contra naturæ Dominum*: And againe, *Quòd pro miraculo fit, legem Naturæ facere non poteſt*: That which it pleaſeth God to worke ſupernaturally as a miracle, may not be held for the ordinary law of Nature. Yet himſelfe in the ſame *Epiſtle* alleadges the example of *Solomon* to the ſame purpoſe: And another more ſtrange then that; to the relation whereof he prefixes this ſolemne preface; *Audivi, Domino teſte, non mentior*; I have heard, God knowes I faine it not, that a certaine nurſe, having the education of an expoſed childe committed to her charge, who lay with her, being now of the age of *ten yeares*, and provoked to incontinencie by the nurſe, overcharged with wine, ſhee was found with childe by him.

verſe 21.

Apud Euſebium l. 9. de præparat. Evangel. c. ult. Commentar. in 34. Geſ. Nicephorum in Enodio, 2. 3.

2. Kings 22. 1.

Cap. 33. 36.

2. King. 16. 2.

Cap. 18. 2.

Epiſt. 152.

The like ſtory hath *Gregory* in his Dialogues, touching a childe of nine yeares old.

I will conclude this reaſon with the example of *Solomon*, who is commonly thought to come to the *Crowne* at twelve yeares of age, and the *Scripture* aſſures us that he reigned but *forty*, by which account he died at the age of *fifty two*, which is the moſt received opinion aſwell of the *Iewiſh Rabbines*, as the *Chriſtian Doctours*; yet was *Rehoboam* his ſonne and ſucceſſour *forty one* yeares old when he began to raigne; ſo that but an *eleven yeares* at moſt, are left for *Solomon* when hee begat him: Such matches as theſe in this age, I thinke can hardly be matched, neither in truth doe I hold fit they ſhould.

1. Kings 11. 42.

2. Kings 14. 21.

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SECT. 3.

The third is borrowed from the age which the Ancients assigned for charge and imployment in publique affaires, Ecclesiasticall, Civill and Military, they were thereunto both sooner admitted, and therefrom sooner discharged then men now adayes usually are, which should in reason argue, that they likewise usually finished the course of their life sooner.

ANother reason tending to the same purpose may not unfitly bee drawne from the *age* which the *Ancients* assigned for *charge* and *imployment in publique affaires*. They were thereunto *as soone admitted* and *sooner discharged* then men now adayes usually are, which should in reason argue that they likewise ran their race & finished their course sooner, in asmuch as *quod citius crescit, citius finitur*, that which sooner comes to ripenes and perfection, hastens sooner to rottennes & dissolution. Now *publique charges* may well be distributed into *Ecclesiasticall, Civill* and *Military*, of the *Church*, of the *State*, and of the *warres*: I will begin with the *Ministeriall* offices of the *Church*, and therein with the Principall, which is that of the *Bishop*. S. *Chrysostome* by Sr *Henry Savills* account (in his Preface set before the workes of that *Father*) was made *Bishop* at the age of 43. *Thomas Becket* was chosen *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* at the age of forty foure yeares, as witnesseth *Mathew Parker* (who succeeded him in that See) in his booke of the lives of the *Archbishops* intituled *Antiquitates Britannicæ*. *Is qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promovendus est, annos natus esse debet non minus triginta, nam ea ætate Dominum & baptizatum, & concionatum fuisse legimus*, saith *Lancelot* in his *Institutions of the Cannon Law*. He who is to be advanced to the dignity of a *Bishop*, ought not to be lesse then *thirty* yeares old, in asmuch as we read that our *Lord* was baptized & preached at that age. Whereas now adayes with us seldome is any preferred to that place till he be past forty or fifty. *Venerable Bede* our famous Countrey-man, who lived about eight hundred years agoe, was by his owne testimony made *Deacon* at nineteene. And *Origen* by the testimony of *Eusebius*, *Catechist* in *Alexandria* at eighteene yeares of age. But that which to this point is most memorable in the exercise of *sacred* functions, is that by the commandements of *God* himself, the *Levites* after the age of fiftie yeares were exempted from the execution of their office, which notwithstanding was nothing so painefull as that of the Ministery of the Gospell, if faithfully discharged. Where by *Levites* it may well be that not only those who served in inferiour offices under the *Priests*, but the *Priests* themselves, as being of the tribe of *Levi*, are to be understood, to which purpose Mr *Nettles* in his answer to the *Iewish* part of Mr *Seldens History of Tythes*, hath vouched the *Rabbines*, as namely *Aben Ezra* on *Leviticus* 16. *Every Priest is a Levite, but every Levite is not a Priest*. And *Ioshua Ben Levi* mentioning that text, *Numb.* 18. 26. *Speake unto the Levites*, doth under the name of *Levites* understand also *Priests*, farther adding, that *in foure and twenty places the Priests are called Levites*, which being

Baldus.

Lib. 1. tit. 7.

Malmesburinsis de gestis Angli, Reg. lib. 1. Histor. Eccles. l. 6. c. 2.

Numb 8. 25.

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ing so; I see no reason but that from thence we may safely inferre, that in likehood the same space of yeares was assigned to the *Priest*, aswell for his entrance upon his office, as his discharge from it, specially considering that his place was of an higher nature.

Now for the *warres*. The *Gaules* put their sonnes in armes, and prepared them to warre at fourteene. When Philip made warre with the *Bizantins*, *Alexander* was his lieutenant at 26 yeares of age in *Macedon*, with the custodie and charge of the great Seale. *Des estats & empyres.* *Plutarch. in Alex.*

Scipio Africanus entred the feild, & followed the Campe at 17, being made *Vice-Consul* in *Spaine* at 24. *Cneius Pompeius* at eighteene yeares of age; and *Cæsar Octavianus* at nineteene sustained civill warres. The *Iewes* indeed ordinarily levied their souldiers from twenty yeares upward, as plainely appeares in the first of *Numbers* and diverse other places. But the *Romanes* from seaventeen, which by *Gellius* out of *Tubero* is reported to have beene the practise and prescript of *Servius Tullius* one of their Kings. The same was afterward confirmed by the *Gracchi*, *Gracchi lex juniorem annis septemdecem militem non legit*. The *Gracchian* Law ordained that none should be levied under seaventeene. Yet in times of *Necessity* they came under those yeares, as in the second *Punik* warre, *Tum decretum* saith *Livy*, *ut tribuni plebis ad populum ferrent, ut qui minores annis 17. Sacramento dixissent, ijs perinde stipendia procederent: ac si 17 annorum aut majores milites facti essent*. It was then decreed that the *Tribunes* should tell the people that such as being under *seaventeene* had taken their military oath, should in like sort receive their pay as if they had beene full seaventeene or past. The *Grecians* indeede *entred* upon their military service somewhat latter but were discharged from it sooner, they tooke up souldiers for the warres at *eighteene*, but discharged them at *forty* or thereabout. Wee finde in *Demosthenes*, that the state being indangered, they were all commanded to tugge at the oare, *usque ad eos qui 45 annorum essent*, even to those that were forty five: upon which *Vlpian* the *Scholiast* commenteth, that this was an usuall practice, *quia Lex apud Athenienses annum quadragesimum duntaxat, jubet militare, exoriens à decimo octavo*, because the Lawes among the *Athenians* command men to serve in the warres onely till *forty*, entring upon the service at eighteene. And it should seeme *Macrobius* aimes at this, discoursing of the efficacy of the *Septenary* number, *Nonnullarum Rerumpub. is mos est, ut post sextam hebdomaden ad militiam nemo cogatur, in plurimis detur remissio post septimam*, it is the custome of some states, that after the sixth weeke no man should bee forced to serve in the warres, and in the most they are discharged after the seaventh: where by *weekes* he understands *weekes of yeares*, and in the *sixth* weeke seemes to point at the practice of the *Athenian* state, in the *seaventh* to that of the *Romane*. Neither the *Romane* nor the *Grecian* went commonly beyond *forty five*, as *Dionysius* affirmeth, or *forty sixe*, as *Polybius*: And even in dangerous times not beyond *fifty*, *Lex à quinquagesimo anno militem non cogit, à sexagesimo Senatorem non citat*, saith *Seneca* in his last Chapter *de brevitate vitæ*, the law doth not force a Souldier to serve after *fifty*, not a Senatour after *sixty*: to which law *Pliny* in his epistle to *Pompeius Bassus* seems to allude, *ipsæ leges maturem annis*. *Idem in Scipione.* *Tacit. annal. 13. 2.* *V. 3.* *Lib. 10. 28.* *Plut. in Gracchis* *Lib. 25.* *3 Olymb.* *Lib. 1. Somn. Scipionis.* *Lypsius de Militia Rom. lib. 1. dial. 2.* Sir *Henry Savill* in his view of military matters. *Lib. 4. Epist.*

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annus 60 otio reddunt, the lawes themſelves leave him to his caſe who is paſt threeſcore.

Gen. 34. By the teſtimony of *Polyhiſtor*, and the computation both of *Cajetan* and *Pererius*, *Symeon* and *Levi*, when they ſo fiercely and deſperately ſet upon the *Sichemites*, little or nothing ſurpaſſed the number of *twenty yeares*, inſomuch that *Pererius* breakes out into this admiration: *Subit animum meum vehementer admirari, præferocem iſtorum animum, qui vix dum adoleſcentiam egreſſi tam atrox facinus & animo conceperint, & audaciſſimè exequentes perfecerint*: I cannot but exceedingly marvell at their wonderfull fiercenes, that being ſcarce paſt their youth, they ſhould in their mindes conceive ſo bloody a fact & put it in execution ſo boldly.

Cominet. King *Edward* the fourth having beene *Conquerour* in eight or nine ſeverall ſet battailes, died at the age of *forty one*, and our famous King *Arthur* (if wee may beleeve *Ninnius*) having victoriouſly fought in *twelve*,

Socrates in hiſt. tripart. 6. 47. gave up the ghoſt at the ſame age. *Iulian* having beene for diverſe years a great Commander in the warres, was ſlaine at one and thirty; and it is well knowne that the Great *Alexander* had conquered in a manner the knowne World at thirty three. Upon the conſideration whereof *Iulius Cæſar* beholding his ſtatue in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, fetcht a

Cicero. In Philip. Suetonius. In Iulio. cap. 7. Cap. 38. deepe ſigh, as being aſhamed that at that age himſelfe had atchieved no memorable act, yet was himſelfe but 56 when he was ſlaine.

Laſtly, for the adminiſtration of *Civil affaires* in the ſtate, *Romulus* firſt King of the *Romans* having raigned (ſaith *Plutarch* in the very end of his life) 38 years died at fifty, by which account he muſt begin his reigne at 12 ſomwhat too young (a man would thinke) for a King that was to lay the foundation of ſuch an *Empire*. *Cicero* by the teſtimony of *Cornelius Nepos* (who was his familiar friend, and wrote his life) pleaded publike-

15. 20. ly for *Sextus Roſcius* at 23, and by the teſtimony of *Aulus Gellius*, *Euripedes*, wrote one of his tragedies, *Natus annos duo de viginti*, at eighteene

In vita ſua. yeares of age. *Ioſephus* witneſſeth of himſelfe *annos novendecem natus ad Rempub. capi me dare*, I began to apply my ſelfe to the affaires of the weale publique, being but yet nineteene yeares of age. And *Moſes* of *Ioſeph* the *Patriarch*, that when he had in a manner the whole goverment

Gen. 41. 49. 2. Sam. 5. 4. of *Egypt* committed to his charge by *Pharoah*, was but thirty yeares old, which was likewiſe *Davids* age, when hee began to reigne. *Auguſtus* entred upon the *Conſulſhip* at *twenty*, and received *virilem togam* at *ſixe-*

Cap. 8. & 26. teene, ſaith *Suetonius* in his life. But *Aurelius Antoninus* a yeare younger as *Spartianus* affirmes, by which ornament or habit, they were judged fit for publique imployment in the common wealth. And *Lavinus Torrentius* in his *Annotations* upon that place, obſerveth that even the lawes themſelves at that time reputed men fit for action in ſtate affaires, at *ſea-*

Suet. cap. 8. *venteene*, at which age *Nero* was choſen *Emperour*: *Tertullian* comes much lower, *tempus etiam Ethnici obſervant, at ex lege naturæ jura ſuis ætatibus reddant: Nam fœminas à duodecem annis, maſculos à duobus amplius ad negotia mittunt.* The Ethnickes ſo obſerve their times, that from the

De velandis virginibus. law of *Nature* they diſpoſe of their ages in Civill affaires: for women they imploy after twelve, and men two yeares after that. And as they were reputed ſooner fit for action then wee; ſo likewiſe ſooner unfit:

cum

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cum sexagesimo annos habebant, tum erant à publicis negotijs liberi atque expediti, & otiosi: when they once come to *sixty*, then they were freed from all publique service, and left to their ease and rest. Insomuch as it grew to a *Proverbe* amongst the *Latines, Sexagenarios de ponte dejici oportere*, that men of *sixty* deserved to be cast from the bridge, as being unprofitable for the common-wealth after that age. And from thence were they commonly called *Depontani* which was upon this occasion taken up, as witnesseth *Festus. Quo tempore primum per pontem cœperunt comitijs suffragium ferre, juniores conclamavêre, ut de ponte dejicerentur sexagenarii; quia nulla publico munere fungerentur:* at what time they held their assemblies & gave their suffrages upon the bridge, the yonger sort cryed out with one voyce, that such as were *sixty* should bee throwne from the bridge in asmuch as they had no publique charge. To which outcry of theirs *Ovid* alludes.

Varro de vita Pop. Romani, teste Nonnio.

Ad verbum Sexagenarij.

Pars putat, ut ferrent juvenes suffragia Soli,
Pontibus infirmos præcipitasse senes.

5. Fastorum.

This motion, the *Barbicciam* at *seaventy*, in effect put in execution, *omnes septuagesimum annum egressos interficiunt, viros mactando, mulieres vero strangulando:* they make away all that are past *seaventy*, sacrificing the men, and strangling the woman. And the Civill lawes themselves held a man unfit for publique businesse after that age. Now then since the age assigned by the *Ancients* not only for *marriage*, but likewise for their entrance upon and discharge from publique imployment as well in the *Church* and *State*, as in the *warres*, was little or nothing different from that which is both allowed and practised at this day, (save that they have beene more indulgent and favourable to themselves then now we are) what reason have we to imagine that the *length* and *duration* of time which they usually lived, was different from ours?

Ælianus lib. 4. cap. 1.

Element. Iurisp. part. 2. sect. 1.

Specially considering withall that both the Civill Lawes account a prescription by the same number of yeares as anciently they did, and the municipall still value three lives at 21 yeares, as formerly they have done.

Part. 3. Sect. 6.

SECT. 4.

An objection sent mee from a freind taken from the raigne of the Roman Kings, *answered.*

YOu will take you say mine owne instances of the *Romans*, their 7 Kings raigned by your account 244 yeares, and then you bid mee shew you the like under the Sunne; whereas my instances were in the declining *Romans*, but you take them in their rising state; Neither can I or any man else possibly shew the like under the Sunne in these present times, it being altogether impossible that 7 Kings should all at once, and yet successively raigne in the same Kingdome. Now whether they raigned so long, or whether later ages have afforded the like instance in any *Christian* or *Infidell* Kingdome, I have not had the leasure to examine; but this I am sure of, that in the ages before *Romulus*,

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lus, instances may be given of more then seven, who successively raigning have not filled up that number.

I will instance in the Kings of *Israel* and *Iudah*, and I will begin with the ring-leaders in that breach, *Rhehoboam* and *Ieroboam*. From the entrance of *Rhehoboam* (which was above 200 yeares before *Romulus*) to the end of *Ioash* (the seventh from *Rhehoboam*) passed but 140 yeares; and if I mistake it not, from the beginning of *Rhehoboam* to the end of *Zedekiah* the last of *Iudah*, (no lesse then 17 Kings comming betweene) there passed but 252 yeares; by which computation 19 of their Kings raigned but 12 yeares more then those 7 of the *Romans*. The like may be said of the Kings of *Israel*; from the entrance of *Ieroboam* to the end of *Ahaz* the seventh in that Kingdome, there passed but 83 yeares, very little above a third pare of 244; and from the beginning of *Ieroboam* to the death of *Hoshea* the last of that Kingdome (17 Kings likewise comming betwene) there passed but 240 yeares, foure yeares short of that number. And if wee rise higher againe to the *Iudges*, (many of which were before the *Trojan* warre, the most ancient *Epoch* among the *Gentiles*) wee shall finde that seaven of them from the entrance of *Abimilech* to the death of *Abdon* (the seaventh from *Abimilech*) ruled but 79, which is not a third part of 244. And I will undertake that in the greatest part if not in all the Kingdomes of *Christendome*, the last seaven Kings have equalled at least, if not exceeded the first seaven of *Israel* after the rent was made. In our Kingdome from the entrance of King *Henry* the seaventh, who united the white and the red rose; to the death of King *Iames* of happy memory, who joyned the *Lyon* couchant and rampant, there passed 140 yeares, yet were there but foure betweene them, and two of those made up but eleven yeares; so as these sixe of our last surpassed the seaven first Kings of *Israel*, (after the rent made by *Ieroboam*) by almost sixtie yeares.

You conclude that by comparing twenty with twenty, the ancienter doe ever exceede, unlesse two or three; which unadvised assertion of yours manifestly shewes, that you never tooke the paines to try that which you so confidently affirme, and perchance hoped that others would take it upon trust; but truely for mine owne private satisfaction I could not so doe. I began mine examination of this point at home in our owne *Chronicles*, and from King *Egbert* the first sole Monarch of the *Englishmen* to the conquest by the *Norman*, I finde twenty Kings taking up 266 yeares in their raignes; *Egbert* entring in the yeare 1066; but from the entrance of the Conqueror to the death of King *Henry* the eighth (the twentyeth from the Conquerour inclusive) there passed 400 wanting but nineteene yeares; so that these later twenty since the Conquest exceeded the former twenty before the Conquest by more then 115 yeares, which is a great difference in so short a time; yet during this time there were two (*Edward* the fifth never crowned, and *Richard* his uncle unjustly crowned) who tooke not up betwixt them above three yeares compleate.

Now if from our owne Kingdome wee cast our eyes abroad in forraine parts, where should we first fixe them but upon the Catalogue of the

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the *Emperours?* wherein we ſhall finde that from the entrance of *Iulius Cæſar* to the death of *Didius Iulianus* there paſſed twenty *Emperours*, and about 240 yeares, but from *Otho* the fifth to the death of *Mathias* (the immediate predeceſſor of *Ferdinand* the ſecond this preſent *Emperour*) which makes up the number of the laſt 20: there paſſed 419 yeares by the computation of *Helvicus* in his *Chronologicall* Tables; ſo that the laſt twenty exceeded the firſt by 179 yeares. And in the *Turkiſh* dominion which began in the yeare 1300, but foureteene of them from the entrance of *Othoman* to the death of *Achmat* tooke up 317 yeares; which is more by 77 yeares then twenty of the firſt *Roman Emperours* tooke up above a thouſand yeares before their beginning: ſo little have you gained by putting me to the examination of this point, as you could hardly have given me a greater oportunitie for the advantaging of my cauſe againſt your ſelfe. And ſo I paſſe from the age of men to the conſideration of their ſtrength and ſtature.

CHAP. 3.

Containing a compariſon betwixt the Gyants mentioned in Scripture both among themſelves, and with thoſe of latter ages.

SECT. 1.

Of the admirable compoſition of mans Body, and that it cannot bee ſufficiently proved that Adam *as he was the firſt, ſo hee was likewiſe the talleſt of men, which in reaſon ſhould be, were there in trueth any ſuch perpetuall decreaſe in mans ſtature as is pretended.*

AS the great *power* of *Almighty God* doth ſhine foorth and ſhew it ſelfe in the numberleſſe variety of the parts of mans body: ſo doth his wonderfull *goodneſſe* in their excellent uſe, and his ſingular *wiſedome* in their orderly diſpoſition, ſweete harmony, and juſt ſymmetrie, as wel in regard of themſelves, as in reference each to other, but chiefely in the reſultance of the beautifull and admirable frame of the whole body. The conſideration whereof made the *Royall Prophet* to cry out: *I will praiſe thee, for I am fearefully & wonderfully made, in thy booke were all my members written, and curiouſly wrought, marvailous are thy works, and that my ſoule knoweth right well.* This proportion is in all reſpects ſo eaven and correſpondent, that the meaſures of Temples, of dwelling houſes, of Engines and ſhips were by *Architects* taken from thence, and thoſe of the *Arke* it ſelfe too, as it is probably thought, For as the *Arke* was three hundred Cubits in *length*, fifty in *breadth*, & thirty in *heighth*, ſo the body of man rightly ſhaped, anſwers thereunto. The *length* from the crowne of the head to the ſole of the foote, and *breadth* from ſide to ſide, and *thickneſſe* from back to breaſt carrying the proportion of three hundred, and fifty, and thirty each to other: ſo that looke what proportion fifty hath to three hundred, which is ſixe to one, the ſame hath the breadth of mans body to his height or length. And what proportion thirty

Pſal. 139. 13.

Vitruvius l. 3. c. 1.

Auguſt. l. 15. de Civ. Dei c. 26. & ad Fauſtum man. 12. 14. & Amb. de Noe & Arca cap. 6.

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thirty hath to three hundred, which is tenne to one, the ſame hath the thicknes to his length and breadth Nay ſome have obſerved 300 *minuta* (which I take to be barley cornes, the fourth part of an inch or thereabout) to make up the length of a mans body of juſt ſtature, and conſequently, fifty in the breadth, & thirty in the thicknes, anſwerable to the ſeverall number of the cubits in the ſeverall meaſures of the *Arke*.

Laurentius Anat. l. 1. c. 20. Lomatius l. 1. c. 7.

Now to our preſent purpoſe, as *God* and *Nature* (or rather *God* by *Nature*, his inſtrument and handmaid) hath faſhioned the body of Man in thoſe proportions, ſo hath he limited the dimenſions therof, (as likewiſe thoſe of all other both vegetable, ſenſitive and unſenſible Creatures) within certaine bounds.

Quos ultra citraque nequit conſiſtere.

So that though the dimenſions of mens bodies bee very different in regard of ſeverall *Climats* and *Races*, yet was there never any race of men found to the bigneſſe of *mountaines* or *whales*, or the littleneſſe of *flies* or *Ants*, becauſe in that quantity, the members cannot uſefully and commodiouſly, either diſpoſe of themſelves, or exerciſe thoſe functions to which they were by their *Maker* aſſigned. It is to this purpoſe a good and proper axiome, *datur maximum & minimum in utroque genere*, there is in every kinde ſome ſuch greatneſſe as cannot bee exceeded, and ſome ſuch littleneſſe as cannot bee contracted. True indeed it is, that both hiſtory of former ages, and experience of latter times teach us that a great inequality there is, and hath beene: but that ſince the firſt *Creation* of man there ſhould be any ſuch *perpetuall*, *univerſall*, and *conſtant decreaſe* and diminution, as is pretended, that ſhall I never beleeve.

Lib. 1. de emendatione Temporum cap 4. v. ult.

For then in reaſon ſhould the *firſt Man* have beene a *Gyant* of *Gyants*, the higheſt and moſt monſtrous *Gyant* that ever the world beheld, and upon this ground it ſeemes, (though falſely ſuppoſed) *Iohannes Lucidus* labours to prove him ſo indeede, from that paſſage in the fourteenth of *Ioſhua*, according to the *Vulgar tranſlation*: *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariah-Arbe, Adam maximus ibi inter Anakim ſitus eſt*, which may thus bee rendred: *Adam* the greateſt of Gyants lies there buried: And this fancie of *Lucidus* is countenanced by that fable of the *Iewiſh Rabbies*, reported by *Moſes bar Cephas*, who ſuppoſing *Paradiſe* to bee diſjoyned from this world, by the interpoſition of the *Ocean*, tells us that *Adam* being caſt out of it, waded thorow the *Ocean* to come into this, by which account his ſtature ſhould rather bee meaſured by miles then by *cubits*: But as *Lucidus* by this opinion croſſeth the ſtreame of Antiquity (*S. Ierome* only, & ſome few others his followers excepted) holding that the firſt *Adam* was buried, not in *Hebron*, but in that place where the ſecond *Adam* triumphed over death, ſo doth hee likewiſe by following the *Vulgar Tranſlation* corrupt the *Hebrew* originall, which is thus to be rendred: *Nomen autem Hebronis fuerat Kiriath-arbah, is fuerat homo inter Anakeos maximus*: So that the word *Adam* or *homo*, is to bee referred not to the firſt man, but to *Arbah*, the firſt founder as it is thought of that *Citty*, and thereupon our laſt *Tranſlation* readeſ it thus: *The name of Hebron before was Kiriath-arbah*, which *Arbah* was a great man among the *Anakims*. Beſides, the word *Adam* even in the *Vulgar Tranſlati-*

Lib. de Paradiſo

In Mat. 27. & in Epheſ. 5.

Origenes, Athanaſius, Baſilius, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtomus ex Graecis. Ex Latinis Tertullianus, Cyprianus ſive qui ſcripſit de operibus Cardinalibus Ambroſius, Auguſtinus atq; alibi etiam ipſe Hieronimus nempe epiſt. 17. ad Paul. & Euſtoch.

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on it selfe, is not alwayes understood as *proper* to the first man, but *common*, as *homo* in *Latine*, or *man* in *English*: And yet to grant the word in that place to be understood of the *first man*, and that he was there buried; well might hee bee called the *Greatest*, yet not so much in regard of any *excessive vastnesse* in the dimensions of his body, as because hee was the head spring and *fountaine of mankind*, or in respect of that *originall justice*, with which before his fall hee stood invested. There is no necessity then, to beleeve that the *first man* was the tallest of men, nay rather as he came short of many that followed after, in *age*, and number of yeares, so it may safely bee thought, that hee exceeded them not in *stature* or dimensions of body; there being often found in the Creatures a reciprocall correspondence, betwixt their *durations* and *dimensions*, as among the *Grecians*, the same word signifies both; whence some translate it *age*, and some *stature*: So that those *Patriarches* of the first age, who by speciall dispensation lived longest, may well be conceived by vertue of the same dispensation, to have had a stature and length of body in some sort, sutable to the lasting and length of their lives.

ἡλικία. Ephes. 4. 13. Luc. 2. 52.

SECT. 2.

What those Gyants *were which are mentioned in the 6 of* Genesis, *and that succeeding ages till* Davids *time afforded the like.*

YEt the first mention that *holy Scripture* makes of *Gyants* is in the sixth of *Genesis*, not long before the *flood*, but long after the *Creation*, *There were Gyants in the earth in those dayes*, saith the text; and also after that, *When the sonnes of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renowne.* The *Originall* word is *Nephelim*; derived from *Naphal*; which signifies to fall, whence *Iunius* referres their name to the [o] *defection* and *apostacie* from religion & the worship of the true *God*. *Calvin* to the falling of others before them by reason of their [a] excessive *pride*, *cruelty* and *oppression*. *Philo* in his booke, which hee hath purposely composed *de Gigantibus*, to their owne falling from *piety* and *godlinesse* to *carnall* thoughts and earthly desires. From which hee fetcheth their name in *Greeke*: S. *Cyrill* about the beginning of his ninth booke against *Iulian*, discoursing of this very passage of *Moses*, thus comments upon it. *Mos est divinæ Scripturæ Gigantes vocare agrestes & ferotes & robustos: Nam de Persis & Medis Iudæam devastaturis, dixit Deus per Isayam, Gigantes venient ut impleant furorem meum.* It is the Phrase of holy writ to call such *Gyants* as are in behaviour rough and rude, wilde and barbarous: So speakes *God* by the Prophet *Isayah*, of the *Medes* and *Persians*, ordained for the laying waste of *Iudæa*, *Gyants shall come and execute my fury upon you.* So that if wee rest in any of these interpretations, there is no necessity we should conceive these *Gyants* to have exceeded other men in stature. Nay, S. *Chrysostome* seemes to deny it; *Gigantes à Scriptura dici opinor non inusitatam hominum genus, aut insolitam formam, sed Heroas & viros fortes & bellicosos*: I thinke they are in

v. 4.

o Eccles. 16. 7.

a Eccles. 23. 4.

Cap. 13.

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Scripture called Gyants not any uncouth kinde of men for *ſhape* or *feature*, but ſuch as were *Heroicall* and *warlike*. Which expoſition of his, hath in truth ſome ground in the latter part of the ſame verſe, where *Moſes* ſeemes to unfold himſelfe, thus deſcribing thoſe whom immediatly before he had called *Gyants*, *the ſame became mighty men, which were of old, men of renowne.*

Caſſ Coll. 8. c. 21 Amb. de Noe & Arca c. 4. Theod. in Gen. 9u. 48.

On the other-ſide *Caſſianus*, *Ambroſe*, and *Theodoret*, are as expreſſe, that by *Gyants*, *Moſes* there underſtood men of an huge and vaſt proportion of body: But for mine owne part, I ſee not but all theſe interpretations, (*Chryſoſtomes* onely excepted) may well enough ſtand together and be accorded. Theſe *Gyants* being ſuch as the *Interlineary Gloſſe* briefely but pithily deſcribes, *immanes corpore, ſuperbos animo, viribus pravalidos, & inconditos moribus*: *Gyants* then they were not onely in regard of their *pride*, their *tyrannie*, their *incivilitie*, and *infidelity*, but likewiſe and that doubtleſſe moſt properly in reſpect of the *monſtrous enormity of their bodies*: moſt of the former being in likelihood occaſioned by this latter.

Now as this is the *firſt* place that wee reade of *Gyants* not long before the *flood* (which ſhould argue they were taller and ſtronger then any that went before them) ſo it is not *laſt*, but in all times wee may trace them thorow the *hiſtory* of ſucceeding ages. From whence *Reaſon* collects, that even in regard of theſe irregular prodigious birthes, for ought wee finde in *Scripture*, *Nature* hath ſuffered no apparent or ſenſible *decay*. Of this ſtamp it ſeemes was *Nymrod*, who hath therefore this *Character* ſet upon him, that he was *Robuſtus venator coram Domino*, a mighty hunter before the *Lord*: There were ſome likewiſe found of this exceſſive ſtature in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſhua*, and of *David*, whom wee have regiſtred under the names of *Rephaims*, *Zuzims*, *Zanzummins*, *Emims*, and *Anakims*. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Amorites* men of *Gyant-like* ſtature, whoſe height hee compareth to *Cedars* and their ſtrength to *Oakes*. Particularly it is noted in the third of *Deuteronomy* of *Ogge* King of *Baſon* foure hundred yeares after *Abraham*, that his bedde of yron kept and ſhewed as a monument in *Rabbah* was *nine cubits long*, and *foure broade*: And ſurely if his ſtature were anſwerable to the dimenſions of his bed, hee was one of the greateſt *Gyants* that wee any where reade of, not onely in *ſacred* but in many warrantable *prophane ſtories*. For whereas nine cubits make up thirteene foote and an halfe, if wee ſhould allow a foote and an halfe for the length of his bed-ſteed at both the ends beyond his body; yet there ſtill remaines twelve foote, which is double to a *juſt ſtature*. And though I am not ignorant that both the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*, and *complutenſian Bible* following it, render it, *In cubito ejuſdem Regis*, as if the meaſure were to be taken by the *Cubit* of King *Ogge* himſelfe; yet *Arias Montanus*, and *Tremellius* following the originall, render it, *in cubito viri*, or *virili*; and *Junius* gives this note upon it, *id eſt juſtæ & communis menſuræ, qualem menſuram cubitalem quiſque Artifex obſervare ſolet*: that is, of the juſt and common meaſure, ſuch as *Artificers uſually* obſerve in their cubits, and ſuch as himſelfe in the third of *Joſhua* tranſlates, *no-*

Gen. 10. 9.
Gen. 14. 5.
Num. 13. 33
Deut. 2. 20. 21.
Joſ. 12. 21.
Amos. 2. 9.
v. 11.
v. 4.

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tam mensuram, the ordinary knowne measure. And to say truth, the measuring of *Ogge* by his owne cubit had beene both to make his stature altogether *uncertaine*, and the commensurations of his body most *disproportionable*, there being no man, whose body is justly framed, who is full foure of his owne cubits in length; neither had such a shape bin only *disproportionable*, but *exceeding weake*, aswell for offence, as defence, whereas he is described as a mighty man, and of wonderfull strength. *Lastly*, if wee shall imagine him to have beene a transcendent *Gyant*, and yet measure him by his owne cubit, double to the *ordinary*, his length will then arise to twenty foure foote at least, a stature most incredible. After this in *Davids* time wee reade that *Goliah* the *Philistin* of *Gath*, was a *Gyant* of *six cubits* and a *spanne long*: Neither do I remember that in *sacred Scriptures* we have the measure of any precisely observed, save of him onely: the armour which hee wore weighed *five thousand shekels of brasse*, the shaft of his speare was like a *weavers beame*, and his speare head weighed *six hundred shekels of yron*. Also in the second of *Samuell*, there is mention of a brother to this *Goliah*, a man of like stature and strength: And of two other, the one of which was slaine by *Iehonathan Davids* Nephew, hee who had twelve fingers and as many toes, foure and twenty in number: and that before these, *Sampson* was of surpassing strength and of a stature answerable therevnto, no man needs to doubt, considering hee tore a *Lyon* as it had beene a *kidde*, slew thirty of the *Philistins* at once, and after that a thousand more of them with the *jaw-boone of an Asse*: And lastly hee tooke the gates of *Assah*, and the two postes, and lifted them away with the barres and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the mountaine before *Hebron*.

1. Sam. 17. 4.

Cap. 21. 19.

v. 20. 21.

Iud. 14. & 16.

SECT. 3.

That latter times have also afforded the like both at home and abroade, specially in the Indies, where they live more according to nature.

THE like may bee said of all succeeding ages downe to the present times; It is the confession of *Cassanion* in his booke of Gyants, *Non uno tantùm seculo aut altera visi sunt, sed fermè ab initio mundi ad Davidis usque tempora propagatum id genus hominum magnitudine prorsus admiranda.* They have not beene seene in one onely, or two ages, but almost from the beginning of the world even to *Davids* time hath that kinde of men of a monstrous bignes beene deduced. S. *Augustine* goes farther, *Quasi verò corpora hominum modum nostrum longè excedentia non etiam nostris temporibus nata sint*: as if some bodies of men much exceeding our ordinary stature were not likewise borne in these our times. And yet more fully in the ninth Chapter of the same booke, *Nanquam fermè defuerunt qui modum aliorum plurimum excederent*; they have almost at no time beene wanting who have much exceeded the ordinary stature.

De Civit. Dei, 15. 23.

I will insist onely upon the most *signall* instances drawne from the testimonies of the most *approved* Authours. *Florus* mentions a giant named

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

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named *Theutobocchus* King of the *Teutones* in *Germanie* vanquished by *Marius* the *Roman* Consul about 150 yeers before Christ, *insigne spectaculum* sayeth hee *quippe vir proceritatis eximiæ super tropæa ipsa eminebat*; a spectacle hee was full of wonder, being of so excessive height that he appeared above the trophees themselves (which were the spoiles of the enemies carried aloft upon the topps of speares. The bones of this giant were sayed to be digged up neere the Castle of *Langon* in *Dolphine* in the yeeare 1613 and to that end was a pamphlet published in french at *Paris* the yeere following making his height to bee 26 foote at least, but what Credit is to bee given to this pamphlet I know not. In the *Gospell* or writings of the Apostles wee reade not of any, they intending matters of greater weight and consequence: But *Pliny* tels us, that during the raigne of *Claudius* the Emperour, a mighty man, one *Gabbara* by name, was brought out of *Arabia* to *Rome*, *nine foote* high was he, and as many *inches*. There were likewise in the time of *Augustus Cæsar* two other, named *Pusio* and *Secondilla* higher then *Gabbara* by *halfe a foote*, whose bodies were preserved & kept for a wonder within the *Sallustian* gardens. *Maximinus* the Emperour, as *Iulius Capitolinus* affirmes, exceeded eight *foote*; And *Andronicus Comninus tenne*, as *Nicetas*. In the dayes of *Theodosius* there was one in *Syria*, (as *Nicephorus* reports) *five cubits* high and an *hand-breadth*. *Eginhardus* and *Krantzius* affirme that *Charlemaigne* was *seaven foote* high: But in that they adde of his *owne feete*, they both leave his height altogether *uncertaine*, (as was before said in the description of the stature of *Oggs*) and his body very *disproportionable*, there being no man whose body is rightly featured, who exceedes *six* of his owne feete.

Lib. 3 cap. 3.

Antiq. l. 18. cap. 6. *Iosephus* doth Confidently report that one *Eleazar* a Iew accõpanied *Darius* sonne to *Artabanus King* of *Persia* to *Rome* (sent by *Vitellius* to *Tiberius* for an hostage) whose height (as he saith) was fully seven Cubits.

But to draw neerer to our owne times: *Thuanus* discoursing of an *Inroade* of the *Tartarians* upon the *Polonians* about 60 yeares since, there speaks of a *Tartar* slaine by the hand of a *Polander* of so prodigious a bignes that his forehead was 24 inches broad, and the bulke of his body so thicke that lying dead on the ground his Carkasse reached to the navell of one standing by: *Iulius Scaliger* hath left it upon record, that at his being at *Millane*, he there saw in a publique hospitall a yong man of so *monstrous* an height, that hee could not stand upright, hee was therefore layd upon two beds, the one joyned longwise vnto the other, both which hee filled with his length. *Goropius Becanus* Physitian to the Lady *Mary*, *Queene* of *Hungary*, regent of the *Netherlands*, and sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, assures us, that himselfe saw a woman *tenne foote high*, and that within five miles of his dwelling, there was then to be seene a man almost of the *same length*: whereupon his assertion is, *audacter affirmamus*, wee boldly affirme, that men in former ages were commonly nothing taller then now they are: their *Gyants* were of six or seaven cubits high, and so are ours: nay hee goes farther, *Confidenter de Philosophiæ præceptis statuimus, nihil in humana statura, ab ineunte mundi ætate immutatum esse*: Wee confidently averre

Exercit. 263.

Lib 61. anno. 1575.

De Gigantomachia.

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averre out of the grounds of *Philosophie*, that since the Creation of the world nothing is altered in the stature of man kinde.

Yet of this *Becanus* Lipsius gives this testimony *Virum amavi, & ingenium acre, facile felix etiam miratus sum*, I loved the man, and also admired his sharpe facile and happie wit. *Epist. select. 54.*

But to returne to the *Gyants* of latter ages, *Iohn Cassanion*, who seemes to have undertaken his treatise of *Gyants* purposely to censure and confute *Goropius*, yet mentions one himselfe commonly called the *Gyant* of *Burdeaux*, whom King *Francis* passing that way beheld with admiration, commaunding hee should bee of his guard: but being a pesant of a grosse spirit, not able to apply himselfe to a Courtiers life, hee soone quited his halbard, and getting away by stealth, returned to the place whence he came. An honourable person, who had seene him archer of the guard, did assure me, saith *Cassanion*, that hee was of such an height as any man of an ordinary stature might goe upright betwixt his legges when he did stride. *Cap. 6.*

Iohn Frederike Duke of *Saxonie*, and the great *Patron* of *Martin Luther*, was so bigg and tall, that the *Germans* were wont to say of him; when others were filled even to the brimme with wine, he had scarce washed his sides. And the *Spaniards*, as witnesseth *Thuanus lib. 3. anno. 1547.* having taken him prisoner, drew off one of his bootes, and for the unusuall greatnes thereof sent it as a trophee to bee wondred at in the *Court* of *France*. There is at this present to be seene heere in *England* one *Parsons*, by trade a black-smith, now *Porter* at the *Kings* Court, who by just measure is found to bee no lesse then *seaven foote* and *two inches*. And *Anno. 1624.* I heere that a *Welch-man* is lately entertained by the Prince in the like place, who outstrips the Smith in height by *five inches*, and yet is hee still growing, so as in time hee may well come unto *eight foote*.

But it may well bee that in these parts of the world where *luxury* hath crept in together with *Civility*, there may bee some diminution of *strength* and *stature* in regard of our *Ancestours*; yet if wee cast our eyes abroad upon those nations which still live according to *nature*, though in a fashion more rude and barbarous, wee shall finde by the relation of those that have lived among them, that they much exceede us in *stature*, still retaining as it seemes the vigorous constitution of their Predecessours, which should argue, that if any decay bee, it is not *universall*, and consequently not *naturall* but rather *adventitious* and *accidentall*. For proofe hereof, to let passe the stories of *Olaus Magnus* touching the Inbitants of the *Northerne Climate*, I will content my selfe with the *Indies*. *Melchior Nunnez* in his letters where he discourseth of the affaires of *China* reports that in the chiefe citie called *Paguin*, the *Porters* are *fifteene foote* high, and in other letters written in the yeare 1555, he doth averre that the King entertaines and feedes *five hundred* such men for *Archers* of his *Guard*. In the West *Indies* in the region of *Chica* neere the mouth of the *streights*, *Ortelius* describes a people whom he tearmes *Pentagones*, trō their huge *stature*, being *ordinarily* of *five cubits* long, which make *seaven foote* and *an halfe*: whence their countrey is knowne by the name of *the land of Gyants*. Mr *Pretty* a Gentleman of *Suffolke*, in his discourse of Mr *Symon Maiolus dierum Canicul. collog. 7.*

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Hackluit in his English voyages.

Candiſh his voyage about the world, being himſelfe imployed in the ſame action, tells us that meaſuring the print of an *Indian* foote in the ſand, not farre from the coaſt of *Braſil*; he found it to be *eighteene inches* long, by which computation, the *Indian himſelfe* in proportion could be no leſſe then *nine foote*. *Caſſanion* likewiſe acknowledgeth that in the Iland of *Sammatra* and neere the *Antarticke pole*, ſome are found of *tenne* or *twelve foote* high. Laſtly, *Antony Pigafet* a great traveller in his time, as teſtifieth *Goulart*, affirmes that he had ſeene towards the ſame *Pole* ſo tall a *Gyant*, as other tall men did not reach with their *heads* above his *navell*; and others beyond the ſtreights of *Magellane*, which had theirs neckes a cubit long, and the reſt of their bodies anſwerable thereunto.

Memorabiles Hiſtoires de noſtre temps.

Lib. 9. cap. 6.

Hereunto may bee added the Collections of Mr *Purcas* in his pilgrimage The *Spaniards* (ſaith hee) which with *Magellane* firſt diſcovered the ſtreits, ſaw Gyants on this coaſt, of which hee carryed away one with him to ſea, where after for want of ſufficient foode hee dyed. And (beſides that ſome of our owne at another time meaſured the print of mens feete 18 inches in the ſand) Oliver *Noort* in his world-compaſſing voyage had three of his men ſlaine by men of admirable ſtature with long haire, not farre from port deſire, about 47 degrees of ſoutherly latitude: and after in the *Magellane* ſtreits diſcomfited a band of ſavages which neither would yeeld nor flee frō their wives & children which were in a Cave juſt by till every man was ſlaine. Foure boyes the *Hollanders* carryed away; one of which learning their language, told them of three families or tribes in thoſe parts of ordinary ſtature, and of a fourth which were Gyants ten or eleven foote high which warred upon the former.

Sebalt de Weert being detained 5 months in the ſtreits by foule weather ſent his men to fiſh for their proviſion (which exceedingly fayled them) who there were ſuddenly aſſayled by 7 Canoes of *Gyants*, which they gueſſed to bee ſo high as is mentioned: who being put to flight by their peeces fled to land and pluckd up trees in their rude manner barricadoing and fortifying themſelves againſt further purſuit of the *Hollanders*, who were no leſſe glad that they were rid of ſuch company.

And in another place hee ſaith, That whole families of thoſe monſtrous men are found at this day in *America* both neare to *Virginia*, as *Captaine Smith* reporteth, and eſpecially about the ſtreits of *Magellane*, neare which hee found Gyants; and in the ſame ſtreits were ſuch ſeene of the *Hollanders* ten foote in height, whereas yet other families were but of the ordinary greatneſſe. One *Thomas Turner* told mee ſaith hee that neare the river of *Plate* he ſaw one twelve foote high.

CHAP. 4

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CHAP. 4.

More pressing Reasons to prove that for these two or three thousand yeares, the stature of the Ancients was little or nothing different from that of the present times.

SECT. 1.

The first Reason taken from the measures of the Ancients, which were proportioned to the parts of mans body, and in the view of them, we are first to know that they were standards, that is, for publique contracts, certaine and constant; and consequently if the graines of our barley-corne, the first principle of measure, bee the same with theirs as hath already beene proved, it cannot bee but our ordinary measures should bee the same with theirs, and so likewise our statures.

I Will not dwell upon these lighter *skirmishes*, but proceed on to a more *serious fight*, and downe-right stroakes drawne from the *demonstrations* of more weighty reasons, whereof the first shall be taken from the comparisons of the *measures* of the *Ancients* and ours, used in this present age, borrowed from the body of man. It was a memorable saying of *Protagoras*, reported and repeated by *Plato*, that man was *rerum omnium mensura*, the measure of all things; hee is the *measure of measures*; the *yard*, the *ell*, the *pace*, the *furlong*, the *mile*, they are all measured by the body of man and the parts thereof, which likewise serve for the measuring each of other. So that if they hold that *Symmetrie* and *commodulation*, (as *Vitruvius* calls it) which they ought, from the proportion of the head, the hand, the cubit, the foote, the finger, nay the tooth or the *least bone*, may the dimensions of the *whole body* bee infallibly collected. As *Pythagoras* gathered the height of *Hercules* from the proportion of his foot; and *Pulcher* a skilfull *Geometrician* the height of a *Gyant* (discovered in *Sicily* by an earth-quake) at the command of *Tiberius* from the proportion of his *tooth*, sent from thence to the *Emperour* for a taste and tryall of the whole. To lay a ground then to that which I am to say, that the building which I am to raise upon it may stand the surer, *first* I take it to be an undenyable truth, that the cubit, the foote, the inch, the digit were all of them *standards*, that is, certaine and constant measures, it being not lawfull for every man to make or take his measures in publique contracts by his owne cubit or foot, or of any whom himselfe would make choyce of, but by that which was common and indifferent to all, legally and publiquely allowed: And this much not only stands with right reason, but appeares to bee true, by that *Amphora Capitolina* amongst the *Romans*, a standing stable measure, kept in the Capitoll, (with which all other measures were to accord) mentioned by *Iulius Capitolinus* in the life of *Maximinus*; as also by the *Roman Congius*, whereof one was lately in the keeping of Cardinall *Farnese*, and is exquisitely effigiated by *Villalpandus* in the latter end

In Cratylo & Theateto.

Lib. 3. c. 1.

Gellius out of *Plutarch. l. 1. c. 1. Trallianus* out of *Apollonius de mirabilibus & longævis.*

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of his third *Tome* upon the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Among the *Iewes* likewise the Law required that they should not use to have a *double weight* or *measure*, which could not well be avoyded, except they had a *common measure* by which all particulars were to be regulated.

Secondly, this *standard* of cubits or feete was taken from the proportion of a man, *mediæ*, or *mediocris staturæ*, of a middle stature, and considering that both the *Roman* and *Grecian* foote consisteth of twelve inches, and withall that a foote is the *sixth part* of a mans body, it must needes follow that a man of a *middle stature* consisteth of sixe foote, by the *standard* or *assise*. But because it was observed that in diverse *Climates*, or it may bee in the same *Climate*, in diverse ages men varied in their stature, and consequently that the *middle stature* was not alway and in all places the same; they measured the *digit*, which is the least & last *principle of measures* in mans body, *by barley-cornes*, allowing foure *barley-cornes* laid athwart for the *digit*, as *Lucas Gauricus* a great and famous *Mathematician* in his booke of *Geometry*, & the parts thereof, hath truly and wisely observed, *Nam etsi*, saith hee, *ab humanis membris dimensionum partes denominari Veteres voluere: placuit tamen propter humanorum corporum inæqualitatem, à certo quodam principio exordiri, ex quo mensuræ reliquæ velut ex certis partibus constituerentur. Statuerunt ergo Geometræ granum hordei transversum, id est secundum latitudinem positum, mensurarum minimam.* Though the Ancients have pleased to denominate the severall parts of measures from the severall parts of mans body; yet by reason of the inequality of mens bodies, they thought it reasonable to take their rise from some certaine and unvariable beginning, from whence other measures might likewise be made up of even and certain parts. And to this purpose did the *Geometricians* make the *barley-corne* laid athwart, or according to its breadth, the least and first of all other measures. And that foure of these make up a *digit*, appeares by these old verses which I finde in the same Author,

Quatuor ex granis digitus componitur unus,
Et quater in palmo digitus, quater in pede palmus.

One foote foure palmes, one palme containes
Foure digits, and one digit foure graines.

Now that the *barley-corne*, the (Grownsell as it were, and simplest principle of Measures) or at leastwise the fairest thereof which is used to that end, is the same with us as with the *Ancients*, it cannot well be denied, if the goodnesse and fruitfulnesse of the *Earth* be not decayed, as I have sufficiently proved in a former Chapter, as well by reason, as the testimony of *Columella* and other grave Writers. And besides if we still use the *Graines* of *Barley* for the weight of gold and silver as the *Ancients* did; I see no reason why wee should except against them in this case. Well then, foure graines now concurring to the making up of a *digit*, as it did in former ages, it must of necessity follow that our *digit* is the same with theirs, and consequently our *inch*, and *hand-breadth*, and *foote*, and *cubit*; from whence we collect that a body of sixe foot height according to those measures, being now accounted but a *middle stature*, as anciently it was, our account is still the same, and our stature at leastwise

Lib. 2. cap. 9.

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wise for the generall the same, as among the *Ancients*. And except it were so, their rules of proportion in *Architecture*, in *lymming*, in *carving*, and the *statuary Art* left us by them could availe us little. For howbeit from them wee might understand what proportion each part should beare to other, yet can we not know what proportion the whole should beare, unlesse their measures were the same with ours. But their workes in those kindes yet remaining, shew that the measure which they allowed for an horse or a man of just and eaven stature, are the same for proportion both with their owne rules and our standing measures used at this day: And at this day doe the best *Architects* observe *Vitruvius* his measures, finding them to agree with, or very little to disagree from ours.

SECT. 2.

That in particular the ordinary Hebrew, Grecian, and Roman measures were the same with ours, or very little different.

THose Nations which have left us any notable *Records* of their severall sorts of *measures*, are to my remembrance but three: the *Hebrewes*, the *Grecians*, and the *Romans*. For the first it is cleare that as they had some weights *sacred* or of the *Sanctuary*, which were the bigger, and others of *ordinary* and common use, which were the lesser: so were their measures; there was a *speciall* Cubit which contained an handbreadth more then the *vulgar*, (borrowed it seemes from the *Persians* during the Captivity of *Babylon*) and an *ordinary*, which I take to be the same with, or very little differing from ours. And this in *holy writ* is tearmed the *Cubit of a man*, and the *measure of a man*, that is, of a man growne up to ripe age and perfect stature. And both *Junius* (as before I observed) in his *Annotations* on that of *Deuteronomy*, and *Ribera* in his Commentaries on the *Revelation*, seeme both of them to refer it to the *ordinary* measures which *artificers* commonly use in taking their distances, and making their dimensions. The *first measures* to my remembrance that we read of in the *sacred* Oracle of *Scripture* are those of the *Arke*, which S. *Augustine* lead by *Origen* held to be *Geometricall*, containing six common Cubits: but it is certaine, that casting the bignesse of it by the *Vulgar Cubit* now in use, it was a vessel of so ample and huge capacity, that it was fully sufficient for the preserving of all sorts of creatures, together with their food by *God* appointed to be reserved in it. The *length* of it was three hundred Cubits, which multiplyed by the *breadth*, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the *height* of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole concavity to have beene *foure hundred and fifty thousand cubits*, large enough for a storage for *Noah* and his company, the beasts, and birds, and their provision, and somewhat to spare, as *Bonfrerius* hath learnedly demonstrated.

Of *Solomons* Temple it is noted that it was sixty cubits long, twenty *broade*, and thirty *high*, which *Ribera* likewise makes to bee *vulgar* and usuall cubits. And though the building may seeme to have beene very

Exech. 40. 5. & 43. 13.

Deut. 3. 11. Revel. 21. 17.

Gen. 6. 15. *Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 27.*

1. Kings 6. 2. *De fabrica templi, cap. 5.*

scant

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ſcant after that proportion, yet if wee conſider that none might come within this ſpace but the *Prieſts* that then ſerved, and that both the *Altar* of *Holocauſts*, and the *Court of the Prieſts* who ſerved not, was without, it will ſeeme needleſſe to require a longer or larger roome for thoſe ſervices to which it was aſſigned; Yet ſince theſe cubits in the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*, are ſaid to be *ex primariâ menſurâ*, after the primary or chiefe meaſure, it ſhould ſeeme they were no *ordinary* cubits, but rather *ſacred*, which contained the common and *vulgar* cubit double, as may appeare by this, in that the pillars of braſſe *Iachin* and *Boaz* ſet up before the porch of the *Temple* in the firſt of *Kings*, are ſaid to bee *eighteene Cubits high*: but in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *thirty five*; which together with the baſis being *one Cubit high*, make *thirty ſixe*, double to eighteene, as a *ſhekell* of the *Sanctuary* was double to the *vulgar*: yet can it not bee gathered that the *vulgar* exceeded ours, nay the pillars with their *Chapiters* and *baſis* being by this computation above *ſixty foot* in heigth; it may well bee conjectured, that their foot and cubit either came *ſhort* of ours, or was at moſt but *equall* unto it. And for *Solomons* owne houſe which was *one hundred* Cubits long, *fifty* broad, and *thirty* high, generally received it is, that they were of the *Common meaſure*. We read that ſome of the ſtones laid in the foundation of the houſe built for his wife *Pharaohs* daughter, were of *ten Cubits*, which allowing a foot and a halfe to the Cubit, make up *fifteene foot*, a very large proportion, even by the length of the *vulgar* foot now in uſe: But thoſe in *Herods* Temple, *twenty five Cubits* long (as witneſſeth *Ioſephus* who ſaw it himſelfe) if the *cubit* by which hee reckoned exceed our ordinary, were of a length altogether incredible. And for mine owne part, I know not how we ſhould compute either the height of *Goliah*, or the length of *Ogges* bed, and the like, but by the vulgar and ordinary cubit, now commonly in uſe amongſt us, as moſt of the learned doe; and if in ſo doing they erre not, then are our meaſures, & conſequently our preſent ſtature undoubtedly equall with, or at leaſtwiſe not much inferiour to theirs that lived in *Moſes* time, who as it may well be thought, borrowed this Art of meaſuring from the *Egyptians*, in whoſe learning hee was ſo perfectly skilled.

Cap. 3. v. 3.

Cap. 7. v. 15. Cap. 3. 15.

1. Kings 7. 2.

v. 10.

Antiquit. l. 15. cap. 3.

In Tyberio, c. 63

Now for the meaſure of the *Grecians*, howbeit *Caſaubon* in his commentaries upon *Suetonius*, ſeeme to make the *Grecian* foot, as likewiſe that of other *Nations*, of leſſe extent then the *Roman*, yet *Georgius Agricola*, who ſtudied this point more thorowly, and hath of ſet purpoſe compoſed a large volume of the *Grecian* and *Roman weights* and *meaſures*, affirmes the *Grecian* to exceed the *Roman* by halfe an inch, and for proofe thereof doth he mention a pillar to be ſeene in the Chappell of the twelve *Apoſtles* in the *Vatican*, which ſeemed to him to have beene brought out of *Greece*, with this inſcription graven in the higher part thereof, ΜΕΤΡΟΝ Θ, that is nine foot; and from the meaſure and proportion of this would hee prove it to exceed the *Roman* by the quantity aforenamed, yet by his owne confeſſion *Marlianus* who hath written the *Topography* of *Rome*, & exactly deſcribed whatſoever therein was worth the obſerving, hath marked no ſuch difference: And for the *Cubit*, though

Libro de Menſuris, quibus intervalla metimur.

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though *Herodotus* in one place ſpeake of *Regius Cubitus*, that contained twenty ſeaven *digits*, which is three more then the ordinary; yet that their ordinary, either *digit* or *cubit* exceeded ours; I no-where find it expreſſely obſerved. And for their *ſtature* it is preciſely noted by the ſame Author, that *Phya* the wife of *Piſiſtratus* was held ſo tall, that ſhee was exhibited and applauded as another *Minerva*, and yet wanted ſhee three fingers of foure cubits. Neither addes he, *Cubitorum Regiorum*, of Regall cubits, as in the other paſſage, which makes me conceive that he might rather meane the *vulgar*. And for the *Perſians*, from whom the *Grecians* borrowed their *Regall Cubit*, he tels us that one *Artaches* a principall Commander in *Xerxes* his Army, was *ſtatura inter Perſas proceriſſima*, the talleſt among all the *Perſians*, and yet wanted he foure *digits* of the meaſure of five Regall Cubits, ſo that his height according to the vulgar Cubit was about *eight foote*: And I thinke at this day there are few Kingdomes, though much inferiour to that of *Perſia*, which cannot ſhew one at leaſt, not much inferiour to that proportion.

Lib. 1. *Lib. 1.* *Lib. 7.*

In the third and laſt place come the Ancient *Roman* meaſures to bee compared with ours: neither have I met with any who either affirme or ſo much as conjecture that they exceeded ours: but many that they rather come ſhort of them. Sr *Henry Savill* a ſevere and exact man in the ſearch of *Antiquity*, ſpeaking of the *quadrantall*, a meaſure of a *Cubicall Romane foote*, ſets this note in the margent, *The Roman foote leſſe then ours by halfe an inch*. In like manner *Agricola* cenſures *Budæus* for making up the *Roman quadrantall*, by the meaſure of the *French* foote, whereas, ſaith he, it exceedes the *Romane duobus digitis*, by two fingers: and farther addes that the *ſtanding meaſure* of the ancient *Romane* foote is yet at this day to be ſeene cut in ſtone or marble in diverſe places of *Rome*; and namely in the gardens of *Angelo Colocci*: Some of theſe, it ſeemes, *Goropius Becanus* met with and meaſured, and by his owne teſtimony, found them ſhort of foure of his palmes or *hand-breadths*; & yet, ſaith hee, *ſtatura mea mediocritate brevior*, my ſelfe come ſhort of a middle ſtature. The mile we know was meaſured by the pace, and the pace by the foote, now that the *Roman* mile came ſhort of ours, appeares by the great ſtones ſet up at every miles end in the *Appian* way; and the *Italian* mile in uſe at this day, taken, as it ſeemes, from the ancient *Roman*, is ſhorter then ours, neare about the ſame proportion, as is the *Roman* foote ſaid to bee ſhorter then our foote. To bring it home then to our preſent purpoſe, It is by *Suetonius* reported of *Auguſtus*, that he was indeed ſomewhat ſhort, nevertheleſſe of a *comely ſtature*: which from the teſtimony of *Iulius Marathus*, he notes to have beene *five foote* and *nine inches*, the juſt meaſure of our late famous Queene *Elizabeth*, who as ſhe matched that renowned Emperour in happineſſe and duration of reigne, ſo did ſhee likewiſe in the ſtature of her body, nay if wee admit the mentioned difference betweene the *Roman* foote and ours, ſhee exceeded him in heigth by more then *two inches*: And I ſee no reaſon why *Suetonius* ſhould tearme *Auguſtus* ſhort, comming ſo neare the middle ſtature, except onely becauſe hee came ſomewhat ſhort of that. The ſame *Author* writes that *Nero* levied a new legion of *Italians* of

In his view of Military matters. *De reſt. Pond. & menſur.* *Gigantomachia* *Cap. 79.* *Cap. 19.*

ſix

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ſixe foote-men, which he called the *Phalanx* of the *great Alexander*, by which it ſhould ſeeme that very few exceeded that ſtature. And of *Tiberius*, he obſerves that he was *ſtatura quæ juſtam excederet*, ſomewhat, as it ſeemes, above ſix foot. *Valentinian* and *Valens* gave order that for the common ſouldier *five foote* and *ſeaven inches* ſhould ſuffice; And *Vegetius* witneſſeth of *Marius* the Conſull, that ſuch as were *ſix foote* high, or *five* and *ten inches* ſhould be ranked *inter Alares Equites vel in primis legionum cohortibus*, among the principall troupes that ſerved either on horſe-backe or on foote. From whence *Cauſabon* collecteth that ſuch as were *ſeaven foot* high were counted *Gyants*, & to that purpoſe vouch-eth hee the authority of *Sidonius Apollinaris* who flouriſhed about the yeare foure hundred and forty.

Cap. 68. Cod. Theodoſ. titulo de Tyran. Lib. 1. cap. 5.

In Suet. Tyb. cap. 68.

In Carmine ad Catulinum.

----Spernit ſenipedem ſtylum Thalia,
Ex quo ſeptipedes vidit Patronos:
Six footed rimes *Thalia* doth deſie,
E're ſince ſhe ſeaven foot *Patrons* did eſpie.

Whom a little after hee tearmeth *Gyants:*

Tot tantique petunt ſimul Gigantes,
Quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.
Gyants ſo many and ſo hugely maine,
As ſcarce *Alcinous* Kitchen can ſuſtaine.

By all which paſſages it clearely appeares, that our ordinary ſtature at this day, if it exceed not that of the *Ancient Romans*, yet doth it equall it at leaſt.

Now before I conclude this *Reaſon* and *Section*, it ſhall not be amiſſe by the way to remember that *Nicephorus* makes the ſtature of *Chriſt* by tradition to have beene, (if *Langus* render him right) *ad palmos prorſus ſeptem*, full ſeaven *hand-breadth*. Which length allowing foure hand-breadths to the foote, according to the uſuall account, wants one hand breadth of two foote; The ſtature of a *Dwarfe* of the leaſt ſize: but if by *palmos* hee meanes *ſpannes*, whereof about three make up two foote, ſo likewiſe could hee be but *foure foote* and a *ſpanne* long, too ſhort a ſtature for a comely body, ſuch as wee may well and piouſly conceive he had, and all ancient *Chriſtian* writers confeſſe; and *Lentulus* the *Proconſull* in that *Epiſtle* to the *Roman Senate*, which goes under his name, confirmes as much: And it ſhould ſeeme by that of the *Apoſtle*, *till wee come to a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*: that his ſtature was compleate and perfect, not exceſſive in height, for then *Zacchæus* needed not to have gone up to a tree to have ſeene him, nor yet very defective, that having beene apt to expoſe him to ſcorne & diriſion. And in likelyhood we ſhould have found it ſomewhere, by ſome one or other, among ſo many and malitious *Adverſaries*, objected unto him. It is true that none of the *Evangeliſts*, (moſt particular and preciſe in ſetting downe other Circumſtances) have expreſſed any thing at all touching his *complexion*, or *feature*, or *ſtature*: Happily to this end, that no *picture* nor *ſtatue* might be made of him, as well knowing how inclinable by nature wee are to turne the very reſemblances and memorialls of thoſe, whom wee moſt honour and reverence into

Lib. 1. cap. 40.

Epheſ. 4. 13.

Idolls.

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Idolls. Another thing which I would note is this, that when I call *six foote a middle ſtature*, my meaning is not, that there are as many found to bee above it, as below it, (which is the vulgar underſtanding of that word) but becauſe it is, and ever hath beene held by the Learned, the moſt competent and comely ſtature; ſo as hee who is under that, is ſomewhat too ſhort, and hee who is above it, ſomewhat too tall in regard of the moſt even, juſt, and exact proportion. It was ſo held among the *Romans*, as appeares by *Vitruvius*, and by the *Commentatours* on *Suetonius* in the life of *Tiberius*: And yet their ranking of *ſix foote men*, among their *principall troupes*, and *Nero* his making up a legion of them levied from all the parts of *Italy*, which in a kinde of pride and glory he named the *Phalanx* of *Alexander* the *great*, ſhew that then very few exceeded that *ſtature*: And yet, (which may not be forgotten) was their foote ſhort of ours *three inches* in the meaſure of *ſix feete*. And ſurely, now among us to raiſe a *Legion* of *five foote* and *nine inches* in any of his *Majeſties Kingdomes*, or perchance in ſome one of our *ſhires*, would prove, I dare ſay, no very hard taske, or ſuch as we ſhould hold a matter worth the glorying in. *Cap. 61.*

SECT. 3.

The ſecond reaſon taken from the ordinary allowance of diet to ſouldiers and ſervants, which appeares to bee of like quantitie with us, as was that among the Ancient Grecians and Romans, together with a doubt touching Gods allowance to the Iſraelites, *anſwered.*

BUt I paſſe from this *firſt Reaſon* drawne from the compariſon of ancient and moderne *Meaſures*, to a ſecond no leſſe weighty and preſſing in my judgment, borrowed from the *allowance of diet*, taking this for my ground, that *cæteris partibus*, men for the moſt part feed according to the proportion of their bodies; and withall, that their *publike allowance* was made acording to their *cuſtomary feeding*. To *Hercules*, being a man ſuppoſed of a mighty ſtature, is allowed by *Homer* an *Oxe* at a meale when he was hungry. Of *Maximinus* the Emperour above-named, *Capitolinus* reports that hee often ate in a day *forty pound weight of fleſh*, and ſometimes *ſixty*, as he addeth out of *Cordus*. *Athenæus* alledges *Theodorus Hieropolis*, in his bookes of the *games* of *Greece*, that the ordinary fare of *Milo* the *Crotonian*, was *twenty pound of fleſh*, and *three Congij*, or *ſix gallons* of Wine. In the yeare one thouſand five hundred and eleven, the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt, being at *Ausburge* at an aſſembly of the States of *Germany*, there was preſented him a man of an unreaſonable height and greatnes, who at a few mouth-fulls and without any ſtay, would devoure a *whole ſheepe* or a *calfe*, not caring whether it were roſt or raw, ſaying that it did but ſharpen his appetite. *Children* for the moſt part are not allowed the like quantity as men of riper yeares, though they be growing; nor among men, *dwarfes* the like as *Gyants*: And it ſtands with great reaſon, that the *portion* of diet appointed for the nouriſhing of the body, ſhould in ſome ſort bee anſweruble

Surius in his Commentaries of the memorable things of our times.

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to the *proportion* of the body nouriſhed. If then it ſhall appeare that the daily bread allowed by the *Ancients* to their *ſervants* & *ſouldiers*, was no more then is by us allowed at this day to ours, it will, as I take it, from thence be more then probablely inferred, that the common ſtature and ſtrength of our bodies, is not ſo much inferiour to theirs, as is commonly ſuppoſed.

The ordinary allowance in corne among the *Græcians*, was the meaſure of a *Chœnix* a day, as witneſſeth *Suidas*; & from hence, as it ſeemes, was borrowed that *Motto* of *Pythagoras*, remembred by *Plutarch*, *ſuper Chœnicem ne ſedeas*, ſit not upon a *Chœnix*, that is, having gotten foode for a day, doe not grow ſecure, as if that would never be ſpent. And *Athenæus* tells us, that *Clearchus* a great Coyner of new words, was wont upon this occaſion to call a *Chœnix Hemerotrophidem* ſuſtenance for a day. At leaſt-wiſe in the Campe it was ſo, if we credit *Herodotus* in his *Polymnia*, where he victualleth the common ſouldier in *Xerxes* army at a *Chœnix* a day: The quantity of which allowance wee ſhall finde anon very neare to agree both with the *Roman*, and that which is in uſe at this day. The meaſure then to a *Roman* foot-man for a moneth, ſaith *Polybius*, was two thirds of a *Medimnus* of wheate, which made up foure *Modij*, the whole *Medimnus* by a generall conſent of all the beſt *Authours* containing *ſix Modij* in all. With which rate of *Polybius* preciſely agreeth *Donate* upon *Terence*, where he limiteth *dimenſum ſervi*, (in the *Goſpell* called, *a ſervants portion of meate*) to bee *foure Modij* the moneth; the ſame portion which both *Cato* & *Columella* allow for *Countrey Hindes*. Now that it may appeare what this allowance was according to our meaſures, we are to know that by the *Roman Modius*, howbeit it be uſually in our language rendred a *buſhell*, & be ſo commōly conſtrued in *Schooles*; yet it is about a *pinte leſſe then a pecke*, as is rightly obſerved, not onely by Sr *Henry Savill* in his *view* of *military matters*, but by our *laſt Tranſlatours* of the *Bible*, who though they have ſet *buſhell* in the *Text*, yet in the *Margin* have they affixed this note, *The word in the originall ſignifieth a meaſure containing about a pinte leſſe then a pecke.*

Sympoſ. 7. prob. 4.

Lib. 3.

In Phormione. Luc. 12. 42. So Ianſenius & Beza expound it.

Mat. 5. 15. Mar. 4. 21.

First then to compare the *Grecian* and the *Roman* allowance. The *Medimnus* containing forty eight *Chœnices*, as witneſſeth *Budæus* out of *Pollux*; and ſix *Modij*, as *Tully*, and *Suidas*, and *Nepos*, and others; the *Roman* being allowed foure *Modij* by the *moneth*, and the *Grecian* a *Chœnix* by the *day*, their allowances were equall, or not much different, ſave that the *Roman* ſeemes to be ſomewhat larger: *foure Modij* containing after that reckoning *thirty two Chœnices*, which amongſt them was a *moneths allowance*. With which if we compare our owne *meaſures*, it will *weekely* amount to a *pinte leſſe then a pecke*, and allowing *two gallons* to the *pecke*, it will ariſe to about a *quart* by the *day*, which is but a competent allowance for a ſouldier or labour-man (living moſt upon *bread*) at this day; as *Budæus* by conference with his *Baker*, hath fully cleared the point. And here it may not bee forgotten that our *laſt Tranſlatours* (to cleare the whole buſineſſe the more fully) in the *marginall* notes on the fixth of the *Revelation*, at the ſixth verſe, give us to underſtand, that the word *Chœnix* there uſed, *ſignifieth a meaſure containing one wine quart, and the*

Lib. 5. de Aſſe.

Lib. 5. de Aſſe.

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the twelfth part of a quart: Now I am not ignorant that the *Gomer* of *Manna*, being the daily allowance of the *Iewes* during their abode in the wildernes, by *Gods* owne appointment, is by *Rabanus* valued at three *Chœnices*, and by *Iunius two* and an *halfe*, bating *one fifth*. But I should rather ascribe so large an allowance to *Gods speciall bounty*, then to their *necessity*; and so much hath *Iunius* himselfe in his Annotations upon that place confessed: *inde colligitur, quàm largiter Deus Israelitas aluerit tam longo tempore:* We may from thence collect, how bountifully God dealt with the *Israelites*, making them so large an allowance for so long a time. And this marveilous great plenty, in likelyhood was it that gave them occasion to distaste it, to grow weary of it, and cast out those murmuring speeches against *God* and *Moses* his servant and their leader, *Animam nostram tædet hujus panis vilissimi*, our soule loatheth this light bread; & to fall a longing after the cucumbers and leekes, the onions and garlicke of *Egypt:* Though the *Manna*, aswell in regard of the delicacie thereof, as the raining of it downe from heaven, bee, by the *Psalmist* tearmed, *Angels foode*, and in the booke of *Wisedome* bee commended for having in it a *certaine contentfull delight agreeable to every mans taste.* It is likewise true that the *Roman* allowance to a *horse-man* by the testimony of *Polybius*, seemed to be larger then that of the *foote-man*, there being allotted him monethly *seaven Medimni* of oates or barley for his horse, and two of wheat for himselfe: But it may very well bee, as *Lypsius* conjectureth, that he had a spare horse and an attendant or two allowed him, and then his two *Medimni* for himselfe, and his two servants agrees justly with the *two thirds* of a *Medimnus* to a *foote-man*.

Numb. 21. 5.
Cap. 11. 5.
Psal. 78. 25.
Cap. 16. 20.
Lib. 6.
De militia Romana l. 3. c. 16

SECT. 4.

Diverse other reasons drawne from experience added, as from the armour, the bed-steeds, the seates, the doores, the pulpits, the Altars of the Ancients, and other doubts cleared.

TO proceed, that which seemes to make the matter more *evident*, because it strikes more upon the *sense*, is the view of the *rooses*, the *doores*, the *tables*, the *seates*, the *robes*, the *bed-steeds*, the *weapons*, the *armour*, the *pulpits*, the *Altars*, the *tombes* of the *Ancients*; yet remaining to bee seene; all which argue, that they were of the same *stature* or very little differing from us. *Aristotle* in his *Mechanickes* gives us to understand, that the *bed-steeds* in his time, did not commonly exceede *six foote*: Nay *Magius* himselfe, who hath written a large discourse in defence of the contrary and common opinion, yet at last confesseth, that taking an exact measure of the *Tombes* at *Pisa*, and other Cities in *Italy*, though some of them were made a thousand yeares since, some more; yet found hee them in dimensions *parum aut nihil*, little or nothing differing from those of our times, & withall ingenuously acknowledgeth, that being at *Pisaurum* in the Duke of *Vrbines* armory, hee there saw certaine brasse *helmets*, digged up in the fields neare *Metaurum*, where *Asdrubal* was overthrowne by the *Roman* forces, and were ve-

Quæst. 26.
Miscellan. c. 4.

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rily thought to have laine there since that time: *Quæ tamen ab ijs quas modo milites nostri gestare solent ad magnitudinem quod attinet, non discrepabant*: which notwithstanding, saith hee, in regard of bignesse differed not from those which our Souldiers now adayes usually weare. My selfe lately viewing a tombe in the Abbey Church at *Malmsburie*, said to bee King *Athelstanes*, found it to be neare of the same dimensions as ours usually are at this day: and looking into the common charnell of the Monasterie of *Glastenburie* amongst a world of bones and skulls, I observed none of any notable magnitude beyond those of the present times. The *Mummes* which have beene preserved in *Egypt*, some of them above three thousand yeares make no shew of any length or greatnes above the bodies of our age. Mr *Sandys* reports that in searching the inside of the greatest *Ægyptian* Pyramis, they found the entryes and passages thereof so low and narrow, as they were often forced to stoope, and sometimes to creepe on all foure, and with him herein both *Bellonius* and *Villamont* (as having beene eye-witnesses thereof) fully agree. And farther, he tels us, that entring into a faire large roome, all of *Thaban* marble, and of admirable Architecture, at the upper end thereof, they found standing a tombe, breast high, seaven feete in length, not foure in breadth, in which, no doubt (saith hee) lay the bodie of the Founder, supposed to bee *Cheops*, & yet the dimensions of our tombes now adayes are not unanswerable thereunto. The tombe of *Sebba* King of the *East-Saxons*, who died in the yeare of *Christ* 693, standing in the North wall of S. *Pauls Church* in *London*, is found by measure not to exceed five foote in length; and that of King *Etheldred* not farre distant from it, is likewise not much different from it in measure: but because *Stowe* mentions the translation of their bodies from the old *Church* to the new now standing; I should thinke that those copped Coffins of gray Marble rather include their bones piled up, then their bodies at large, specially considering the scantnesse of those measures.

Two of these are to be seene in the Anatomy Schoole at *Leyden*.

I know that the sword of *Edward* the third, the armour of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, the tilting staffe of *Charles Brandon*, the walking staves and riding staves of *Henry* the *eight* shewed in the *Tower* and other places, farre exceed the ordinary of our times: but perchance some of them like *Sinesius Grandio* in *Seneca* delighted in great things, or I should thinke that sometimes they were rather for *shew* then for *use*; as the great *Alexander* (by the the testimony of *Curtius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch* testifie the same) is said to have left behinde him in the *Indies*, Armour of an huge bignesse, rather for terrour and admiration then any thing else. *Erasmus* in his booke of the institution of a Prince tells us, that to flatter their *Emperours*, they anciently represented them in *Colossean* formes, beyond the measure of humane stature; such as that erected to *Nero* by his owne command of 120 foote high, as *Pliny* writeth. *lib.* 25. *c.* 7. And for the rest it onely argues the strength and stature of those that used them, not of others who lived in the same age with them: Nay if wee compare the common armour of the age wherein *Iohn* of *Gaunt* lived, or the most ancient in the *Tower* or otherwhere, with that which is

now

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now in use, wee shall finde no such sensible difference as should argue a *decay* in stature. Indeede their *arrowes* generally exceeded ours both in bignesse and length; but this I should rather impute to their continuall practise in shooting from their infancie, then to their strength and stature. The truth whereof appeares by this, that so long as that practise was continued, (which was till the invention and ordinary use of *Gunnes*) so long the like dimensions of their shafts were likewise continued without any diminution, as may bee seene by comparing the arrowes commonly used in *Henry* the seaventh and *Henry* the eights time, with those in use many yeares before, few of which are full a yard by measure; yet my Lord of S. *Albans* witnesseth, that the rebellious *Cornish* in the reigne of King *Henry* the seaventh, not much above one hundred yeares agoe, shot an arrow of a full *Cloth-yard long*.

The doubt which may be made touching the *Altar* of the *Tabernacle* seemes to bee of great consequence, which by Gods appointment was to be *three cubits high*, that is, *foure foote* and *an halfe*, whereas those of later times are not above *three foote*, or *three* & *an halfe* at most; which seemes to inferre the difference in succeeding ages of the stature of those that were to serve at the *Altar*: But I would demaund whether the Cubit, *Moses* there speakes of, were according to the ordinary stature of men then living, if so, then a man rightly proportioned being at most but *foure of his owne Cubits*, there was left but *one cubit* for the *Priest* above the *Altar*, which was much too little for him to minister with ease: And what then shall wee say to *Solomons Altar*, which was *ten cubits* high, surely it must in reason so be understood, that the height bee accounted frō the lowest floore of the *Temple* or *Tabernacle*, where the people stood; but the *Priest* went up by certaine slope degrees, certaine easie ascents to the *Altar*, so that the height of those ascents from the floore together with the *Altar* it selfe made up the full measure there spoken of. It will bee replied that it was expressely forbidden to goe up by steps to the *Altar*: True indeed, but the reason is there added, *that thy nakednes be not discovered thereon*, so as such decrees of ascent as occasioned not any danger or doubt of discovering his nakednesse, who ministred at the *Altar*, seeme there not to bee forbidden, which is the interpretation both of *Iunius* & *Abulensis*: allowing then an *Altar* of three foot & an halfe high, & arising to it frō the lower floore of a foot high; the height of the *Altar* from the lower floore will be foure foot and an halfe, or *three cubits*, which is the measure required in the *Levitical* Law, & differs little in height from the *Altars* in forraine parts, or those which are yet standing with us, if wee likewise take their height from the lower floore, which by reason of the continued and easie degrees of ascent to them may not unfitly be counted their *basis* or foote. And most certaine it is, that the *Altars* which amongst *Christians* were built for five or six hundred yeares since, and yet remaine, whereof there are in *France*, and *Spaine*, and *Italy* not a few to be seene, serve as commodiously for the stature of the men of this present age, as they did of those, in whose times they were builte: whereas, were there such a decay as is

Exod. 27. 1.

2. Chron. 4. 1.

Exod. 20. 26.

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ſuppoſed, we now living ſhould hardly reach their tops, much leſſe be able to ſerve at them with any tolerable conveniencie.

SECT. 5.

The ſame farther proved, firſt for that the ſonne often proves taller then the father. Secondly, for that age and ſtature holding for the moſt part correſpondence, it being already proved that the age of mankinde is not decreaſed, from thence it followes that neither is their ſtature. Thirdly, for that if mankinde decreaſed in ſtature by the courſe of nature, ſo muſt of neceſſity all other creatures, they being all alike ſubject to the ſame law of nature. Fourthly, for that if men had ſtill declined ſince the Creation, by this time they would have beene no bigger then rats or mice, if they had at all beene.

BEſides were there ſuch a generall and continuall decay of men in ſtature as is ſuppoſed, either the Childe would alwayes come ſhort of the Parents in ſtature, or very ſeldome would it fall out otherwiſe, whereas now wee finde it by daily experience that the ſonne very often not only equalls but exceedes the father, and the daughter the mother. *Nicephorus Caliſtus* in the twelfth booke of his *Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory*, tells us of one whom himſelfe ſaw, of ſuch an exceſſive height, that he was held for a *monſter*; *Quem tamen brevis admodum ſtatura mulier in lucem protulit*, ſaith he, whom notwithſtanding a woman of a very ſhort ſtature brought forth. In like manner S. *Auguſtine* reports of a woman, who in his time, a little before the ſacking of *Rome* by the *Gothes*, came thither with her Father and Mother, ſhe was, ſaith he, of a *Gyant-like* ſtature, far beyond all that ſaw her, though infinite troupes came to behold that ſpectacle, *& hoc erat maximæ admirationis*, this was matter of greateſt amazement, that both her *Parents* were but of *ordinary ſtature*. I have ſeene, ſaith *Marcellus Donatus*, a learned Phyſitian, a young maiden of a *Gyant-like* ſtature, whom they carried from towne to towne to ſhew her as a prodigious thing, for the ſight of whom every man gave ſome thing, wherewith her mother that conducted her, and her ſelfe were maintained. She was in an hired Chamber by herſelfe, and there ſuffered her ſelfe to be ſeene with admiration, going as others did; I enquired carefully of every point, and did learne both from herſelfe and her mother, who was a woman of meane ſtature, that the maidens father was not tall, that in all their ſtocke there was not any one that exceeded the height of other perſons. It is likewiſe reported in the Hiſtory of the *Netherlands*, that in the yeare 1323, was to be ſeene in *Holland* a woman *Gyanteſſe*, to whom the talleſt men ſeemed children, yet her parents of meane ſtature. So then, if *Gyants* be ſometime borne or begotten of ſuch parents, no marvell that the ſonne as often proves taller then the father, as he comes ſhort of him. But it commonly falls out in this kinde, though not in that extremity, as with the *Samogitheans*, a people lying betwixt *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, of whom *Scaliger* writes, that *per vices tum proceros, tum penè nanos generant*, by turnes they bring forth Gyants and Dwarfes,

Cap. 37.

De Civit. Dei. lib. 15. c. 25.

Lib. 3. cap. 14.

Exercit. 269.

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Dwarfes, like some trees, saith hee, which beare very plentifully one yeare, and are the next altogether barren: Nature so disposing that what was deficient in the *Dwarfe*, is abundantly repayed in the *Gyant*.

Againe, there is for the most part a mutuall connexion betweene *age* and *stature*, (whence it may bee in the *Greeke*, the same word signifieth both) so as that race of men which is tallest and strongest, commonly holdeth out longest; upō which ground, as it seemes, they who invented the fable of the *Pigmies*, withall affirmed, that their women usually brought forth at five yeares, and died at eight: But certaine it is, that in those barbarous countreyes which are not weakened by luxury, as they much exceed us in duration, so doe they likewise in dimensions, both which have beene fully shewed by sundry examples already alleadged; and generally we see, that in the severall kinds of *beasts*, of *birds*, of *fishes*, of *trees*, of *plants*, the bigger they are in quantity, the longer they last; and the lesser they are, the shorter space they continue: Since then it hath beene, as I take it, sufficiently proved in the precedent chapters, that the age of men is not so sensibly impaired in regard of former times, as is commonly conceived, it will from thence consequently follow, that neither is the stature of man, at least-wise by any defect in the *Course of Nature*, so manifestly abated, as is imagined.

I say, by any defect in the *Course of Nature*, for then doubtlesse, all other *naturall bodies* should suffer the like defect, even the *Elements* and the *Heavens* themselves, all which, (if I flatter not my selfe too much) I have in my former discourse clearely freed from any such *universall* and *perpetuall declination*. And in truth, reason it selfe will easily teach us, that if men were generally in former ages taller and larger then now they are, so must the *horses* too upon which they rode; and if *horses*, other kindes of *beasts* too; and if *beasts*, *birds*, too; and if *birds*, *fishes* too; and if all these, *trees* too; there being no warrantable reason, as I conceive, to be yeelded, why among other kindes of Creatures, (which wanting reason, are guided meerely by instinct of Nature) some should stand at a stay, contayning their ancient perfection, and others in tract of time decay by degrees. Indeede *Man* among them all by meanes of the abuse of his Reason and free choyce, (which was given him to helpe him, and not to hurt him, had he the grace to make use of it) is most subject to variation, and so to declination: yet as all men doe not alwayes abuse their Reason, at leastwise in a greater degree then their Predecessours, (as shall, God assisting mee, bee hereafter made good) so doe they not alwayes decline in *strength* and *stature*, for then should they by this time scarcely have exceeded the quantity of Rats or Mice; or at most have but equalled that Dwarfe, of whom *Nicephorus* reports, (how truly I cannot say) that hee had the shape, the voice and reason of a man, yet was in body no bigger then a Partridge; or that other mentioned by *Sabinus* in his Commentaries upon the *Metamorphosis*: *Vidia Italia nuper virum justa etate, non majorem cubito, circumferri in cavea psittaci, cujus viri meminit in suis scriptis Hieronymus Cardanus.* There was lately to bee seene in *Italy* a man of a ripe age not above a cubit high, carried about in a Parrets

Lib. 12. c. 37.

Lib. 6. Fab. 19.

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cage, of whom *Hierome Cardan* in his writings makes mention: But me thinkes it being the former which gives bounds to the matter (of it selfe unlimited and boundlesse) and the forme of man being still for essence and naturall functions the same which was from the beginning, the bounds of his quantity cannot vary in any great or notorious difference, but through some exorbitancie and aberration in nature, which as they have beene in all ages, so have monsters too, not only in figure and shape, but also both in excesse and defect.

Differt. 6. I will conclude this point with the judgement of *Lypsius* in his third booke of the physiologie of the stoicks, where having proposed the question, *Homines primi an majores & paulatim deinde minores*; and thereupon having alledged the testimony of *Esdras* for the affirmative part, he thus censures it: *Quæ tamen dictio & ratio si vera, & ab ævo in ævum homines minores, quid causæ quin jam pygmæi & minus simus? atqui constat nos à bis terque mille annis parum aut nil mutasse, & populari aliqua præsumptione illa non veritate scripta.*

CHAP. 5.

Wherein the principall objections drawne as well from Reason as from authority, and experience are fully answered.

SECT. 1.

Of sundry fabulous narrations of the bones of Gyantlike bodies digged up, or found in Caves.

THe *Truth* being thus settled, it remaines that wee now dispell those mists and cloudes with which the brightnes of it is sometimes overcast: whereof the chiefe is, the *huge bodies* and *bones* that at sundry times have beene digged up, and yet are kept in many places as monuments of *Antiquity* to bee seene. Such are they which are shewen at *Puteoli* or *Putzole* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, upon which *Pomponius Latus* hath bestowed verses, which he thus concludes.

Hinc bona posteritas immania corpora servat,
Et tales mundo testificatur avos.

Their huge corpes good posterity keepes here,
To witnesse to the World that once such were.

The like have I seene at *Wormes* in *Germany* and other Cities standing upon the *Rheine* hung up in Chaines, or laid up in Magazines and other publique places; but saith *Philippus Camerarius*, I have heard many dis- *Meditat. histor. 82. sive. l. 3. c. 2.* pute and make doubt whether they were the *bones* of *men*; or of *fishes*. Infinite are the stories which to this purpose are recorded, it would require a *just volume* to collect them into one body, and in truth it shall not neede, inasmuch as I finde it already done by the same *Camerarius*; *Cassanc. 11. Fazelus. c. 6.* by *Cassanion* in his booke of *Gyants*; and *Fazelus* in his first booke and first *Decade* of the affaires of *Sicily*; as also by our *Hollinshed* in the fourth chap. of his first volume, but with this *Caution*; *For my part*, saith hee, *I will*

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will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe doe seeme almost incredible; wherefore I will only point at a few of the most memorable, lest on the one side I should seeme purposely to baulke that rubbe which is commonly thought most of all to thwart my way, or on the other side should cloy the *Reader* with too many *unsavory tales*.

It is reported by *Plutarch* out of *Gabinius*, (which I confesse, I somewhat marvell at in so *grave* an *Authour*) that *Sertorius* being in *Lybia* neere the streights of *Morocco*, found the body of *Antæus* there buried, *sixty cubits*, to which *Fazelus* adds *ten* more, and makes it up *seaventy*: But *Strabo* in the seaventeenth of his *Geography*, mentioning the same things, layes this censure upon *Gabinius* the *Authour* of it: *Sed nec Gabinius Romanarum rerum Scriptor in describenda Mauritania fabulis prodigiosis abstinet*: neither doth *Gabinius* in his description of *Mauritania* abstaine from the relation of *Monstrous fables*. In the fourteenth yeare of *Henry* the second Emperour was the body of *Pallas*, (as twas thought,) companion to *Æneas*, taken up at *Rome*, and found in height to equall the *walles* of that *citie*: But as *Galeotus Martius* hath well observed, his body was said to have beene burned,

In vita Sertorii.

Fulgos. l. 1. c. 6

De doctrina prohisova. c. 36.

Arsuraque comas obnubit amictu.

Virgil. Aen. 11.

The locks that shortly should consume in fire,
He covered with his Robe.

Which I suppose to be likewise true of many of those bodies, which notwithstanding are reported to have beene found intire for their proportions long after their deaths, though turned into ashes many yeares before: It being the custome of those countries to *burne*, as it is ours to *burie* our dead. Our *Malmesburiensis* likewise in his second booke and thirteenth chapter *de gestis Regum Anglorum* mentioneth the same, *story* shall I call it, or *fable*, telling us that in the yeare of *grace* 1042, & in the reigne of S. *Edward*, the body of *Pallans* the sonne of *Evander*, of whom *Virgill* speakes, *Romæ repertum est illibatum ingenti stupore omnium quod tot sæcula incorruptionem sui superavit*, was found at Rome intire and sound, to the great astonishment of all men, that by the space so many ages it had triumphed ouer corruption; and farther to confirme the truth thereof, hee assures us that the gaping wideness of the wound which *Turnus* made in the midst of his breast, was found by measure to bee *foure foote & an halfe*, a large wound, and the weapon which made it, wee cannot but conceive as large, and by the appearance of it at full, not only the bones and skin and sinewes, but the *flesh* to remaine *incorrupt*; a matter altogether incredible. Besides he sets us downe his Epistle found at the same time,

Filium Evandri Pallans quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo jacet hic.

Which himselfe knowes not well how to give credit too, *quod non tunc crediderim factum*, (saith he) which I cannot beleeve was then made, but by *Ennius*, or some other of latter ages: But I proceede:

Herodotus in his first booke tels us, that the body of *Orestes* being taken up, was found to be *seaven cubits*; but *Gellius* is bold to bestow upon him for his labour the title of *Homo Fabulator*, a forger of fables, rather

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rather inclining to the opinion of *Varro*, who held the *vtmoſt period* of mans growth to bee *ſeaven foote*. What would hee then have ſaid to the body of *Oryon*, which *Pliny* makes *forty ſix cubits*, or of *Macroſyris* which *Trallianus* makes an *hundred cubits*, or of that body diſcovered in a vaſt cave neere *Drepanum* in *Sicilie*, three of whoſe teeth, if we may beleeve *Boccace*, weighed an *hundred ounces*; and the lead of his ſtaffe, a *thouſand and five hundred pounds*. And the body it ſelfe by proportion of ſome of the bones was eſtimated to no leſſe then *two hundred cubits*, which make *three hundred feete*, ſomewhat I thinke beyond Pauls ſteeple. The more I wonder at S. *Auguſtine*, who confidently aſſures us, that himſelfe with others being on the ſea ſhore at *Vtica*, hee there ſaw a mans jaw-tooth ſo bigge, that being cut into ſmall peeces, it would have made an *hundred* ſuch as the men living in his age commonly had, by which computation the body it ſelfe muſt likewiſe in reaſon have exceeded the bodies of his age an *hundred* times; Yet *Ralph* the Monke of *Cogſhall*, who wrote 350 yeares agoe (as witneſſeth *Camden*) it may bee in imitation of S. *Auguſtine*, averres; that himſelfe ſaw the like, which in a Monke is I confeſſe more tollerable then that which *Ludovicus Vives*, deſervedly reputed a grave and learned Authour, upon that paſſage of S. *Auguſtine* affirmes, that going to the *Church* on Saint *Chriſtophers* day (the place hee names not, but it ſeemes to be *Lovaine*, becauſe from thence he dates his Epiſtle dedicatory to King *Henry* the eight:) He was there ſhewed a *tooth*, belonging as it was thought to that Saint, bigger then a mans fiſt, the patterne whereof belike was taken from that huge *Coloſſus* made to repreſent him at the entrance of *Noſtre-Dame* in *Paris*, more like a mountaine then a man; whereas notwithſtanding *Baronius* profeſſeth in plaine tearmes, *ſe non habere quid dicat de Gigantea ſtatura qua pingi conſuevit*, that hee knowes not what to ſay to that *Gyantlike* ſtature, in which they commonly ſet him forth. But *Villavincentius* goes farther, *dubium nemini eſſe picturam hanc à ſanctis Patribus in hunc uſum propriè excogitatam, ut Evangelij præconem adumbret*, that no man neede doubt but that picture was deviſed of holy men to ſhadow forth the preacher of the *Goſpell*, who whiles hee lifts up Chriſt by his preaching and carries him about to bee ſeene and knowne, is indangered in the waves of this world, and yet vpheld by the ſtaffe of hope. The like tooth is to bee ſeene in the *Netherlands*, pretended to belong to the *Gyant* of *Antwerpe*, but *Goropius Becanus* rather thinkes it to be the tooth of an *Elephant*, whoſe conjecture is there in the more probable, for that, (as witneſſeth *Verſtegan*) at ſuch time as the famous water paſſage was digged from *Bruſſells* unto the river of *Rupell* at *Willibrooke*, there were found the bones of an *Elephant*, the head whereof, (which is yet reſerved) himſelfe had ſeene. Of latter times it hath beene written, and by ſome ſtrongly averred, that the body of *William* the *Conquerour* was found uncorrupt more then foure hundred yeares after it was buried, and in length *eighth foote*, the former of which could not well be, ſince his tombe being too narrow for the unbowelled body, (ſo ſay our ſtories) it brake in the laying of it downe; and for the latter there is as little ſhew, ſince they who have written his life all agree,

Lib. 7. c. 16. De Mirabilibus & longa vit.
De Genealog. Deorum, l. 4. Cap. 68.
De Civit. Dei Lib. 15. c. 9.
Camden in Eſſex.
Not. in Martyrol. Iul. 25.
De ratione concionandi. lib. 3. c. 7. ex Hiperio.
Gygantomachia Cap. 4.
Hollinſhed, vol. 1. lib. 1. c. 4.

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agree, that hee was a man of a *meane* or *middle ſtature*, though for his limmes *active* and *ſtrong*: And for a full confutation of the ſaid *fable*, (ſaith *Stow*) when his reſtleſſe bones, which ſo hardly had obtained intombing, did afterwards as unluckily againe loſe it in the yeare of *Chriſt* 1562, *viz*: when *Chaſtillion* conducting the remnant of thoſe that eſcaped at the battell of *Dreux*, tooke the *citie* of *Cane*, certaine ſavage ſouldiers aſwell *Engliſh* as others, did beat downe and utterly deface the noble *Monument* of that *victorious King*, pulling out all his bones, which ſome of them ſpitefully threw away, (when they, could not finde the treaſure they falſely ſurmiſed had beene laid up there) and others, ſpecially the *Engliſh*, ſnatched every one to have ſome piece of them, not making any wonder of them, as they would have done if they had exceeded the length and bigneſſe of mens bodies of latter yeares, wheras indeede there was no ſuch thing noted in them, as I have beene certainely informed; (ſaieth the ſame *Authour*) by *Engliſh men* of good credit, who were then preſent eye-witneſſes at the ſpoyle of that *Monument* and bones, and brought ſome part of them into this *Realme*. *Thevet* likewiſe in the ſecond Tome of his *Coſmographie*, deſcribing the Citty of *Cane*, mentioneth the rifling of his Monument, but of any ſuch monſtrous bones or body there found, hee ſpeakes not a word. And beſides it is moſt unreaſonable to conceive, that within the compaſſe of five hundred yeares or little more, there ſhould be ſuch a wonderfull abatement, neither in truth if our meaſures bee the ſame as then they were, is it at all poſſible.

Toward the latter end of his life.

Lib. 15. cap. 10.

Others with ſome more ſhew of truth, have made the bones of King *Arthur* found at *Glaſtenburie* upon a ſearch, at the command of King *Henry* the ſecond, to have beene of an exceſſive bigneſſe: yet Mr *Camden* who reports the ſtory at large out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* (an eye-witneſſe thereof) remembers no ſuch matter.

In Somerſetſhire.

SECT. 2.

Of the like bones to bee ſeene in ſome Churches of London, *and of thoſe which were lately found neere the citty of* Gloceſter.

OUt of *Stowes* ſurvay of *London* lately augmented and reprinted Anno 1633. fol 204 togeather with his owne marginall notes.

In the pariſh Church of S. *Laurence* ſaith hee, called in the Iurie, becauſe of old time, many *Iewes* inhabited thereabout, I my ſelfe more then 70 yeeres ſince, have ſeene in this Church the ſhankebone of a man (as it is taken) and alſo a tooth of very great bigneſſe, hanged up for ſhew in chaines of iron upon a pillar of ſtone; the tooth (being about the bigneſſe of a man fiſt) is long ſince convayed from thence; the thigh or ſhanke bone of 25 inches in length by the rule, remaineth yet faſtned to a poſt of timber, and is not ſo much to bee noted for the length as for the thicknes, hardnes, and ſtrength thereof; for when it was hanged on the ſtone pillar, it fretted (with moving) the ſaid pillar, and was not it ſelfe fretted, nor as ſeemeth is not yet lightned, by remaining dry; but where

The tooth of ſome monſtrous fiſh as I take it.

A ſhanke bone of 25 inches long of a man (as it is ſaid) but might bee of an Elephant

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where or when this bone was first found or discovered I have not heard and therefore rejecting the fables of some late writers I overpasse them.

*Fol.*303. The parish Church of S. *Mary Aldermanbury* is a faire Church and hath a churchyard and cloister adjoyning in the which cloister is hanged and fastned a shankebone of a man (as it is said) very great and larger by 3 inches and a halfe then that which hangeth it S. *Laurence* Church in the Jury, for it is in length 28 inches and a halfe of assise, but not so hard and steely like as the other, for the same is somewhat pory and spongy. This bone is said to bee found amongst the bones of men removed from the Charnell house of *Pauls*, or rather from the cloyster of *Pauls* Church; Of both which reports I doubt, for that the late *Reynewolfe* stationer (who paid for the carriage of those bones from the *Charnell* to the *Moorefeilds*) told mee of some thousands of cartloads and more to bee convayed, whereof hee wondred, but never told mee of any such bone to be found in either place; neither would the same have easily bin gotten from him if he had heard thereof, except he had reserved the like for himselfe, being the greatest preserver of antiquities in those parts for his time.

Shankebone of a man 28. inches and a halfe long.

An extract of a letter sent mee from a freind Touching the gyantlike bones taken up this Last yeere in Gloucester *shire neare the city of* Gloucester.

In my last I wrote you, that his Maiesty had appointed my Lord of *Cherbury* to make inquiry touching the bones found neere *Gloucester*, with whom I have lately spoken. His Lord-ship shewed mee such bones as hee had collected, which were an huckle bone, a peece of the shoulder-blade, some parts of a tooth, and the bridge of the nose, all of a huge bigneſſe; but his Lord-ships opinion was, that they were not the bones of a man, but of an elephant, the rather because *Claudius* (who as Dion reporteth brought *Elephants* into *England*) did, as hee sayes, build that citty (for which hee voucheth *Ponticus Veruntius de rebus Brittanicis*) who saith the ancient name of the Citty was *Claudicestria*, and by corruption *Glouceſter*; and Mr *Camden* (as you rightly observe) saith, that the *Romans* had a *Colonie* thereabout. His Lord ship told mee farther that these bones were found mingled with bones and hornes of diverse other beasts as oxen, sheepe and hogs, and shewed mee the tuske of a boare found amongst them; neither were they found inclosed in any coffin of stone as yon have heard reported, indeed there was a great square stone found lying by them, which hee conceaved might be the upper stone of an altar, &that the bones were the reliques of some great sacrifice celebrated in that place.

The bridge of the nose was that which did confirme his Lord ships opinion and mine too, that it could not bee the bones of a man; for the proportion thereof was no way answerable to a mans, but did rather seeme a bone very apt to beare up the long snout of an *Elephant*. His Lord ship farther told mee, thut Dr *Harvy* (a great *Anatomiſt*) had seene the bones and opined, that they were not the bones of a man, but of some

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ſome great beaſt as an *Elephant*: the ſame was likewiſe the opinion of Dr *Clayton* his Majeſties Profeſſour of Phyſicke in *Oxford*, upon the ſight of ſome of the ſame bones, which were carried out of *Gloſterſhire* toward *London* by the way of *Oxford*.

One of the teeth of this pretended *Giant*, by the ſpeciall favour of my Lord of *Gloceſter* I had the happineſſe to ſee, which I found to bee of a ſtonie ſubſtance both for hardnes and weight; and as it ſhould ſeeme by his Lordſhips letter to me, himſelfe was not confident that it was the tooth of a man.

SECT. 3.

Diverſe reaſons alledged why ſuch bones might bee found in former ages and not now, and yet the ordinary ſtature of mankinde remaine the ſame.

NOtwitſtanding all this, I am not ſo credulous and indiffident; or ſo peremptory & daring in this caſe, as is *Becanus*, *Non credam illud Orionis apud Plinium, licet Lucius Flaccus & Metellus qui viſum iviſſe dicuntur per capita ſua juraverit*: I will not credit that ſtory of *Orion* reported by *Pliny*, though *Flaccus* and *Metellus* who are ſaid to have gone to ſee it, ſhould ſweare by their heads it was true. Let us not wrong *Antiquity* ſo farre, but deale with them as wee deſire our *poſterity* ſhould with us: Let us not conceive they were all either ſo *vaine* as to affirme they ſaw that which they ſaw not, or ſo *weake* as not able to diſtinguiſh betweene the figure of the bones of men, and thoſe of beaſts and fiſhes: ſpecially when they found the *Sceleton* whole & intire. Much I graunt might be and no doubt was *fained*, much *miſtaken*, much *added* to truth thorow errour, or an itching deſire of *Hyperbolicall* amplifications; yet I cannot but beleeve that many of their relations touching this point were true: howbeit a diminution of the ſtature of mankinde in *generall* cannot from thence be ſufficiently inforced.

The conceit of *Theophraſtus* and *Paracelſus*, that by the influence of the heavens, ſuch bones might bee bred in certaine tracts and veines of the earth, is not altogether to be rejected, for that *Ortelius* in his deſcription of *Moravia* ſpeakes of myrrh in that Countrey neare a place called *Gradiſco*, growing under-ground; and lately ſaith hee one *Wenceſlaus* of an ancient and noble family in thoſe parts, whiles hee was about the digging of a fence for his fiſh-pond, *corpus hominis integrum invenit quod nihil niſi myrrha erat*; hee diſcovered the whole bodie of a man made wholly of myrrh. *Agricola* likewiſe witneſſeth that that hee had ſeene the repreſentation of a man ſhaped by nature in ſilver, carrying as it were a childe upon his ſhoulders: Hee alſo mentioneth a ſtone found very deepe in the earth at *Salfeld* in *Thuringe*, repreſenting the breaſt, the backe and ribbes of a man. Neare *Harlem*, in the yeare 1583, was a rape-roote taken up counterfeiting the ſhape of a mans hand, ſo lively, that all the fingers and nayles thereof moſt diſtinctly appeared; And if the ſhapes of other

Plin. 36. 18. *vide Agricolam de natura foſſilium.*

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living creatures as fiſhes and *Serpents* may by nature bee repreſented in ſtones, I ſee not but ſheemay aſwell expreſſe the figure of men; now for the former of theſe at *Alderney* in *Gloceſterſhire* ſtanding 2 miles from the *Severne* upon the hils, to this day are found cockles, periwinkles and oyſters of ſolid ſtone: which whither they have bin ſhellfiſh and living creatures, or elſe the ſports of nature in her works, philoſophers may perchance diſpute, but can hardly determine.

At *Whitby* alſo in the north eaſt-riding of Yorkeſhire are found certaine ſtones faſhioned like *Serpents* folded and wrapped round into a wreath; And at *Huntly* others at the roots of rocks, of diverſe bigneſſe ſo artificially ſhaped round by nature in manner of a globe, as if they had bin ſo made by the *Turners* hand; in which if you breake them are found ſtonie *Serpents* enwrapped round like a wreath, but moſt of them headleſſe; *Goropius Becanus* reporteth that here in *England* hee ſaw a ſtone taken out of the top of a mountaine, which in ſo lively a manner expreſſed a perch in his full portraiture as not the leaſt tray waswanting to the perfection therof. Now if nature thus ſport her ſelf in the ſhapes of thoſe Creatures, why may ſhe not doe the like in framing the ſhapes of men.

Others there are who rather chooſe to aſcribe theſe ſuperlative prodigious ſhapes to *artificiall* or *ſupernaturall*, then to *naturall* and *ordinary* cauſes. For the former, it may be that either *great Princes* out of ambition and deſire of honour in ſucceeding ages; or *cunning workemen* out of curioſity have framed and compoſed ſuch peeces which *poſterity* diſcovering might behold with *aſtoniſhment*; and the *infernall ſpirits* thereby to delude men, and the ſooner to draw them from the knowledge and worſhip of the true *God* to *Idolatry* and *ſuperſtition*, have concurred with them herein, and yeeldeth them their aſſiſtance; who being able to raiſe wonderfull tempeſts in the aire, and ſtormes in the ſea, I ſee not but they might bee as able to compoſe *ſuch frames under the earth*; The wit and art of man may goe farre, but being aſſiſted by the *Devills* helpe it produceth effects, almoſt incredible. That *inſana ſubſtructio*, that huge monſtrous peece of worke, knowne by the name of *Stone-henge* neare *Amesbury*, though it bee by the Ancients tearmed *Chorea Gigantum*, the *Gyants* daunce; yet ſhall I never thinke that it was performed by the ſtrength of men; but rather by ſome ſleights or *Engines* now unknowne, or by ſome *artificiall compoſition*, they being no naturall ſtones hewen out of the rocke, but artificially made of pure ſand by ſome glewy and unctuous matter knit and incorporated together, as *Camden* ſeemes to conjecture; or whether *Merlin* (as the common ſaying is) brought them thither, reared and diſpoſed them in that order by *Magicke* and the helpe of *Devills*, I will not take upon mee to determine: howſoever it were, it is doubtleſſe a worke for admiration nothing inferiour to the greateſt *Sceleton* or frame of bones that was ever yet diſcovered. And for *teeth*, I make no queſtion but they may by meere art be made ſo lively to reſemble the naturall teeth of men, that the wiſeſt will hardly be able to diſtinguiſh the *counterfeite* from the *naturall*.

Laſtly

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Laſtly others there are who ſticke not to affirme that the bodies of ſuch men were begotten by *Devils*, who that they have had carnall familiarity with women, is the conſent of all *Antiquity*. *Creberrima fama eſt*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *multique ſe expertos vel ab ijs qui experti eſſent, de quorum fide dubitandum non eſt, audiſſe confirmant, Sylvanos & Faunos, quos vulgo Incubos vocant, improbos ſæpe extitiſſe mulieribus, ac earum appetiſſe & peregiſſe concubitum, & quoſdam* Dæmones, *quos* Duſios Galli *nuncupant hanc aſſiduè immunditiam & tentare & efficere plures taleſque aſſeverant, ut hoc negare impudentiæ videatur.* It is commonly reported and many affirme, that either themſelves have found it by experience, or heard it from thoſe of whoſe credit there was no doubt to be made, who had themſelves experienced it, that *Satyres* and *Fayries*, whom they call *Incubi*, have beene often lewd with women, luſting after them, and ſatisfying their luſts with them: and that certaine Devills, whom the *Gaules* call *Duſij*, daily both attempt and performe the ſame filthineſſe ſuch & ſo many affirme, as to deny this were a point of impudence: nay there are yet many nations, ſaith *Vives* in his commentaries on that place, which count it an honour to derive their pedegree from *Devils*, who had the company of womē in the ſhape of men. Thus not a few of the Ancients imagined thoſe *Gyants* mentioned in the ſixth of *Geneſis*, to have beene begotten, as the *Heathen* likewiſe for the moſt part derive their *Heroes* & mighty men from the like originall. And that the birthes of ſuch monſtrous mixture muſt needes bee monſtrous, *Toſtatus* truely obſerveth: *Talibus conceptibus robuſtiſſimi homines & proceriſſimi naſci ſolent*, of ſuch conceptions are wont to be borne the ſtrongeſt and talleſt of men. And *Valleſius* having given the reaſon hereof at large, (which for feare of offending chaſt eares, I liſt not heere to repeate) at laſt concludes, *Robuſti ergo & grandes ut naſcerentur, poterant ita Dæmones procurare*: Thus then the Devills might procure that mighty huge Gyants ſhould be borne, whoſe both opinion and reaſons herein are both approved and farther proved by *Delrio* in his *Magicall diſquiſitions*. The evidence hereof will yet farther appeare, if wee conſider that where *God* was leaſt knowne and the *Devill* moſt powerfully raigned, there impure Acts were moſt frequently practiſed, which is the reaſon, as I conceive, that among the *Hebrewes*, the choſen people of God, wee reade of no ſuch matter: nay thoſe *Gyants* wee finde mentioned in holy writ, were for the moſt part of other *Nations*. But ſince the incarnation of the *Sonne of God* our bleſſed *Saviour*, who came to *diſſolve the workes of the Devill*, the deluſions of theſe ſpirits have vaniſhed as a miſt before the *Sunne*: though their kingdome bee not at an end, yet is their malice much reſtrained and their power abated. Which *Plutarch* himſelfe ingenuouſly confeſſeth in that excellent diſcourſe of his, *Cur Oracula edi diſierint*, why the *Oracles* ceaſed; and to this purpoſe relates a *memorable ſtory*, which hee reports from the mouth of one *Epitherſes*, ſometimes his Schoole-maſter, that hee imbarking for *Italy*, and being one evening becalmed before the *Paxe*, (two little *Ilands* that lie betweene *Corcyra* & *Leucadia*) they ſuddenly heard a voice from the ſhore, moſt of the paſſengers being yet awake, calling to one *Thamus* a *Pilot*, by

De Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 23.

See Aquin. part. 1. q. 51. art. 3. ad Sextum. & Zanch. de oper. Dei. lib. 4. c. 60. in theſi. & Franciſc. Georgius tom. 6. prob. 32. c. 33.

In 6. Gen. quæſt. 6.

De ſacra philoſophia. c. 8.

Lib. 2. c. 15.

1. Iohn. 3. 8.

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birth an *Egyptian*, who till the third call would not answere: then quoth the voyce, when thou art come to the *Palodes* proclaime it alowd, that the great *Pan* is dead: all in the ship that heard this were amazed, when drawing neere to the forsaid place, *Thamus* standing on the pup of the shippe, did utter what was formerly commaunded, forthwith there was heard a great lamentation, accompanied with groanes and schreeches: This comming to the knowledge of *Tiberius Cæsar*, hee sent for *Thamus*, who avouched the truth thereof: And hereby was declared as wee may well conceive, the subjection of *Sathan* by the death of *Christ*: so that now hee had no longer power to abuse the illuminated world with his impostures. By this then appeares both the reason of such vast enormous bodies, as were in former times, and withall the *Cause* why they have ceased since in succeeding ages. To which we may adde, that if wee should ascribe these effects to *God* himselfe and his *extraordinary power*, for the manifestation of his greatnesse; yet as other *miracles*, so likewise these, are now growne out of date and use: hee manifesting himselfe to us in a cleerer manner, rather by the *gratious power* of his word, then the *miraculous greatnesse* of his power; & so our Conclusion still remaines firme, that *the stature of mankind is not generall impaired in regard of any such universall decay in the course of Nature as is pretended.*

SECT. 4.

An answere to the argument drawne from the testimonies on behalfe of the adverse opinion.

THe second maine rubbe, which to many gives occasion of stumbling, and comes now to be removed, is the *Authority* of diverse grave writers, aud those not onely of latter stampe, but such as have beene, and still are accounted *Venerable* aswell for *learning* as *antiquity*. Among which the most *Eminent* that I finde named by the adverse part, are *Gellius*, *Pliny*, *Iuvenall*, *Virgill*, and *Homer*, and that I may neither wrong the Authours nor Vouchers; I will produce them speaking in their owne words. *Gellius* having alleaged the opinion of *Varro*, that the *utmost point* of mans growth in the course of nature is *seaven foote*, and having stiled *Herodotus* a *Fabler* for saying the body of *Orestes* was *seaven cubits*, presently addes, *Nisi si ut Homerus opinatus est, vastiora prolixioraque fuerint corpora omnium Antiquorum, & nunc quasi jam mundo senescente, rerum atque hominum decrementa sint*, Vnlesse as *Homer* thought, men were anciently bigger and taller, and now as if the world waxed old, there be a decrease both of things and men. But this *Nisi* of *Gellius* is too weake thereby to draw him to their side, specially considering what hee had said immedialy before out of *Varro*. Which testimony of his prevailes somuch with *Peter Martyr*, that hee cannot yeeld any decrease since the floud, *si rogarer* (saith hee) *existimem corpora humana, quæ postea fuerunt ab ijs imminuta esse quæ ante diluvium producebantur, fortasse annuerem: sed quod à diluvio usque ad hanc nostram*

Lib. 3. cap. 10.

Locorum com. c. 12. sect. 1.

noſtram ætatem perpetuò decreſcant, id non facile concederem, verbis præſertim annotatis quæ Aulus Gellius, 3. lib. ſcripſit, ubi ait modum adoleſcendi humani corporis eſſe ſeptem pedum: quæ menſura hodie quoque videtur eſſe ſtaturæ procerioris. In Apochryphis tamen Eſdræ legimus, lib. 4. ad finem 5. cap. ne quid diſſimulem, & nunc minora eſſe corpora noſtra, & indies imminuenda, quòd natura ſemper magis effœta reddatur. Idemque ut paulo ante dixi Cyprianus videtur ſtatuere. Sed quare non tam facilè aſſentiar, cauſam attuli, quia de menſurâ quam Gellius definivit, hodie nihil propemodum videam immutatum. If I were demaunded whether I thinke that mens bodies ſince the floud are decreaſed in regard of thoſe before the floud, happily I ſhould grant it: but that ſince the floud downward to this our preſent age they ſhould ſtill decreaſe, that would I not eaſily yeeld, ſpecially obſerving thoſe words which *Aulus Gellius* hath in his third booke, where hee ſaith, that the meaſure of groweth in mans body, is to *ſeaven foote*, which at this day ſeemes to bee the height of thoſe of the talleſt ſtature; yet to conceale nothing, wee reade indeede in the fourth booke, and toward the end of the fifth chapter in the *Apocryphall Eſdras*, that our bodies are leſſe then they were; and that ſtill they ſhall be leſſened more and more, inaſmuch as nature is every day weakned more then other, and the ſame opinion (as I ſaid before) ſeemes to be approved by *Cyprian*; but why I cannot eaſily yeeld aſſent thereunto, I have given my reaſon, becauſe I finde little or nothing abated of that meaſure which *Gellius* defined. *Plinyes* words I muſt confeſſe are more round and reſolute, *In plenum autem cuncto mortalium generi minorem ſtaturam indies fieri, propemodum obſervatur; raroſq; patribus procreriores, conſumente ubertatem ſeminum exuſtione, in cujus vices nunc vergat ævum*, which is thus rendred by *Philemon Holland*, Doctor in *Phiſicke*, whoſe Latine Copy differed it ſeemes ſomewhat from mine; or he added ſomewhat of his owne. This is obſerved for an undoubted truth, that generally all men come ſhort of the full ſtature in times paſt, and decreaſe every day more then other, and ſeldome ſhall wee ſee the ſonne taller then his father, for the ardent heate of the Elementary fire (whereunto the world inclineth already now toward the latter end, as ſometimes it ſtood much upon the watery Element) devoureth and conſumeth that plentifull humour and moiſture of naturall ſeede that ingendreth all things, and this appeareth by theſe examples following. *Lib. 7 cap. 16.*

And then having brought the example of *Orion*, and *Oreſtes*, he adds, *Iam verò ante annos prope mille, vates ille* Homerus *non ceſſavit minora corpora mortalium, quam priſca conqueri.* And verily that great and famous Poet *Homer*, who lived almoſt a thouſand yeares agoe, complained and gave not over, that mens bodies were leſſe of ſtature even then, then in old time.

But if I bee not miſtaken, this aſſertion of *Plinies* directly croſſeth himſelfe in the very entrance of his *Naturall Hiſtory*, where hee thus beginnes; *Mundum, & hoc quod nomine alio cœlum appellare libuit, cujus circumflexu teguntur cuncta, numen eſſe credi par eſt, æternum, immenſum, neque genitum, neque interiturum unquam.* The world, and this which by another name men have thought good to call *Heaven*, beleeve wee ought in all

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reason to be a *God* without beginning and likewise *Endlesse*. If the world bee *Endlesse*, how doth it suffer a perpetuall decrease, and if it suffer any such decrease how is it *Endlesse*. Againe, holding a decrease in *stature*, I see not how he can well avoide a diminution likewise in *age* which notwithstanding in other places hee seemes to deny, or at least wise having in sundry severall Chapters faire occasions offered, doth not maintaine, but rather chuseth to passe it over in silence, as being thereof somewhat doubtfull. Besides how the ardent heate of the *Elementary* fire should cause any such decay, I cannot for my part conceive, since that heat for any thing we finde is not increased since the first Creation, and this supposed decay is commonly attributed rather to a *deficiency* then an *excesse* of heat. But *Pliny* who held that the Sunne and Starres were nourished by an Elementary moisture, must of necessity upon that supposed, though false ground, likewise hold a sensible decay in the World, inasmuch as that moysture cannot possibly suffice those bodies for food. And thus we see how in this assertion he both plainly crosseth himself, and builds it upon a sandy foundation. He was doubtlesse an admirable Man in that which hee undertooke, the *Hystoricall* part of Nature: but whether he deserved the like commendation in that which we call the *Philosophicall* part thereof, I leave it to others to judge, and passe to the examination of the testimonies of the *Poets*. But before I descend to the particulars, it shall not be amisse a little to consider of the *Vanity* of their *fictions* and *fables* about the *Gyants* which doubtlesse in part gave occasion to this *common Error* touching *Mans* and the *Worlds decay*, though I verily beleeve that the *Poets* themselves had a *mysticall* meaning therein. They faigned them to be borne of the earth, to have a thousand hands, and snakes for haires, and to wage warre with the Gods.

Terra feros partus, immania nostra, Gigantes,
Edidit, adsuros in Iovis ire domum.
Mille manus illis dedit & pro crinibus angues,
Atque ait, in magnos arma movere Deos.

Gyants, wilde monsters, earth great mother bare,
Who durst assaile the sacred seat of *Iove*,
With thousand hands, and snakes instead of haire,
Arms, arm'd she charg'd them gainst the gods to move.

Which warre of the *Gyants*, *Cornelius Severus* thus elegantly describes:

Ovid. Fast. 5.

Tantavère nefas olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Iovis transferre Gygantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere Cœlo.

The *Gyants* did advance their wicked hand
Against the starres to thrust them headlong downe,
And robbing *Iove* of his Imperiall crowne,
On conquer'd heavens to lay their proud command.

Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.

But *Macrobius* his interpretation of this fable is worth the observing: *Gigantes autem quid aliud fuisse credendum est, quàm hominum quandam impiam gentem Deos negantem, & ideò existimatam deos è cœlesti sede pellere voluisse?* What other thing should we imagine those *Gyants* to have beene, but

but an impious race of men denying the Gods; and were therefore faid to have attempted the chaſing of them out of Heaven? Yet theſe fables no doubt infected the vulgar, as thoſe of *Guy* of *Warwick*, *Bevis* of *Hampton*, *Corinæus* and *Gog-Magog*, *Robin Hood* and *little Iohn*, *Amadis of Gaule*, *Pontagruel*, *Gargantua*, and the like have ſince done. And therefore *Plato* baniſhed *Poets* from his Common-wealth; and *Moſes*, (as *Philo* in his booke of *Gyants* witneſſeth) both painting and the ſtatuary Art, coſen Germans to *Poetry*, *Quod veritatem mendacijs vitient, credulis animis per oculos illudentes*, ſaith hee, becauſe they corrupt the truth with lyes, and deceive credulous mindes by thoſe repreſentations which are preſented to their eyes. Yet will we not deny them the favour to heare what they can ſay for themſelves. Let *Iuvenall* then firſt ſpeake.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæſita lacertis Satyr. 15.
Incipiunt torquere, domeſtica, ſeditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem quali ſe Turnus & Ajax,
Et quo Tydides percuſſit pondere coxam
Æneæ, ſed quam valeant emittere dextræ,
Illis diſſimiles, & noſtro tempore natæ.
Nam genus hoc vivo jam decreſcebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque puſillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aſpexit, videt & odit.

Stooping for ſtones then (in brawles alway
The readieſt weapon) they commence their fray,
Not that of *Turne* of *Ajax*, or whereby
The ſonne of *Tydeus* brake *Æneas* thigh,
But ſuch as hands unlike to theirs, and now
Bred in our dayes well able are to throw.
For even while *Homer* liv'd this race decreaſed,
And mother earth hath ever ſince beene pleaſed
Cowardly Dwarfes to breed. theſe deities
That them behold, deride them and deſpiſe.

Now for as much as it is evident that *Iuvenall* herein followed *Virgill* and *Homer*, as will clearely appeare when wee come to the examining of their teſtimonies, I will likewiſe referre the anſwer hereunto, to that place. For *Virgil* then, he ſpeaking of *Turnus* and his great ſtrength, thus Poetizes.

Saxum antiquum ingens campo quod forte jacebat, Æneid. 12.
Limes agro poſitus, litem ut diſcerneret arvis,
(Vix illum lecti bis ſex cervice ſubirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)
Ille manu raptum valida torquebat in hoſtem.

A huge old ſtone, which then by chance lay in the field
To bound out ſeverall grounds, and quarrells to prevent,
Scarce twelve choice men ſuch as now mother earth doth yeeld,
Could beare it on their necks, yet hee incontinent
Caught it with puiſſant arme, and to his foe it ſent.

With which accords that in the firſt of his *Georgickes* touching the

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plowing up of the *Emathean* and *Emonean* fields, where many bloudy battels had beene fought.

Scilicet & tempus veniet cum finibus illis,
Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila.
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

The time will one day come when in those fields,
The painfull husband plowing up his ground,
Shall finde all fret and rust both pikes and shields,
And empty helmes under his harrow sound;
Wondring at those great bones those graves doe yeeld.

But what credit shall wee give to *Virgil* in these things who tels us of *Enceladus*.

Fessum quoties mutat latus intremere omnem
Trinacriam.----

As oft as wearied he from side to side doth turne,
Trinacria trembles.

And of *Titius*,

---Per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur.

Whose bodie stretches to nine akers length.

And of *Poliphemus*.

----Graditurque per æquor
Iam medium, nec dum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.

And now throughout the maine sea doth he wade,
And yet the waves his sides durst not invade.

And besides, hee was doubtlesse herein, as in many other passages thorow the *Æneids*, *Homers* ape, who thus brings in *Hector*,

Iliad. 12. *Hector autem rapiens lapidem portabat, qui portas*
Stetit ante, deorsum crassus, sed supernè
Acutus erat, hunc neque duo viri è populo optimi
Facilè ad plaustrum è terra perducerent,
Quales nunc sunt homines.

Hector caught up a stone before the gate that lay,
The upper pointed was, blunt was the nether part:
Two of the better sort such as live now a day,
Could scarce with all their force mount it into a cart.

To like purpose and very neare the same words is that which hee hath in another place of *Diomedes*, throwing a stone at *Æneas*.

Iliad. 5. *Saxum accepit manu*
Tydides magni ponderis, quod non duo viri ferrent,
Quales nunc homines sunt.

Into his hands *Tydides* tooke
A stone of wondrous weight,
Two men such as the world now yeelds
To bear't have not the might.

From whence it is manifest that all the alledged *Authours* herein followed

lowed *Homer*, he being named by *Gellius*, *Pliny*, and *Iuvenall*, & so plainly imitated by *Virgill*, that we need not doubt from whom he borrowed it, rendring *Homers*,

Quales nunc sunt homines--- into
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus;

But herein hee exceedes *Homer* that he turnes *two* into *twelve*, more tollerably I confesse, because more *Poetically*, that a man may know it at the first blush to be but a *fiction*.

And as for *Homer* himselfe, the founder and spring-head of this opinion, as he was the Authour of many excellent inventions, so as it was truly written of him,

Hic ille est cujus de gurgite sacro,
Combibit arcanos vatum omnis turba furores.

This is the man whose sacred streame hath served all the crew
Of Poets, thence they dranke their fill, thence their furies drew.

And therefore was hee painted vomiting, and the Poets round about licking up his vomit; yet as a ranke and battle soyle that abounds both in corne and weedes, so was hee likewise the fruitfull parent of many errours and fables which were afterward taken up and imbraced with like greedinesse as were his best and choisest inventions. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things wee mightily admire, in them we are not perswaded willingly that any thing should bee amisse: The reason whereof is, for that *as dead flies putrifie the oyntment of the Apothecary: so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisedome.* And this in every profession hath too much authorized the judgement of a few. I will not stand to make a Catalogue of *Homers mistakes* and *fictions*, which his admirers in succeeding ages have entertained as certaine truthes. That fable of the *Pigmies* (because it hath some affinity with our present matter) and their manner of fighting with *Cranes* shall suffice for all: which many not onely *Poets* but great *Philosophers*, and among them *Aristotle* himselfe relying upon his authority, have taken up upon trust: whereas all the parts of the world being now in a manner discovered, there is no such Countrey or people to bee found in it. And though *Ezekiel cap. 27. vers. 11.* we reade according to the vulgar *Latine*, *Pygmæi erant in turribus tuis*; yet I should choose rather to follow the translation of *Iunius* in that place which is *Gammadai in turribus tuis erant*; whereupon hee gives this note: *Qui Pygmæos interpretantur, nituntur sola notatione vocis, quia Hebræa vox conjugata significat cubitum, quasi cubitales dicas, ut interpretati sumus: Iud. 3. 16. sed quam benè conveniat ludicra hæc interpretatio cum re militari, ipsi viderint. Nos Gammadæos quidem existimamus à cubito dictos esse, sed quia regio fuit Phœniciæ cubitali forma projecta in mare, quæ postea devorata est à mari; Gammaden putamus dictam, ut scribit Plinius. lib. 2. nat. histor. cap. 91.* Eccles. 1. 10.

And for this particular opinion, it is not onely objected by *Goropius*, but by *Magius* freely acknowledged, that *Homer*, by *Plutarches* computation, (who composed a treatise purposely of his life) living but *one hundred* yeares or a little more after the *Trojan* warres, made such a difference in mens strength and stature, as was altogether incredible within

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Iliad. 12. within the compaſſe of ſo ſhort a ſpace: nay himſelfe makes *Hectors* ſpeare to be but *ten Cubits* long, the ordinary length they are at, even at this day: and brings *Telemachus Vlyſſes* his ſonne thus ſpeaking to his nurſe *Euriclea.*

Odyſſ. 19. *Haud equidem quenquam longinquus ſit licet hoſpes,*
Abſque labore feram contingere Chœnica noſtram.
No gueſt though come from farre I thee aſſure
To touch my *Chœnix* will I once endure.

5. De Aſſe. From which *Budæus* inferres that even then a *Chœnix* was the daily allowance for a man, as it was likewiſe many hundred yeares after *Homers* time among the *Græcians.* For concluſion, though ten perſons be brought to give teſtimony in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes, appeare to have growne from ſome one among them, and to have ſpread it ſelfe from hand to hand, they are all in force but as one teſtimony; and if it appeare that the fountaine, from which either immediately or mediately they all draw, bee corrupted, if the teſtimony of the firſt man upon whom they depend, prove invalide, then is this one upon the matter no teſtimony: which is in truth the caſe of the counter-witneſſes produced in this buſineſſe.

SECT. 5.

Of the wonderfull ſtrength of diverſe in latter ages, not inferiour to thoſe of former times.

BUt to grant that *Hector*, and *Ajax*, and *Diomedes*, and *Hercules*, and the like, exceeded in ſtrength, yet can it not be denied, but ſome ſuch have beene likewiſe recorded, in ſucceeding ages, as *C. Marius* by *Trebellius Pollio*, *Maximinus*, by *Capitolinus*, *Aurelian* by *Vopiſcus*, *Scanderberg* by *Barlet*, *Galiot Berdeſen* a Gentleman of *Catana*, by *Fazell*, *Tamerlane*, *Ziska*, and *Hunniades*, by others; *George le Feure* a learned *Germane* writes, that in his time in the yeare 1529 lived at *Miſnia* in *Thuring*, one called *Nicholas Klunher*, *Provoſt* of the *Great Church*, that was ſo ſtrong, as without Cable or Pulley or any other helpe he fetcht up out of a Cellar a *pipe of wine*, carried it out of doores, and laid it upon a cart. I have ſeene a man, ſaith *Mayolus* an *Italian* Biſhop, in the towne of *Aſte*, who in the preſence of the *Marqueſſe* of *Peſcara* handed a piliar of marble three foote long, and one foote in diameter, the which hee caſt high in the aire, then received it againe in his armes, then laſht it up againe, ſometime after one faſhion, ſometime after another, as eaſily, as if hee had beene playing with a ball or ſome ſuch little thing. There was, ſaith the ſame *Authour*, at *Mantua*, one named *Rodamas*, a man of a little ſtature, but ſo ſtrong that hee brake a Cable as bigge as a mans arme, as eaſily as it had beene a ſmall twine thread: mounted upon a horſe, and leading another by the bridle, hee would runne a full Cariere, and ſtop in the midſt of his courſe, or when it liked him beſt. *Froiſſard* a man much eſteemed for the truth and fidelity

In diebus Caninul. Colloq. 4.

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lity of his history, reports that about two hundred yeares since, one *Ernando Burg* a *Spaniard*, and companion to the Earle of *Foix*, when as attending the Earle, he accompanied him to an higher roome, to which they ascended by twenty foure steps, the weather cold, and the fire not answerable, and withall espying out at the window certaine asses in the lower Court loaden with wood, hee goes downe thither, lifts up the greatest of them with his burthen on his shoulder, and carrying it to the roome from whence hee came, cast both as he found them into the fire together. *Lebelski* a *Polander* in his description of the things done at *Constantinople*, in the yeare 1582, at the circumcision of *Mahumet* the sonne of *Amurath* Emperour of the *Turkes*, writes that amongst many active men which there shewed their strength, one was most memorable, who for proofe thereof lifted up a peece of wood that twelve men had much adoe to raise from the earth, and afterwards lying downe flat upon his backe, he bore upon his breast, a weighty stone, which tenne men had with much adoe rowled thither, making but a jest of it. Many are yet alive, saith *Camerarius*, that know how strong and mighty *George* of *Fronsberge*, Baron of *Mindlehaim* of late memory was. There is a booke printed and published in the *German* tongue containing his memorable acts, and howbeit *Paulus Iovius* handleth him but roughly, as being an enemy to the *Pope*; yet extolleth he highly his wonderfull great force, being able by the acknowledgment of *Iovius* with the middle finger of his right hand to remove a very strong man out of his place, sate hee never so fast: Hee stopp'd a horse suddenly, that ranne with a maine Carriere, by onely touching the bridle, and with his shoulder would hee easily shove a Canon whither hee listed. *Cardan* writes that himselfe saw one dauncing with two in his armes, two upon his shoulders, and one hanging about his necke. *Potocava* a *Polonian* and Captaine of the *Cosakes*, during the raigne of *Stephen Batore*, was so strong, as witnesseth *Leonclavius*, that hee would teare in peeces new horse-shoes, as it had beene paper. The history of the Netherlands reports, that the woman Gyanteſſe before mentioned was so strong, that shee would lift up in either hand a barrell full of *Hamborough* beere, and would easily carry more then eight men could.

Meditat. Hist. cap. 82.

De subtilitate lib. 13.

In supplem. Annal. Turcicor.

Before these, but long since those ancient *Heroes*, was the *Gyant Allnother* borne in *Turgaw*, a village in *Suevia*, who bore armes under *Charlemaigne*, he felled men as one would mow hay, and sometimes broached a great number of them upon his pike, and so carried them all upon his shoulder, as one would carry little birds spitted upon a sticke. *Hinc apparet* (saith *Camerarius*) *quòd nostra ætas & natio tales viros produxerit quod fortitudine & robore cum veteribus conferre liceat.* From hence it appeares that our age and nation hath brought forth such men, as every way are matchable with the Ancients in activity and strength. Of latter dayes and here at home, Mr *Richard Carew* a worthy Gentleman in his *survey* of *Cornewall* assures us that one *Iohn Bray* (well knowne to himself, as being his tenant) carryed upon his backe at one time by the space well neare of a But-length six bushels of wheaten meale, reckoning 15 gallons to the bushell, and the miller a lubber of 24 yeares age upon the

Aventinus, hist. Boiorum l. 4.

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the whole: whereunto he addeth that *Iohn Roman* of the same shire, a short clownish grub would beare the whole carkasse of an Oxe, though he never tugged with it, when hee was a calfe, as *Milo* did. To these might bee added diverse other domesticall examples of latter times, save that such kinde of relations seeme as unsavory and incredible to the most part of Readers, as they are certaine, admirable and delightfull to the beholders.

It is most true that the great workes our *noble Predecessours* have left us, our *Cathedrall Churches*, our ruines of *Castles* and *Monasteries*, our *bridges*, our *high-wayes*, and *Cauce-wayes*, and in forraine parts their *Arches*, *Obeliskes*, *Pyramids*, *Vawtes*, *Labyrinths*, *Aqueducts*, *Theaters*, and *Amphitheaters* seeme to proclaime, as the greatnesse of their mindes, so likewise of their bodies: But I should rather ascribe this to their industry, their devotion, their charity, uniting their forces and purses in publique workes, and for the publique good, then to the bodily strength of particular men.

SECT. 6.

Two doubts cleared, the first touching the strong physicke which the Ancients used, the second touching the great quantity of blood which they are said usually to have drawne at the opening of a veine, together with a censure of Fredericus Lumnius *touching the decrease of the number of our teeth.*

A Great doubt arises touching the little, but *strong physicke* which the *Ancients* used, and the great *quantity of blood* which they usually drew at the opening of a vein: For the first of these, I should thinke that it rather argueth the strength of our bodies, who notwithstanding our disuse of exercise, and more frequent use of Physicke, and that many times from the hand of unskilfull Empericks, wee ordinarily hold out as long as they did: And for the strength of their Physicke, let us heare *Goropius* a famous Physitian, and doubtlesse a very learned man, as his workes testifie, and his greatest adversaries cannot but confesse, *Dicunt olim medicamenta multo vehementiora data fuisse quàm nunc hominum natura ferre possit.* They say that the Physicke which the Ancients administred was much stronger then the nature of man is now capable of; to which he replyes, *eos qui sic arbitrantur insigniter falli contendo, ferunt enim corpora aquè nunc helleborum atque olim eodem vel majori pondere, ut ipse in alijs & meipso sum expertus: Verum insciti eorum quì nihil medici habent præter titulum & vestem longam, & impudentem arrogantiam in causa est ut sic opinentur.* I am confident that those who thus thinke are notably deceived, in as much as our bodies can now as well endure the like or greater quantity of *Elleborum*, as I have made tryall in my selfe & others: But the ignorance of such as have indeed nothing in them of the Physitian but the bare title, a long gowne, and impudent arrogancie, is the cause that men so thinke. And with him herein plainely accords *Leonardus Giachinus* of the same profession, who having

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ving composed a Treatise purposely to shew what dammage arises to learning by preferring *Authority* before *reason*, makes this the title of his first Chapter, *Corpora nostra eadem ferre posse auxilia quibus Veteres usi sunt, idque cum ratione tum experimentia comprobari*: That our bodies now adayes may well enough suffer the same helpes of Physicke which the Ancients used, and that this may be made evident as well by reason as experience. And I suppose skilfull Physitians will not deny, but that the Physicke of former times agrees with ours as in the receites, so for the *dosis* and quantity; and for them who hold a generall decay in the course of *Nature*, they are likewise forced to doe this. For if *plants*, and *drugges*, and *minerals*, decay in their vertue proportionably to the body of man, (as in the common opinion) then must it consequently follow, that the same quantity having a lesse vertue, may without danger and with good successe be administred to our bodies though inferiour in strength: *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum*, tells us, that the disposition of the heavens is changed every *Centenary* or thereabout; and consequently that all things growing from the earth change their complexions, as also doth the body of man; & thereupon inferres, that *eadem proportiones medicinarum non sunt semper continuandæ, sed exigitur observantia certa secundum temporis dissensum*: The same proportions of medicines are not still to bee continued, but there is required a certain quantity according to the variation of time. Where, by the change of the disposition of the heavens, I cannot conceive that hee intends it alwayes for the worst, for so should he crosse himself in the same book, neither for any thing I know have we any certainty of any such change as he speakes of, but this I am sure of, that if together with the heavens, the plants change their tempers, and with the plants the body of man, then needs there no alteration in the proportion of medicines; in as much as what *art* should therein supply, *nature* her selfe prevents & performes: But for mine owne part holding a naturall decay in neither, upon that ground, as I conceive, may more safely bee warranted the continuance of the ancient proportions.

Now touching the *drawing of bloud*, I know it is said that *Galen* usually drew *six pounds* at the opening of a veine, whereas we for the most part stoppe at *six ounces*, which is in truth a great difference if true, specially in so short a time, hee living three hundred yeares or thereabout since *Christ*: in as much as allowing for every pound twelve ounces, in reason should men in *Galens* time bee ordinarily twelve times as strong as now they are; & their length answer in proportion to their strength: & then allowing the like proportionable decrease before *Galen* since the creation, we must conceive them in the beginning of the world to have beene mountaines rather then men, and measure them by miles, not by feete. For decision then of this point, wee must have recourse to *Galen* himselfe, who in that booke which hee purposely composed *of cures by letting of bloud*, thus writes: *Memini quibusdam ad sex usque libras sanguinem detractum fuisse, ita ut febris extingueretur*: I remember that from some I have drawne six pounds of bloud, which had ridde them of their fever: yet from others hee tooke but a *pound and a halfe*, or *one* Cap. 14.

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pounde, and ſometimes leſſe, as he ſaw occaſion: neither in old time, nor in theſe preſent times was the quantitie ever definite or certaine, but both then and now variable more or leſſe according to *ſtrength*, the *diſ-*
De methodo medendi l. 9. c. 4. *eaſe*, *age*, or other *indications*; and in *peſtilent fevers*, his adviſe is, *ubi valida virtus ſubeſt, & ætas permittit, uſque ad animæ defectum ſanguinem mittere expedit*: where the ſtrength and age of the patient will beare it, it will doe well to take bloud even to a fainting or ſounding; and ſuch was the caſe (as by his owne words it appeares) in which hee drew ſo great a
Lib. 9. cap. 14. quantity: Neither is this without example in our age; *Ambroſe Par* a *French* Surgeon, (and a man expert in his profeſſion, as his bookes ſhew) reports, that hee drew from a patient of his in *foure dayes*, *twenty ſeaven pallets*, every *pallet* of *Paris* containing *three ounces* and more, ſo that hee drew from him about *ſeaven pounds*, allowing *twelve ounces* to the *pound*, which was the account that *Galen* followed, as appeares in his owne Treatiſe *of weights and meaſures*; and ſo continues it in uſe among *Phyſitians* and *Apothecaries* unto this day. Dr *Deodate*, a *French Phyſitian* living in *London*, as I have beene told by a noble friend of mine, who received it from his owne mouth, and doubted not (if it were deſired) to get it under his hand, that at three ſeverall times hee drew from a patient of his within the compaſſe of 24 houres, 21 ounces at a time, 63 in the whole, and yet the ſicke partie from whom it was drawne thereupon recovered.

Since this page paſſed the preſſe, there came to mine hands a letter of Doctour *Deodates* to my much honoured friend Sir *Richard Anderſon*, wherein under his hand hee avowes for the ſubſtance thereof, that relation which in that page is by mee reported of a memorable *Phlebotomie* made by him: the different circumſtances are, that I in my booke ſpeake of 63 ounces of bloud drawne from the ſame man within the compaſſe of 24 houres, whereas hee in the letter mentions onely above 60 drawne within the compaſſe of three dayes: but by two other circumſtances hee much helpes my relation, the one that the partie from whom he drew it, was then of the age of 76 yeares, the other that hee ſurvived the cure eight yeares; and that the whole buſineſſe may the more lively appeare in its owne colour, I will hereunto annexe the letter it ſelfe, the rather for that I hold it to bee an evidence worth the preſerving.

To the Right Worſhipfull Sir *Richard Anderſon*, Knight at *Pendly*.

SIR,

TO ſatisfie your requeſt (which ſhall ever bee to me a ſtrict command) I ſend you in theſe few rude lines the particulars of that profuſe and very ſeldome imitable (though in that particular ſubject beyond meaſure ſucceſſefull) Phlebotomie. *About* 20 *yeares a goe I had a houſe at* Brainford *by reaſon of my attendance upon Prince* Henry *and the now Queene of* Bohemia. *It hapned that a poore neighbour of mine, a Gardener by his trade, called Goodman* Treſtram, *an old man of* 76 *yeares, of a ruddie and ſanguine complexion fell into a moſt violent inflammation of the lunges, accompanied with a terrible*

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a terrible feaver, ſhortneſſe of breath, ſtitch of both his ſides, a dry cough, and an unquenchable thirſt. He requiring my aſſiſtance, I did viſite him; and findeing him in a moſt deſperate caſe, I reſolved to trie what helpe our arte could affoord to reſcue him from the clawes of death, and after a ſerious conſideration, I concluded that a plentifull Phlebotomie *was the only though very doubtfull remedy of his diſeaſe, being thereunto incouraged by the extraordinary fulneſſe and ſtrength of his pulſe. Whereupon I ſent for a Surgion, and cauſed him to let him bloud about 20 ounces: by which evacuation (his bloud being extreamely purified) he felt a great reliefe for two or three houres: but afterwards all his accidents came upon him againe as inſtant as before: ſo that the next morning I was induced to repeate the bleeding in the ſame quantitie as before, whereby hee found a great but a momentarie eaſe, for his paines and all other accidents did,* recurrere pari quâ priùs violentia. *The third day viſiting him I was amazed to ſee the unquenchablenes of this fire: yet remembring* Hippocrates *precepts in theſe caſes,* mittendum eſſe ſanguinem ad coloris mutationem. *I ventured the third* Phlebotomie *as copious as the two former: towards the latter end of the which, he ſaid he found an extraordinary lightſomenes and eaſe more then he had felt before: whereupon I ſtopped, and after his bloud was ſetled I found 9 ſawcers very bad, but the laſt faire and pure, which gave me hope of his recovery, which hapned within few dayes after: and hee ſurvived this cure 8 yeares. Thus to obey you I have ſcribled this paper, wherein I wiſh I might lively repreſent unto you both my inward apprehenſion of your tranſcendent favours to me and mine, as alſo my fervent deſire to witneſſe my ſelfe in all occaſions*

Your inviolably devoted ſervant

30 *Sept.* 1629.

Theod. Deodat.

The whole quantity of bloud in a mans body of a ſound conſtitution and middle ſtature, was anciently eſtimated, and ſo is ſtill at about *three gallons*: and I have beene informed by a Doctour of *Phyſicke* of good credit and eminent place in this *Univerſity*, that a patient of his had bled a *gallon* at noſe in one day, and hath done well after it; which (as I conceive) could not bee ſo little as *ſeaven* or *eight pounds*, allowing ſomewhat leſſe then a *pound* to a *pinte*, in as much as I have found a *pinte* of water to weigh *ſixteene ounces*. Now what *Nature* hath done with tollerance of life, *Art* may come neare unto upon juſt cauſe without danger. And if any deſire to bee farther informed in this point, he need goe no farther then the *Medicinall obſervations* of *Iohannes Shenkius*, *de capite Humano*, where to his 333 *obſervation* hee prefixes this title, *Prodigioſæ nariũm hæmorragiæ, quæ interdum* 18, *interdum* 20, *nonnunquam etiam* 40 *ſanguinis libras profluxere.* Prodigious bleeding at the noſe, in which ſometimes 18, ſometimes 20, ſometimes 40 pounds of bloud have iſſued. The Authours from whom he borroweth his obſervations, are *Matheus de Gradi*, in his commentaries upon the 35 chapter of *Raſis ad Almanſ. Braſavolus comment. ad Aphor.* 32. *lib.* 5. *Donatus lib. de variolis & morbillis cap.* 23. *Luſitanus Curat.* 100. *Cent.* 2. And

D. C.

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againe *Curat.* 60. *Cent.* 7. his instances are of a *Nunne*, who voided by diverse passages 18 pounds of bloud, of *Diana* a noble Lady of *Est*, who bled onely at the nostrils 18 pounds, besides what was spilt on the ground; upon her apparell, in napkins and other linnens about her; of one *Andrew*, Cooke to *Fredericke Gonzaga* Cardinall, who bled in *one day* and *two nights* 20 pounds. And lastly of a young man named *Berdavid*, from whom there issued at the nose within the space of *six dayes* 40 pounds, and yet they all lived after it, and did well, *penes Authores fides esto*. For conclusion, *Pasquier* in an Epistle of his to *Turnebus*, Counsellour in the Court Parliament of *Paris* hath observed, that letting of bloud is more frequent now then in former times: and withall that whereas the ancients held the opening of a veine before 14 to be rather hurtfull then helpefull, it is now usually practised by the Physitians of this age, and that nation, and that with good successe.

SECT. 7.

That the custome of women in delivering over their children to be nursed by others is not new; together with a censure of Fredericus Lumnius *touching the supposititious decrease of the number of the teeth.*

I Have often heard not onely the vulgar but learned and wise men grievously complayning, that in these later ages of the world the greatest part of women put forth their children to be nursed by others; and that from thence the frequent infirmities of mens bodies now adayes arise, together with a shortning of their age, and a diminution in their stature. Neither indeed can it well bee denied, but that the milke which the infant draweth, is very forcible to the constitution and temper of the bodie, either for the weakning or better enabling thereof; as may appeare by those verses of *Virgill.*

Æneid. 3. *Nec te diva parens generis nec Dardanus Author*
Perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanaque admorunt ubera Tygres.

But that this custome, that mothers should as it were abandon their children, that they might be nourished from the breasts of others lately crept into the world, this I deny, sithence S. *Chrysostome* long agoe complained of this negligence, or curiosity, or pride, or luxurie, even of the *Christian* women of his time, *Homil.* 1. *in Psal.* 50. *Considera* (saith he) *pauperem incentiva pietatis habere fulcimina, in divitibus autem multam superbiam; apud pauperes uxor & ancilla & ministra est, & procreat liberos & ipsa mater & nutrix est, apud divites autem non est ita, sed cum generaverit filium statim eum tradit foris & pietatis insignia abscindit superbia, erubescit fieri nutrix quæ facta est mater*: And in another place, *Homil.* 83. *in Math.* *Matres multæ sunt quæ post partus dolores filios alijs tradunt nutricibus, hoc autem ipse non est passus, sed nos proprio sanguine pascit.* This was likewise the complaint of S. *Gregory* in his time, *Lib.* 12. *Epist.* 31. *Prava autem in conjugatorum moribus consuetudo surrexit, & mulieres filios quos gignunt nutrire contemnant, eosque alijs mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant, quod videlicet ex sola causa incontinentiæ videtur inventum.*

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The ſame likewiſe appeares from the diſſertation of *Phavorinus* the *Philoſopher*, recorded by *Gellius*, in which he endeavoureth to perſwade a noble woman not to put her children abroade to nurſing, but to feed them with her owne milke; which diſcourſe, becauſe it is both peircing and elegant, & doth not only ſhew the vicious cuſtomes of thoſe times in this point, but withall containes weighty reaſons for the ſtirring up of mothers, even of noble birth, that they ſhould nouriſh their children with their owne milke, and cheriſh them in their owne armes; I will relate it in the words of *Gellius* himſelfe, being both an eye and an eare-witneſſe: It was once told *Phavorinus* the Philoſopher in my preſence, that the wife of an auditor and ſchollar of his was lately brought a bed with a ſonne. Let us goe ſaith hee, both to viſite the mother in child-bed, and to congratulate the father; for he was by place a Senatour of a more noble family. Wee goe together, and having followed him to the houſe, we entred with him. Then having embraced and congratulated the *Senatour* he ſits downe, and having enquired the time and tediouſneſſe of the young womans travell, hee perceived that ſhee being wearied with her labour and watching was aſleepe; whereupon he enters into longer diſcourſe. And I nothing doubt ſaith he, but ſhe will nurſe her ſonne with her owne milke; but when the mother of the young woman ſaid that, ſhee was to be pardoned for that, and nurſes were to bee gotten for the child, leaſt the painefull office of nurſing ſhould adde to the paines ſhe had endured in child-bearing; I pray you woman, ſaith he, let her be the whole & ſole mother of her ſonne; for what is this unnaturall and imperfect & halfe kinde of mother, to have brought forth a childe, and to caſt it away from her? with her bloud to have nouriſhed in her wombe I know not what, which ſhe ſaw not: and now not to nouriſh with her milke that which ſhe ſees to be a man, and imploring the duties of a mother? And do you alſo thinke, ſaith he, that Nature hath given women their ſwelling paps as ſo many more beautifull warts, not for the nouriſhing of children, but for the adorning of the breaſt? for ſo (which indeed is farre from you) many prodigious women endeavour to dry and damme up that moſt ſacred fountaine of the body and feeder of mankinde, and endanger their children with contrary and corrupt milke, as if it would diſpoile them of the enſignes of beauty: Which indeed they doe with the ſame folly, as that whereby they uſe certaine counterfeit ſleights to abortiate the fruit conceived in the body, that the ſmoothnes of their belly bee not wrinkled, and enfeebled with the weight of the burthen and the labour of childbirth. Which thing, deſerving all hate and deteſtation, that a man in his very originall, whiles hee is framed, whiles he is enlived, ſhould be put to death under the very hands, and in the ſhop of nature: doth not much differ from this, that a child now perfect and borne ſhould bee deprived of the nouriſhment of that bloud which is proper to him, and begotten with him. But it is no matter (for ſo 'tis ſaid) if the childe bee nouriſhed and lives, by whoſe milke it bee done: why then doth hee who ſo ſayes, if hee bee ſo dull in underſtanding the ſenſe of nature, not alſo thinke that it matters not in whoſe body, in

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whose bloud a man bee made and nourished. Is it not the same bloud which is now in the breasts that was before in the wombe, though by reason of much spirit and heate it be turned white? Is not also the art of Nature evident in this, that after the bloud that artificer hath in his inner roomes framed the whole body of man, the time of birth drawing on, it brings forth it selfe into the upper parts, and is at hand to cherish the beginnings of life and light, and offers to the newly borne a knowne and familiar diet, Wherefore it is not vainely thought, that as the vertue and nature of the seede is prevalent to the framing of likenesse in body and minde: so the disposition and propertie of the milke prevailes much in the same matter. Nor is that observed onely in men, but also in beasts: for if *Kids* should bee fed with the milke of *Sheepe*, or *Lambes* with the milke of *Goates*, it is manifest that for the most part that there will bee a harder wooll on the one, and a softer haire on the other. In trees likewise and fruites, the water and soyle which feede them have a greater force and power to diminish or improve their naturall disposition, then the seed it selfe which bred them. and you may often observe that a faire and flourishing tree, being transplanted into another place, by reason of the juyce of a worser soyle hath dyed away. What then (with a mischiefe) is the reason that you will taint the nobility of the childe now borne, and his body & minde kindly begun with his imbred originalls, by the borrowed and base nourishment of anothers milke, especially if shee whom you entertaine to give it milke bee either a slave, or slavish, and (as is usuall) of a forraigne and barbarous nation; if shee be wicked, if deformed, if dishonest or sottish: for oftentimes without difference, whosoever at that time gives milke shee is taken. Shall wee then suffer this our infant to to be infected with a pernicious contagion? and to draw a spirit into his body and minde, from a most naughty body and minde? This indeede is the very thing wee so wonder at, that many children borne of chaste women, doe neither resemble their parents in body or minde.

And moreover, this may not be neglected and sleighted, that those who forsake and banish their children from their owne breasts, giving them to be nursed by others, do cut asunder, at leastwise doe weaken & weare out that tie and bond wherewith nature hath knit parents and children together; for when the infant is removed from the mothers eye, that fervor of motherly affection doth by degrees abate, & taking no care for her child, it growes cold; and a son thus left to be nursed by another, is almost as much forgotten as if he had bin lost by death. Also the affection of the infant it self is taken up with her alone by whom he is nourished, so that (as we se in those who are exposed) it little affects or regards the mother that begat it: And therefore the Elements of native piety being thus razed and blotted out, the love which children thus brought up, seeme to beare to their father & mother, is not for the most part naturall, but civill and supposed. These things I heard *Phavorinus* deliver in the *Greeke* tongue; whose sentences, as far as I could remember, for the commō good I have here related, but the flowres & flowing plenty of his words can hardly bee expressed by the *Latine* eloquence, at no hand by my simplenes.

Since

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Since the writing hereof, I met with one *Iohannes Fredericus Lumnius, a Netherlander, de extremo Dei judicio & Indorum vocatione*, who *lib 2. cap 19.* indeavouring to prove the vicinity of the last judgement by the worlds decay, makes this maine argument thereof: *Constat* (saith hee) *illos qui supra annos viginti prodierunt in lucem non pauciores habuisse dentes quam 32, cum jam in eis qui infra decennium nati sunt non nisi 20 aut 24 inveniantur.* A bold assertion of a grave Diuine that mankinde should so speedily decrease as in the cõpasse of tenne yeares to loose 12 or 8 teeth of 32; and his booke being printed in the yeare 1567, had the like measure of decay gonne on in proportion since that time, no man long before this day should have had a tooth left in his head to chew his meate. But I wonder he durst publish that to the world which daily experience and the writings of moderne *Anatomists* so evidently convince of falshoode; and in truth I thinke there cannot lightly a better argument bee brought for the confirmation of the contrary opinion against himselfe in that point, inasmuch as according to *Hippocrates*, *longævi plurimos dentes habent*; and *Aristotle, quibus pauciores & rariores hi brevioris sunt vitæ*: so that the full number being a signe of longevity, and that of naturall strength, if it appeare (as undoubtedly it doth) that men now adaies have ordinarily the same number of teeth which anciently they had; then must it consequently follow, that likewise ordinarily they are as strong and long-lived as anciently they were: yet herein are we beholding to the same *Author* that what he takes from the age & strength of men, hee addes to their witts: *sed quod humanorum corporum decedit conditionibus, hoc ingenijs accedit, quod de membrorum robore perit; hoc accumulatur intellectus acumine & sagacitate.* That which is lost in the strength of there bodies, is supplied in the quickneſse and sharpeneſse of there intellectuall powers.

SECT. 8.

A third doubt cleared touching the length of the Duodenum *or first gut, as also of the severall opinions of* Iacobus Capellus, *and* Iohannes Temporarius, *touching the decrease of humane strength and stature.*

ANother *doubt* tending to the same end, I received from an other Doctour of *Physicke* of speciall note, & of mine ancient acquaintance, well knowne in *London* for his sufficiencie in his professiõ, and from him likewise I must acknowledge the best part of the *answere* which I shall frame thereunto. The objectiõ, because, of any I have met with, it is most fully opened & seriously urged by *Archangelus Piccolhomini* in his *Anatomicall Lectures*, I will expresse in his words, where speaking of the *first gut*, he thus goes on, *Dicitur etiam Græcis dodecadactylos, nobis duodenum, quod duodecem digitos longum illis temporibus videretur: nam his nostris temporibus vix 9 digitorum apices æquat, fortasse quod hâc nostrâ ætate homines minores, illis sæculis grandiores essent, idcirco longiora membra proportione respondentia. Dicitur quoq; pyloros, id est janitor portonarius, translato nomine inferioris orificij ventriculi ad superiorem duodeni par-* D.B. Lib. 2. lect. 11.

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tem quæ ex eo proximè enaſcitur. It is called of the *Grecians dodecadactylos*, and of us *duodenum*, becauſe it ſeemes in thoſe times to have beene 12 inches long, whereas in this age it hardly equals the toppes of nine fingers, perchance becauſe now adayes men being leſſe, and then bigger, they had likewiſe bigger parts of the body anſwerable thereunto. It is alſo called *pyloros* or the *porter*, which name is borrowed from the nether orifice of the ſtomake, and applyed to the higher part of the *duodenum* which groweth out of it; Thus he. Where what he meanes by the *apices* or toppes of nine fingers, I doe not well apprehend, but *Riolanus* I am ſure in his 2 booke and 12 Chapter of his *Anthropographia* tells us plainly, that *ab Herophylo duodenum dicitur quoniam olim duodecem tranſverſos digitos longum erat, ubi hodie vix quatuor digitos æquat.* It was by *Herophilus* called *duodenum* becauſe anciently it was 12 *inches* long, whereas now it is ſcarce *full foure*. How long ſince this *Herophilus* lived I cannot certainely determine, nor well conjecture, his name I finde not in *Geſners Bibliotheca*, indeede *Tertullian* in his booke *de anima* mentioneth him, and ſo doth *Pliny*, by which it appeares that he lived before them; but how long it appeares not; ſuppoſe it to bee 5, 6, or 8 hundred yeares (which is as much as in reaſon can well bee demanded) and upon that ſuppoſition allow him to have lived two thouſand yeares agoe, which being granted, and withall that all the other parts of mans body are decayed proportionably to the *duodenum*, (which *Piccolomini* himſelfe confeſſeth, and thereof I thinke no wiſe or learned man will once offer to make any doubt) this I ſay being granted, it muſt of neceſſity follow that in the ſpace of 2000 yeares, *two thirds* of humane ſtature are loſt, for that is the proportion of 4 to 12; ſo as if men now bee five foote high, they were then 15, and 2000 yeares before that againe (if wee ſhall allow the like proportion of decreaſe to the like ſpace of time) 45 foot high, and ſo upward, which how unreaſonable it is to affirme or conceive, I leave to the Authors and Patrons of that fancie to imagine. Againe I would willingly know whether in *Herophilus* time the *inch* were the ſame with ours or no, if ſo, then belike there is no ſuch notorious diminution in ſtature as from him is collected, and if it be varied according to the diminution of ſtature, then ſhould our *duodenum* be aſwell 12 of our inches now, as was their *duodenum* 12 of their inches then, for to ſay that theirs was 12 of their inches & ours but 4 of our inches, is both an irregular compariſon, & a matter altogether *incredible*. And I wonder that *Gallen* or *Hippocrates*, or ſome other of thoſe ancient Phyſitians had not found the variation thereof in their time in regard of former ages, aſwell as wee in ours in regard of theirs; or that finding it, they have left no record or mention of ſo notable an obſervation in any of their writings, which me thinks is a ſtrong preſumption that indeede either in their practiſe or reading they obſerved no ſuch matter. But to make a plaine and full anſwere to this objection, we neede go no farther then that of *Riolanus* immediatly annexed to the paſſage before alleadged. *Nec menſuram antiquam deprehendes niſi graciliorem & anguſtiorem ventriculi partem à fundo infernè exporrectam, uſque ad anfractuum principium addideris, quam ſæpè 12. digitos æquare vidi.*

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vidi. Neither shall you finde the ancient measure, unlesse you adde to the *duodenum* the lower and narrower part of the stomacke, and extend it to that place where the guts begin their pleats and windings, and this have I often seene to equall 12 inches: out of which words I make mine answere thus, that if we take *duodenum* strictly, only for so much as is from the lowest orifice of the stomake to the winding guts, then I say it is scantly *foure inches* long, but if we take in that thinner part and end of the ventricle which the *Greekes* call *pyloros*, and the Latines from thence *janitor* or *portonarius* the porter, then by *Riolans* observation it hath, and no doubt may be found fully as long as the ancient measure. Now that the *pyloros* hath beene by ancient Writers taken into the *duodenum*, and accounted as one with it, not only *Riolan* in the place before alleadged, and *Laurentius lib. 6. cap.* 13. but *Piccolhomini* himselfe confesseth in the latter part of the passage already quoted, and *Leonardus Fuchsius* in the third booke and 1 chapter of his *Paradoxes* brings to that purpose, *Celsus lib. 4. cap.* 1. *Avicen fen. 6. can 3. tract.* 1. *cap.* 1. *Valescus* 4. 22. *Iohannes Matthæus de Gradi* in his Commentaries upon the ninth booke of *Rasis cap.* 11: and lastly *Alexander Benedictus* in his second booke of *Anatomie* chap. 8. and though he there make *Galen* to speake in a different language, yet are *Riolan* and others of another opinion therein.

Whiles this part was even upon going to the Presse, there came to mine hands two bookes written by two learned *Frenchmen*, *Iacobus Capellus* and *Iohannes Temporarius*, the one intituled *de mensuris*, the other *Chronologica demonstrationes*, in both which the point in hand is touched to the quicke: The former, *Capellus* I meane, in his very preface sharpely censures the Poets, *Homer*, & *Virgill*, & *Iuvenall* for their *hyperbolicall amplifications*, in speaking of the enormous stature of the Ancients, and so doth he *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *S. Augustine*, and *Ludovicus Vives* for following them therein, and then alleadging that passage of *Iulius Scaligers*, where he affirmes that the *Samogithians*, a people seated betwixt *Prussia* & *Livonia*, by turnes beget *dwarfes* & *gyants*, hee grantes that this *vicissitude*, though not in that degree, yet in some sort may be observed in *all nations*: yet this man after all this flourish tells us, that it cannot bee but some kinde of truth there should be in those complaints of the *Poets*, & that the world waxes old, though not in *post-hast* as they would have it: yet *sensim & sine sensu*, as he tearmes it, soft and faire, by degrees insensible. The only reason hee buildes upon being this, that the *Measures* of all Nations being proportioned as hee imagineth) to their *statures*, and withall that as the Nations rise in *antiquity* one above another, so doe their *measures*: from whence he inferres, that as the measures of the Ancients were longer, so were likewise their statures. Wherein he manifestly crosseth both himselfe, and as many as I have read of that subject, either occasionally or of set purpose: for himselfe he freely acknowledgeth in another place of the same discourse, that both the present *Parisian* foote in *France* and the *Picen* in *Italy* are bigger then the Ancient *Romane*; for the latter of which, he both vouches and well approves the testimony of *Cardan de subtil*: *lib.* 11: *Adducor authoritate*

ritate ſcribentium olim de re militari qui tyronum mediocrem magnitudinem quinque pedum eſſe ſtatuerunt, ut quarta parte pes antiquus menſurâ pedis noſtri minor ſit. I am induced by the authority of thoſe who writing of military matters, ſet downe five foote for the ordinary ſtature of a common ſouldier, to beleeve that the ancient foote was by meaſure a quarter leſſe then ours. Againe himſelfe confeſſeth (neither without manifeſt folly can it bee denied) that ſome nations in regard of their Clymate much exceed others in *ſtature*, as for the moſt part do the *Weſterne*, the *Eaſterne*, & the *Northerne*, the *Southerne*; ſo as if his compariſon had beene made betwixt the *ancient* and *moderne meaſures* of the ſame nation, it might well have carried at leaſtwiſe ſome ſemblance of truth, but to make it betwixt different nations though in different ages as he doth, carries with it in my judgment no colour at all: Laſtly, he holds not the like decreaſe in *age*, & *wits*, & *manners*, that he doth in *ſtature*, nor in the *heavens*, the *earth*, the *beaſts*, the *plants*, that he doth in *men*; which though it ſtand with his purpoſe; yet how it can ſtand with the *courſe* of *nature*, for mine owne part I cannot imagine, as neither can I conceive how there ſhould bee any ſuch *alternative viciſſitude* of ſtature in all nations as hee holds, and yet withall an univerſall and perpetuall decreaſe: all whichhimſelfe it ſeemes foreſeeing modeſtly, concludes the point: *Nos igitur hæc ea potius mente in medium adduximus, ut hæc verè nobilis quæſtio ab eruditis viris luculentiùs & accuratiùs pertractetur, quàm quod veluti de inventa veritate gloriemur & nobis ipſi ſuffeni ſimus:* We then have produced theſe thinges to this purpoſe, that this queſtion truly noble, may by learned men bee more clearly and exactly handled, not that I would glory in the finding out of a truth, or as if I were only pleaſed with mine owne conceite. Now for *Iohannes Temporarius* hee doth not mince the matter as *Capellus*, but in his *Chronologicall demonſtrations Anno mundi* 410, and fourth Chapter, ſtrikes downe-right blowes, telling us roundly and plainely that *nothing is altered in the ſtature of man ſince the Creation*, & that *eadem eſt hominum & primi ſeculi & inſecutorum magnitudo*, that the ſtature of the men of the firſt age and thoſe which afterward enſued is the ſame: and that as there were *Gyants* then, ſo have there ſince beene in *all ages* downeward, and ſome every way as tall, if not taller then they: and afterward diſcourſing of the *Arke* and the capability thereof out of *Buteo* (though indeed hee name him not) hee makes *Moſes* his *cubit* to bee the ſame with ours, and the *beaſts* then to be of the ſame bigneſſe as now they are, & to ſpend no more *quantity* of *foode* then now they doe, herein likewiſe treading in *Buteo* his ſteps, though in ſome other things touching the fabricke of the *Arke* hee diſſent from him.

SECT. 9.

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SECT. 9.

Another rubbe removed, taken from the imparity of the ſeede, contracted by the ſucceſsion of propagation, as alſo touching ſome late memorable examples of parents famouſly fertile, in the linage iſſuing from their bodies, beyond any examples in that kinde in former ages.

THE laſt, but in the opinion of many not the leaſt rubbe to bee removed, is drawne from the *imparity* of the ſeede, contracted by the ſucceſſion of *propagation*, from whence there muſt needes in reaſon ſucceede, as a diminution in the continuance and duration, ſo likewiſe an impairing both in the ſtrength and ſtature of *mankinde*. This argument I finde thus expreſſed in a treatiſe publiſhed in Mr *Cuffs* name, 'and intitled, *The difference of the ages of mans life*; As is *nutrition*, ſaith 'he, to the particular, ſo is generation to the *ſpecies*, in the caſe of their 'continuance and preſervation: Wherefore as by the nouriſhment wee 'take for our naturall moiſture, there being ſupplied not ſo pure humi-'ditie as was loſt, the particulars decaying by little and little, are at laſt 'cleane conſumed: ſo by *procreation*, (the maintenance of our *ſpecies*) 'the purity of our complexion being by degrees & time diminiſhed, at 'length there followes even of neceſſity an abſolute corruption: but for 'anſwere hereunto, though it be granted that *generation* be as requiſite 'to the continuance of the *ſpecies*, as is *nutrition* for the preſervation of 'the particular, & withall that our foode doth not ſo kindely and fully ſupply our *radicall moiſture*, which is daily waſted by our vitall heate feeding upon, it whence finally enſueth the *Individualls* extinguiſhing: Yet that every *Individuall* ſhould neceſſarily yeeld weaker and worſer ſeede for the propagation of the *ſpecies* then it ſelfe was generated of, that I conſtantly beleeve can never be proved: Nay the contrary thereunto is manifeſted by daily experience, in as much as we often ſee feeble and ſickely parents to beget ſtrong & healthy, ſhort to beget tall, & ſuch as have dyed young, long lived children: And undoubtedly if this were ſo indeede as is pretended, *mankinde* had long ſince bin utterly extinguiſhed, and with it had this controverſie bin at an end, and not only *mankinde*, but the ſeverall kindes of *fowles*, and *fiſhes*, and *beaſts*, & *plants*, ſince they are all maintained by their ſeed as man is, whoſe decay notwithſtanding is queſtioned but by few.

Before I conclude this diſcourſe touching the compariſon of the ſtrength of the *Ancients* with ours, it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember a *moderne* example or two of *Parents* famouſly fertile in the *linage* iſſued from their bodies, ſuch as I doe not remember any where to bee *paralelled* by *antiquity*. *Aventinus* reports of *Babo Earle* of *Abenſperg* who by 2 wives had 32 ſonnes and 8 daughters whom hee brought up in an honourable faſhion leaving them all living at his death. This man being commanded by the *Emperour Hen.* 2. to wayte on him in hunting and to bring few ſervants with him; hee taking the occaſion to recommend his family to ſo great a *Prince*, brings all his ſonnes with him being *Annal: Bojor: lib. 5.*

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growne up to mans eſtate and being all proper perſonages. With this troope hee preſents himſelfe to the *Emperour* who wondring at him & muttering at the multitude hee brought with him, *Babo* thus beſpeaks him; Moſt ſacred *Cæſar*, I am come only with one ſervant, the reſt moſt excellent *Prince*, are your ſervants my ſonnes, whome here I preſent to your Majeſty and freely beſtow upon you, as an ornament in peace, and in warre a ſafegard, I have trained them up with great care, as becomes their noble birth: they are towardly young men, & I truſt in God they will ſhew themſelves worthy of your ſervice and profitable to the ſtate. This preſent was to the *Emperour* moſt acceptable, admitting them all to the kiſſing of his hand hee afterwards advanced them to offices, and enriched them with land; from whoſe iſſue good Authors write that many noble families in *Germany* are deſcended.

Mr *Camden* aſſures us that not long ſince in *Richmondſhire*, Sr *Chriſtopher Medcalfe* being high Sherriffe of that County, came to the *Aſsiſes* then held at Yorke wayted on with 300 horſemen of his owne name and kinred, and all attyred in a ſuiteable manner. In the memory of our Fathers, ſaith *Vives* in his commentary upon the eight chapter of the fifteenth booke of the *City of God*, there was ſeene a village in *Spaine* of about an hundred houſes, whereof all the inhabitants were iſſued from one certaine old man who then lived, when as that village was ſo peopled, ſo as the name of propinquity how the youngeſt of the children ſhould call him could not be given: *Lingua enim noſtra ſupra Abavum non aſcendit*: For our language, ſaith hee meaning the *Spaniſh*, affords not a name above the *great Grandfathers father*. Likewiſe in S. *Innocents Church-yard*, in the city of *Paris*, is to bee ſeene the *Epitaph* of *Yolland Baily*, widow to Mr *Dennis Capell*, a Proctour at the *Chaſtellet*, which doth ſhew that ſhe had lived *eighty foure* yeares, and might have ſeene 288 of her children and childrens children; ſhee died the 17 of *Aprill* 1514. Now imagine ſaith *Paſquier*, how much ſhee had beene troubled to call them by a proper denomination that were diſtant from her in the fourth and fifth degree. *Theodore Zwinger* a Phyſitian of *Baſill*, in the third volume of the *Theatre* of *mans life*, recites a noble Lady, of the family of the *Dalburgs*, who ſaw of her race even to the ſixth degree, whereof the *Germans* have made this diſtich.

Lib. 6. c. 46.

Lib. 11

Mater ait natæ dic natæ filia, natam
Vt moneat natæ plangere filiolam.

That is to ſay, The mother ſaid to her daughter, daughter bid thy daughter tell her daughter that her daughters daughter cries. To which forraine examples, one, and that moſt remakeable, may bee added of our owne Countrey. In *Markeſhall* Church in *Eſſex* on Mrs *Honywoods* tombe is this inſcription. Heere lieth the body of *Marie Waters*, the daughter and Coheire of *Robert Waters* of *Lenham* in *Kent* Eſquire, wife of *Robert Honywood* of *Charing* in *Kent* Eſquier, her only huſband; who had at her deceaſe lawfully deſcended from her 367 children, 16 of her owne body, 114 grand-children, 228 in the third generation

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generation, and nine in the fourth; shee lived a most pious life, and in a Christian manner died, heere at Markeshall, in the 93 yeare of her age, and in the 44 of her widdowhood. 11th of may. 1620.

The more I wonder at *Pliny* that he should report it as a wonder and worthy the *Cronicle*, that *Chrispinus Hilarus prælata pompa*, with open ostentation sacrificed in the *Capitoll*, 74 of his children and childrens children, attending on him. Now some others there are as namely *Huartes* the author of the *Tryall of wits*, who would beare us in hand that more twinns and male children were borne in the first age of the world then now there are; whereas the contrary by evidence of scripture doth rather appeare: neither can I call to minde any example in all antiquity parallel to that of a woman buried in the Church at *Dunstable*, who (as her *epitaph* testifies) bore at three severall times, 3 children at a birth, and five at a birth two other times. And so I passe from the consideration and comparison of the stature and strength of mens bodies, to that of their mindes, consisting in the more noble faculties of the reasonable soule, and the beautifull effects thereof.

Lib. 7. c. 13.

Cap. 15.

CHAP. 6.

Containing a discourse in generall, that there is no such universall and perpetuall decay in the powers of the minde, or in the Arts and Sciences as is pretended.

SECT. 1.

The excellency of the Ancients in the powers of the minde, compared with those of the present, as also their helpes and hinderances in matter of learning, ballanced.

SInce it is a received *conclusion* of the choisest, both *Divines* & *Philosophers*, that the *reasonable soule* of man is not conveied unto him from his *Parents*, but *infused* immediatly by the hand of the *Creator*; & withall, that the *soules* of all men at their first *Creation* & infusion, are equall & perfect alike, endued with the same essence & abilities; it must needes bee, that the inequality & disparaty of actions, which they produce, arise from the diverse temper of the matter which they informe, and by which, as by an instrument they worke. Now the matter being tempered by the disposition of the bodies of our parents, the influence of the heaven, the quality of the elements, diet, exercise, and the like; it remaines, that as there is a variety & vicissitude of these in regard of goodnes, so is there likewise in the temper of the matter whereof we consist, and the actions which by it our soules produce: Yea where both the agents and instruments are alike, yet by the diversity of education or industry, their workes are many times infinitely diversified.

The principall faculties of the soule, are *imagination*, *judgement*, and *memory*. One of the most famous for memory among the Ancients, to my remembrance, was *Seneca* the Father, who reports of himselfe, that

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Proœmio. lib. 1. Controverſ. he could repeate *two thouſand names*, or *two hundred verſes*, brought to his Maſter by his Schoole-fellowes backeward and forward: But that which *Muretus* reports of a young man of *Corſica*, a ſtudent in the Ci-

Variarum Lectionum. lib. 3. vill Law, whom himſelfe ſaw at *Padua*, farre exceedes it; he could, ſaith he recite thirty ſix thouſand names in the ſame order as they were delivered, without any ſtay or ſtaggering, as readily, as if hee had read them out of a booke: His concluſion is, *Huic ego ne ex antiquitate quidem quem opponam habeo, niſi forte Cyrum quem Plinius, Quintilianus, & alij Latini Scriptores tradiderunt tenuiſſe omnium militum nomina.* I finde none among the *Ancients*, whom I may ſet againſt him, unleſſe *Cyrus* perchance, whom *Pliny*, *Quintilian*, and other Latine writers, report to have remembred the names of all his ſouldiers, which yet *Muretus* himſelfe doubts was miſtaken of them: *Zenophon*, of whom onely or principally they could learne it, affirming onely that hee remembred the names τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων, of his Captaines or cheife commanders. And *Æneas Sylvius* in his hiſtory of the *Councell* of *Baſill* (at which himſelfe was preſent) tells us of one *Ludovicus Pontanus* of *Spoleto*, a Lawyer likewiſe by profeſſion, (who dyed of the Peſtilence at that Councell, at thirty yeares of age) that he could recite not the titles onely, but the *intire bodies* of the Lawes, being for vaſtnes and faſtnes of memory, *nemini Antiquorum inferior*, *as hee ſpeakes*, nothing inferiour to any of the *Ancients*. It is to this purpoſe very memorable, which *Famianus Strada*, in the firſt booke of his *Academicall Proluſions*, relates of *Francis Suarez*, who hath, ſaith hee, ſo ſtrong a memory, that he hath S. *Auguſtine* (the moſt copious & various of the Fathers) readie by heart, alleadging every where (as occaſion preſents it ſelfe) fully & faithfully, his ſentences, and which is very ſtrange, his very wordes; nay if he be demanded any thing touching any paſſages in any of his volumes (which of themſelves are almoſt enough to fill a Librarie,) *Statim quo loco, quaque pagina diſſeruerit, ea ſuper re expeditè docentem ac digito commonſtrantem ſæpè vidimus*; I my ſelfe have often ſeene him inſtantly ſhewing and pointing with his finger, to the place and page in which he diſputed of that matter; This is I confeſſe the teſtimony of one *Ieſuite*, touching another. But of Dr *Rainolds*, it is moſt certaine that hee excelled this way, to the aſtoniſhment of all that were inwardly acquainted with him, not only for S. *Auguſtines* workes, but almoſt all *Claſſike* Authours: ſo as in this reſpect it might truely bee ſaid of him, which hath beene applyed to ſome others, that hee was a *living librarie*, or *third univerſity*: I have heard it very crediblely reported, that upon occaſion of ſome writings, which paſſed to and fro, betwixt him & *Doctour Gentilis*, then our Profeſſour in the *Civill Lawes*, he publiquely profeſſed, that he thought Dr *Rainolds* had read, and did remember more of thoſe Lawes then himſelfe, though it were his profeſſion.

The ſame doth *Meurſius* in his *Athenæ Batauæ* teſtifie of *Donellus* a Profeſſour of the civill lawes at *Leyden*

And for the excellency of the other faculties of the minde, together with that of the memory. It is wonderfull the teſtimony that *Vives* (himſelfe a man of eminent parts) in his Commentaries on the ſecond booke, and 17 Chapter *de civitate Dei*, gives *Budæus*; *Quo viro*, (ſaith he) *Gallia acutiore ingenio, acriore judicio, exactiore diligentia, majore eruditione nullum*

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nullam unquam produxit, hac vero ætate nec Italia quidem, then which man, *France* never brought forth a ſharper wit, or more peircing judgement, of more exact diligence, and greater learning, nor in this age *Italy* it ſelfe. And then going on, tells us, that there was nothing written in *Greeke* or *Latine*, which he had not turned over, read, examined; *Greeke* & *Latine*, were both alike to him, yet was he in both moſt excellent, ſpeaking either of them as readily, and perchance with more eaſe then the *French*, his mother tongue; he would reade out of a *Greeke* booke in *Latine* and out of a *Latine* booke in *Greeke*. Theſe things which wee ſee ſo exquiſitely written by him, flowed from him *ex tempore*; hee writes more eaſily both in *Greeke* & *Latine*, then the moſt skilfull in thoſe languages underſtand. Nothing in thoſe tongues is ſo abſtruſe & difficult, which he hath not ranſacked, entred upon, looked into, & brought as it were another *Cerberus* from darkneſſe to light. Infinite are the ſignifications of words, the figures, & properties of ſpeech, which unknown to former ages, by the only help of *Budæus*, ſtudious men are now acquainted with. And theſe ſo great & admirable things, hee without the directions of any teacher, learned meerely by his owne induſtry; *Fœlix & fœcundum ingenium, quod in ſe uno invenit, & doctorem, & diſcipulum, & docendi viam rationemq; & cujus decimam partem, alij ſub magnis magiſtris vix diſcunt, ipſe id totum à ſe magiſtro edoctus eſt:* An happy and fruitefull wit, which in it ſelfe alone found both a maſter a ſcholler, & a methode of teaching, and the tenth part of that which others can hardly attaine unto under famous teachers, all that learned he of himſelfe, being his owne reader, and yet (ſaith he) hitherto have I ſpoken nothing of his knowledge in the lawes, which being in a manner ruined, ſeeme by him to have beene reſtored; nothing of his Phyloſophy, whereof hee hath given us ſuch a triall in his bookes *de Aſſe*, that no man could compoſe them, but ſuch a one as was aſſiduouſly verſed in the bookes of all the Philoſophers; & then having highly commended him for his piety, his ſweet behaviour, and many other rare and ſingular vertues added to his great wit; hee farthar addes, that notwithſtanding all this, hee was continually converſant in domeſticke and ſtate affaires at home, & ambaſſages abroad; ſo as it might truely be ſaid of him, as *Plinius Cæcilius* ſpeakes of his uncle *Secundus*, when I conſider his ſtate affaires, and the happy diſpatch of ſo many buſineſſe, I wonder at the multiplicity of his reading and writing; and againe, when I conſider this, I wonder at that, and ſo leave him with that happy Diſtich of *Buchanan*:

Gallia quòd Græca eſt, quòd Græcia barbara non eſt,
Vtraque Budæo debet utrumque ſuo:

That France is turn'd to Greeke, that Greece is not turn'd rude,
Both owe them both to thee, their deare great learned *Bude*.

Next to learned Bude amongſt the great Heroes and miracles for all kinde of learning moſt renowned in this latter age, *Ioſeph Scaliger* well deſerveth his place, if that teſtimony which *Caſaubon* gives of him in his preface prefixed before *Scaligers opuſcula*, bee true. *Nihil eſt quod diſcere quiſque vellet quod ille docere non poſſet: nihil legerat (quid autem ille non legerat?) quod non ſtatim meminiſſet; nihil tam obſcurum aut abditum*

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in ullo vetere scriptore Græco, Latino, vel Hebræo de quo interrogatus non statim responderet. Historias omnium populorum, omnium ætatum, successiones imperiorum, res ecclesiæ veteris in numerato habebat; animalium, plantarum, metallorum omniumque rerum naturalium proprietates, differentias & appellationes quà veteres, quà recentes tenebat; accuratè locorum situs, provinciarum fines & varias pro temporibus illarum divisiones ad unguem callebat; nullam disciplinarum, scientiarumque graviorum reliquerat intactam, linguas tam multas tam exactè sciebat, ut vel si hoc unum per totum vitæ spatium egisset, digna res miraculo potuerit videri: which his admirable variety of languages *Petrus Scriverius* thus elegantly describes.

----eruditione
Idumæus, Arabs, Syrusque & Indus;
Chaldæus simul, Æthiopsque civis;
Quemque Achæmenij suum vocarent,
Pelasgus simul, & simul Latinus;
Et Grajus vetus, & quotidianus;
Et Thuscus simul, & simul Britannus;
Et quod altera secula obstupescant
Hispanus simul & simul Batavus;

In epist: ad Ioh. Meursium. So that Adr: *Turnebus* deservedly styles him *portentosi ingenij juvenem.* And least these testimonies may happily seeme partiall, I will hereunto annex that of *Iulius Cæsar Bulengerus* a *Doctor* of the *Sorbon* and professor at *Pisa*, who in the 12 booke of the historie of his time thus writes of the same *Scaliger*; *Sequutus est annus millesimus sexcentesimus nonus Iosephi Scaligeri morte feralis: quo nostra ætas neminem majori ad literas genio ingenioque tulit, & forte anteacta secula parem omni doctrinæ genere non habuerunt.*

And if wee looke over the *Pyrenees*, *Metamorus* in his Treatise of the *Universities* & learned men of *Spaine*, spares not to write of *Tostatus*, Bishop of *Abulum*; *si alio quam suo seculo vivere contigisset, neque Hipponi Augustinum, neq; Stridoni Hieronymum, nec quempiam ex illis proceribus Ecclesiæ antiquis nunc invideremus.* Had hee lived in any other age save his owne, wee should not have needed now to enuy either *Hippo* for *Augustine*, or *Stridon* for *Hierom*; nor any other of those ancient noble worthies of the *Church*. To which *Possevin* in his *Apparatus* addes, that at the age of two and twenty yeares, he attained the knowledge of almost all Arts and Sciences. For Beside *Philosophy* and *Divinity*, the *Canon* & the *Civill* Lawes, *history* and the *Mathematiques*, he was well skilled in the *Greeke* and *Hebrew*.

Pellar. de Eccles. scrip:
Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne,
The worlds wonder for that hee,
Knowes whatsoever knowne may bee:

He was so true a student, and so constant in sitting to it, that with *Dydimus* of *Alexandria*, *ænea habuisse intestina putaretur*, hee was thought to have a body of brasse, and so much he wrote & published, that a part of the epitaph ingraven on his tombe was;

Prima natalis luci folia omnia adaptans,
Nondum sic fuerit pagina trina satis;

The

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The meaning is, that if of his publiſhed writings, we ſhould alow three pages to every day of his life, from his very birth, there would be yet ſome to ſpare, and yet withall hee wrote ſo exactly, that *Ximines* his ſcholler, attempting to contract his Commentaries upon *Matthew*, could not well bring it to leſſe then a thouſand leaves in *Folio*, and that in a very ſmall print, and others have attempted the like in his other workes with like ſucceſſe. But that which *Paſquier* hath obſerved out of *Monſtrelet*, is yet more memorable, touching a *young man* who being not above 20 yeares old, came to *Paris* in the yeare 1445, and ſhewed himſelfe ſo admirably excellent in all *Arts*, *Sciences*, and *Languages*, that if a man of an ordinary good wit and ſound conſtitution ſhould live one hundred yeares, and during that time ſtudy inceſſantly without eating, drinking, ſleeping, or any recreation, he could hardly attaine to that perfection: in ſo much that ſome were of opinon, that hee was *Antichriſt* begotten of the *Devill*, or ſomewhat at leſtwiſe above humane condition: Which gave occaſion to theſe verſes of *Caſtellanus*, who lived at the ſame time, and himſelfe ſaw this miracle of wit. *Lib. 5. c. 38.*

J'ay veu par excellence
Vn jeune home de vingt tans
Avoir toute ſcience & les degrez montans
Soy ſe vantant ſcavoir dire
Ce qu'onques fut eſcrit
Par ſeule fois le lire
Comme un jeune Antichriſt.

A young man have I ſeene
At twenty yeares ſo skill'd,
That every Art he had, and all
In all degrees excell'd.
What ever yet was writ
He vaunted to pronounce
Like a young Antichriſt, if hee
Did reade the ſame but once.

Not to inſiſt upon ſupernaturals, were there among us that induſtry, & that union of forces, & contribution of helpes as was in the *Ancients*, I ſee no ſufficient reaſon but the wits of this preſent age might produce as great effects as theirs did, nay greater, inaſmuch as we have the light of their writings to guide and aſſiſt us: wee have bookes by reaſon of the *Art of Printing* more familiar, & at cheaper rates, moſt men being now unwilling to give *three hundred pounds* for three bookes, as *Plato* did for thoſe of *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean*. And by this meanes are we freed frō a number of groſſe errors, which by the ignorance or negligence of unskilfull Writers crept into the text: yet on the other ſide it is as true that we are forced to ſpend much time in the learning of *Languages*, eſpecially the *Latin*, *Greeke*, and *Hebrew*, which the *Ancients* ſpent in the ſtudy of things, their learning being commonly written in their owne *Language*. Beſide the infinite and bitter controverſies among *Chriſtians* in matter of *Religion* ſince the infancie thereof even to theſe preſent times, hath doubtleſſe not a little hindered the advancement and progreſſe of *Gellius l. 3. c. 17*

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other Sciences, together with a vaine opinion, that all *Arts* were already fully perfected, so as nothing could bee added thereunto and that the Founders of them were *Gyants*, more then men for their wits in regard of us, and we very *dwarfes*, sunke below our *species* in regard of them. *Sed non est ita*, saith *Lodovicus Vives*, *nec nos sumus nani, nec illi homines Giganteſ, sed omnes ejusdem staturæ, & quidem nos altius evecti eorum beneficio, maneat modo in nobis quod in illis, studium, attentio animi, vigilantia & amor veri; quæ si absint, jam non sumus nani, sed homines justæ magnitudinis humi prostrati.* It is not so, neither are wee *Dwarfes*, nor they *Gyants*, but all of equall stature, or rather wee somewhat higher, being lifted up by their meanes, conditionally there be in us an equall intention of spirit, watchfulnesse of minde, & love of truth: for if these bee wanting, then are we not so much dwarfes, as men of a perfect groweth lying on the ground.

De Causis corrupt. Artium, l. 1

Likewise it cannot be denied, but that the incouragements for study and Learning were in former times greater: what liberall bountifull allowance did *Alexander* afford *Aristotle* for the entertainment of *Fishers*, *Faukeners* and *Hunters* to bring him in beasts, fowles, and fishes of all kindes for the discovery of their severall natures and dispositions. Nay the daily wages of *Roscius* the stage-player, as witnesseth *Macrobius*, was a thousand *denarij*, which amounteth to *thirty pound* of our coyne. And *Æsope* the *Tragedian* grew so rich by the onely exercise of the same trade, if wee may credit the same *Author*, as hee left to his Sonne above *one hundred and fifty thousand pound sterling*: Whereunto may be added, that the *Ancients* copying out their bookes for the most part with their owne hands, it could not but worke in them a deeper impression of the matter therein contained, and being thereby forced to content themselves with fewer bookes, of *necessity* they held themselves more closely to them. And it is most true which *Seneca* hath as well in reading as eating, in bookes as dyet, *Varietas delectat, certitudo prodest*, Variety is delightfull, but certainty more usefull and profitable.

800. Talents.

Saturnal. l. 3. c. 14.

So that upon the matter, all reckonings being on all sides cast up, and one thing being set against another, as wee want some *helpes* which the *Ancients* had, so are wee freed from some *hinderances* wherewith they were incumbred, as againe it is certaine that they both wanted some of our helpes, and were freed from some of our hinderances: if then wee come short of their perfections, it is not becaus *Nature* is generally defective in us, but becaus we are wanting to our selves, and do not strive to make use of, and improve those abilities wherewith *God* and *Nature* hath endowed us. *Malè de Natura censet quicunque uno illam aut altero partu effœtam esse arbitratur*, saith *Vives*; He thinkes unworthily and irreverently of *Nature* who conceives her to bee barren after one or two birthes; no, no, that which the same *Author* speakes of places, is likewise undoubtedly true of *times*, *Vbiq; bona nascuntur ingenia, excolantur modò, alibi fortasse frequentiora, sed ubiq; nonnulla*. Every where and in all ages good wits spring up, were they dressed and manured as they ought, though happily more frequently in some places & ages then in others. *Scythia* it selfe anciently yeelded one *Anacharsis*, & no doubt had they taken the same course as hee did, more of the same mettall would have beene found there.

SECT. 2.

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SECT. 2.

That there is both in wits and Arts, as in all things besides, a kinde of circular progresse as well in regard of places as times.

THere is (it seemes) both in *wits* and *Arts*, as in all things besides, a kinde of *circular progresse*: they have their *birth*, their *growth*, their *flourishing*, their *failing*, their *fading*, and within a while after their *resurrection*, and *reflourishing* againe. The *Arts* flourished for a long time among the *Persians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Ægyptians*, and therefore is *Moses* said to be learned in all the wisedome of the *Ægyptians*; Acts 7. 22. who well knowing their owne strength, were bold to object to the *Grecians*, that they were still *children*, as neither having the *knowledge of Antiquity*, nor the *Antiquity of knowledge*: But afterwards the *Grecians* got the start of them, and grew so excellent in all kinde of learning, that the rest of the world in regard of them were reputed *Barbarians*, which reputation of wisedome they held even to the *Apostles* times, *I am a debter*, saith S. *Paul*, *both to the Grecians and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise.* Rom. 1. 14. And againe, *the Iewes require a signe, and the Grecians seeke after wisedome.* 1. Cor. 1. 22. By reason whereof they relished not the simplicity of the *Gospell*, it seeming foolishnes unto them: And in the 17 of the *Acts* the *Philosophers* of *Athens*, (sometimes held the most famous *Vniversity* in the World) out of an opinion of their owne great learning scorned S. *Paul* and his doctrine, tearming him a *sower of words*, a very *Babler* or *trifler*: yet not long after this, these very *Grecians* declined much; & themselves (whether through their owne inclination, or by reason of their bondage under the *Turke*, (the common enemy both of Religion and Learning I cannot determine) are now become so strangely *barbarous*, that their knowledge is converted into a kinde of affected ignorance, as is their liberty into contented slavery: yet after the losse both of their *Empire* and *Learning*, they still retained some sparke of their former wit and industry.

Ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo Iuven. Sat. 7.
Promptus, & Isæo torrentior, ede quid illum
Esse putas quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos
Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes,
Augur, Schænobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit
Græculus esuriens, in cœlum jusseris, ibit.

Quick-witted, wondrous bold, well spoken, then
Isæus fluenter, tell who all men
Brought with himselfe: a Southsayer, a Physitian,
Magician, Rhetoritian, Geometrician,
Grammarian, Painter, Ropewalker, all knowes
The needy Greeke; bid goe to heaven, hee goes.

But now they wholly delight in ease, in shades, in dancing, in drinking, and for the most part no farther endeavour the inriching either of their mindes or purses then their bellies compell them.

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The lampe of Learning being thus neare extinguiſhed in *Greece*,

In Latium ſpretis Academia migrat Athenis.

Athens forſaken by Philoſophie,
Shee forthwith travell'd into *Italie*.

It began to ſhine afreſh in *Italie* neare about the time of the birth of *Chriſt*, there being a generall peace thorow the world, & the *Roman Empire* being fully ſetled and eſtabliſhed, *Poets*, *Orators*, *Philoſophers*, *Hiſtorians*, never more excellent. From thence this light ſpread it ſelfe over *Chriſtendome*, and continued bright till the inundation of the *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, & *Vandals*, who ranſacked Libraries, and defaced almoſt all the monuments of *Antiquity*, inſomuch as that *lampe* ſeemed againe to be put out by the ſpace of almoſt a thouſand yeares, & had longer ſo continued, had not firſt *Menſor* King of *Africa* & *Spaine* raiſed up & ſpurred forward the *Arabian* wits to the reſtauration of good letters by propoſing great rewards and encouragements unto them. And afterwards *Petrarch* a man of a ſingular wit & rare naturall endowments, opened ſuch *Libraries* as were left undemoliſhed, beate off the duſt from the moth-eaten bookes, and drew into the light the beſt *Authors*: *Literas à multo ævo miſerè ſepultas è Gothicis ſepulchris excitavit.* Hee raiſed up to life good learning from the ſepulchres of the *Gothes*, having beene buried by the ſpace of many ages.

Paulus Iovius.

He was ſeconded by *Boccace* and *Iohn* of *Ravenna*, and ſoone after by *Aretine*, *Philelphus*, *Valla*, *Poggius*, *Omnibonus*, *Vergerius*, *Blondus*, and others. And thoſe againe were followed by *Æneas Sylvius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Marſilius Ficinus*, and that *Phœnix* of Learning *Iohannes Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, who as appeares in the entrance of his *Apologie*, propoſed openly at *Rome nine hundred queſtions* in all kinde of faculties to bee diſputed, inviting all ſtrangers thither, from any part of the knowne world, and offering himſelfe to beare the charge of their travell both comming and going, & during their abode there: ſo as he deſervedly received that *Epitaph* which after his death was beſtowed on him.

Iohannes jacet hic Mirandula, cætera norunt
Et Tagus, & Ganges, forſan & Antipodes,
Here lyes *Mirandula*, *Tagus* the reſt doth know,
And *Ganges*, and perhaps th' *Antipodes* alſo.

And rightly might that be verified of him which *Lucretius* ſometimes wrote of *Epicurus* his maſter:

Hic genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, & omnes
Præſtrinxit ſtellas, exortus ut æthereus ſol.
In wit all men he hath farre overgone,
Eclipſing them like to the riſing Sunne.

Yet himſelfe in one of his Epiſtles gives this teſtimony to *Angelus Politianus* his contemporarie; *Quod ſi plures eſſent tales, non haberent hæc ſæcula cur inviderent antiquitati:* Had wee ſome more ſuch, theſe times needed not envy antiquity.

This path being thus beaten out by theſe *Heroicall* ſpirits, they were backed by *Rodulphus Agricola*, *Reuchline*, *Melanchthon*, *Ioachimus Camerarius*,

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us, Wolphangus Lazius, Beatus Rhenanus, Almaines; the great *Erasmus* a *Netherlander, Ludovicus Vives* a *Spaniard*; *Bembus, Sadoletus, Eugubinus Italians*; *Turnebus, Muretus, Ramus, Pythæus, Budæus, Amiot, Scaliger, Frenchmen*; Sir *Thomas Moore*, and *Linaker Englishmen*: The first of which being *Rodolphus Agricola, Hermolaus Barbarus* graceth with this *Epitaph.*

Invida clauserunt hoc marmore fata Rodolphum
Agricolam, Frisij spemque decusque soli.
Scilicet hoc uno meruit Germania laudis
Quicquid habet Latium, Græcia quicquid habet.

And it is worth the observing, that about this time the slumbring drowzie spirit of the *Grecians* began againe to bee revived and awakened, in *Bessarion, Gemmistius, Trapezontius, Gaza, Argyropilus, Calcondilas*, and others: nay, those very *Northerne* Nations which before had given the greatest wound to learning, began now as by way of recompence to advance the honour of it by the fame of their studies, as *Olaus Magnus, Holsterus, Tycho Brahe, Hemingius, Danes*; *Hosius, Frixius, Crummerus, Polonians*: But the number of those worthies, who like so many sparkling starres have since through *Christendome* succeeded, and some of them exceeded these in learning and knowledge, is so infinite, that the very recitall of their names were enough to fill whole volumes: And if we descend to a particular examination of the severall professions, *Arts, Sciences*, and *Manufactures*, wee shall surely finde the prediction of the *Divine Seneca* accomplished, *Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis sciet*, the people of future ages shall come to the knowledge of many things unknowne to us: And that of *Tacitus* most true, *Nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque ætas multa laudis & artium imitanda posteris tulit*: Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath left unto posterity many things worthy praise and imitation. *Ramus* goes further, and perchance warrantably enough: *Majorem doctorum hominum & operum proventum sæculo uno vidimus, quàm totis antea 14 majores nostri viderant.* We have seene within the space of one age, a more plentifull crop of learned men & workes, then our *Predecessours* saw in *fourteene*, next going before.

Natural. quæst. lib. 7. cap. 31.

Annal. 3. c. 12.

Præfat. Schol. Mathemat.

I will conclude this Section with the memorable words of Sr *Thomas Bodley* my honoured kinsman, and the renowned Founder of our publique *Librarie*, taken from a letter of his to Sr *Francis Bacon*, upon occasion of his *Advancement of Learning*, sent by Sr *Francis* to Sr *Thomas* to be perused and censured by him before it was published. 'I doe not 'hold it an erroneous conceit to thinke of every Science, that as now 'they are professed, so they have beene before in all precedent ages, 'though not in all places alike, nor at all times alike in one & the same, 'but according to the changes and turnings of times with a more exact 'and plaine, or with a more rude and obscure kinde of teaching. And 'if the question should bee asked what proofe I have of it, I have the 'the doctrine of *Aristotle*, and of the deepest learned Clarkes of whom 'we have any meanes to have any notice, that as there is of every other 'thing, so there is of Sciences *Ortus & interitus*. Which is also the 'meaning

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'meaning if I ſhould expound it of *Nihil novum eſt ſub ſole*; and is as 'well to bee applyed to *facta* as *dicta*; *ut nihil neque dictum neque fa-'ctum, quod non & dictum & factum prius.* I have farther for my war-'rant that famous complaint of *Solomon* to his ſonne, againſt the infinite 'making of books in his time: of which in all congruitie it muſt needs 'be underſtood, that a very great part were obſervations and inſtructi-'ons in all kinde of literature, and of thoſe there is not ſo much as one 'petty pamphlet (only ſome parcells of the *Bible* excepted) remaining 'to poſterity. As then there was not in like manner any footing to be 'found of millions of Authours that were long before *Solomon*, and yet 'we muſt give credit to that which he affirmed: That whatſoever was 'then or had beene before, it could never bee truely pronounced of it: '*Behold this is new.*

CHAP. 7.

Touching the three principall profeſſions, Divinity, Law, and Phyſicke.

SECT. 1.

Of the Divinity of the Gentiles and Iewes before Chriſt, and the next ages after Chriſt.

WE will begin with the high and noble profeſſion of *Divinity*, this among the *Gentiles* was partly prophane and fabulous in their vaine diſcourſes, touching the *Genealogie*, the number and nature of their *Gods*, and partly mixed with much error & weakenes in their *Metaphyſickes*; *profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they be-*
Rom. 1, 21. 22. *came vaine in their imaginations, and their fooliſh heart was darkened.* *Ante Chriſtum quam moleſta diſputationes*, ſaith *Ludovicus Vives* in his 5 booke & 9 chap. *de veritate fidei Chriſtianæ*, how irkeſome were the diſputes? how tedious their deliberations in comparing honeſty with profit, becauſe they knew not what was honeſty, nor in very truth what was truly profitable. How diverſe and uncertaine were their ends of goodneſſe? which held mens mindes in ſuſpenſe? but *Chriſt* hath now fully cleared and opened all points, we are now well acquainted with the true end & the meanes that conduce to that end, what is honeſt, what profitable, what hurtfull, the reſolutions are now eaſie and perſpicuous, and in the fourth chap. of the ſame book, *nunc reconditiſſima myſteria ſcitu digna & neceſſaria, melius noſtræ mulierculæ intelligunt, quàm maximi olim philoſophi*, Our ſillieſt women now better underſtand the deepeſt myſteries worthy or needefull to bee knowne, then the profoundeſt Philoſophers then did. They were (as the *Apoſtle* ſpeakes in another caſe) *ever learning*, but never came, nor indeed could ever come to the knowledge of the truth, in as much as the meere naturall man perceiveth not, nor can perceive the hid things of God, the myſteries of the knowledge of heaven, which made them to bee, as *Minutius Fælix* in his *Octavius* hath truely obſerved, *ſemper adverſus ſua vitia facundi*, alwayes eloquent

eloquent in declayming against their owne vices; but wee (saith hee) *qui non habitu sapientiam sed mente præferrimus*, who doe not place, or weare wisedome in the robe but in the minde: *Non eloquimur magna sed vivimus*, wee speake not bigge but live well, and glory in this, that wee have found that, which they with all eagernesse sought, but could not finde. His conclusion is, *Quid ingrati sumus? quid nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri temporis ætate maturuit? fruamur bono nostro:* Why are wee ingrate? why doe wee envy our selves, if the true knowledge of the deitie have beene brought to ripenesse and full perfection in our age? In Gods name let us enjoy our owne blessing. Among the *Iewes* the only visible *Church*, the sacred Oracles of *God*, containing the revelation of supernaturall truthes, were indeede preserved: But hereunto, their *Talmudists* and *Cabalists*, their *Scribes* and *Pharisies*, their *Sadducees* and *Essens* added such traditions, such fictions, such corrupt glosses and malitious interpretations, as the fruit of their doctrine lay hid under the leaves, and as the learned in their language well know, very little use can bee made of their best *Commentaries* upon Scripture; howbeit they presumed that their chiefest skill lay that way: So that wee neede not doubt, but the most excellent *Divines*, have all beene since the comming of *Christ*. It is to mee very strange, that not onely the *Pharisees* should bee infected with this opinion of the *Pythagorians*, touching the dwelling of the same soule in diverse bodies successively, and in diverse ages; but that *Herod*, and the whole nation of the *Iewes*, should be tainted with that grosse errour, as appeares in that they held our *Saviour* to bee *Iohn* the *Baptist*, or *Elias*, or one of the *Prophets*; all which they knew to be dead, and some of them long before: Their meaning being that the soule of the *Baptist*, or of *Elias*, or of one of the *Prophets*, was by traduction passed into our *Saviours* body; as *Pythagoras* writes of himselfe, that hee was first *Euphorbus*, and then *Callidas*, then *Hermotimus*, then *Pyrrhus*, and lastly *Pythagoras*: but yet farre more strange it is, that the *Apostles* of our *Saviour* themselves should be thus misled, and yet it should seeme by that their demaund touching him that was borne blinde, *Master, who did sinne, this man or his parents, that he was borne blinde*; that they were indeed possessed with that opinion, for how could they conceive that hee should sinne before he was borne, but in some other body which his soule actuated before? and in truth Saint *Cyrill* upon that occasion, is induced to thinke, that they were swayed with the common errour of that nation and those times; and *Calvin* confidently cries out, *Prodigij sane instar hoc fuit quòd in electo Dei populo, in quo cælestis sapientia per Legem & Prophetas lux accensa fuerat, tam crasso figmento fuerit datus locus.* Truely this is a prodigious kinde of wonder, that among the elect people of God, who were enlightned by the heavenly wisedome of the Law and the Prophets, way should be given to so palpable a fiction. Yet I know not whether their stupiditie were greater in this, or in that other demaund of theirs, at our *Saviours* ascension, *Lord wilt thou at this time restore the Kingdome of Israel?* where *Calvin* againe stands amazed, that they should all with one consent (for so much doth the text imply) joyne together in such a *foolish question* as hee

Iosephus de bello Iud. 2. 7.

Mar. 14. 2. Mar. 18. 28. Luc 9. 19.

Ioh. 9. 2.

In Græca Catenis.

Comment. in locum.

Acts 1. 6.

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hee tearmes it, *mira profectò illorum fuit ruditas, quod tam absolutè tantaque cura per triennium edocti non minorem inscitiam produnt, quàm si nullum unquam verbum audissent, totidem in hac interrogatione sunt errores quot verba:* wonderfull in truth was their rawneſſe and rudeneſſe, that having been ſo exquiſitely and diligently taught by three yeares ſpace, they notwithſtanding bewray as much ignorance, as if they had never heard ſo much as one word of inſtruction, as many errours are in their queſtion as words: But this likewiſe of reſtoring them a *temporall kingdome*, then was, and at this day continues to be, the *common errour* of that *whole nation*, neither by any meanes will they be beaten from it: That which to me ſeemeth more admirable, is, that S. *Peter* himſelfe, even after the deſcending of the *holy Ghoſt*, was ignorant of the calling of the *Gentiles*, of whom together with the *Iewes*; the *Catholique* Church was to bee made up: whereby it ſhould ſeeme, that then likewiſe he was ignorant, that himſelfe was the head of the *Catholique Church*, as by thoſe who hold themſelves the onely *Catholiques*, hee is now made; yet may it not be denyed, or ſo much as doubted, that the holy and bleſſed *Apoſtles* were all indowed with ſingular gifts and graces, as well for knowledge and wiſedome, as all kinde of morall vertues, fitting for ſo high a calling; and that in their writings, they were the pen-men of *God*, inſpired by the *holy Ghoſt*: but leaving them, let us deſcend a little lower in the *Church* of *Chriſt*. As then the three firſt *Centuries* are commended for *Piety*, *Devotion*, and *Martyrdome*, ſo is the fourth for learned and famous *Divines*. *Habuit hæc ætas ſi quæ unquam alia plurimos præſtantes & illuſtres Doctores*, ſay the *Magdeburgians*: This age if ever any abounded in excellent and famous *Doctours*, as namely *Arnobius*, *Lactantius Euſebius*, *Athanaſius*, *Hilarius*, *Victorinus*, *Baſilius*, *NaZianZenus*, *Ambroſius*, *Prudentius*, *Epiphanius*, *Theophilus*, *Hieronymus*, *Fauſtinus*, *Didymus*, *Eprhaim*, *Optatus*; *Cyrillus Hieroſol.* *Didymus Alexand.* *Gregorius Nyſſenus*, *Chryſoſtomus*, *Iuvencus*, *Sedulius*, *Apollinaris*, *Philaſtrius*, to which number they might well have added, (for that he began to ſhew his worth in the ſame *Century*) that renowned pillar of truth and hammer of hereſies S. *Auguſtine*. Theſe and the like great *Divines* of thoſe ages I much honour, *& eorum nominibus ſemper aſſurgo*, I confeſſe I reverence their very names; yet moſt certaine it is, they had all their ſlips and blemiſhes in matter of doctrine: But before this age, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, are ſpecially branded for notorious errours, and *Vincentius Lirinenſis* gives this rare commendation of the *Fathers*, aſſembled in the Councell of *Nice*, that they were *tantæ eruditionis, tantæque doctrinæ*, of ſo profound learning and ſingular knowledge, *ut propè omnes poſſent de dogmatibus diſputare*, that almoſt all of them could reaſon of matters of faith. Yet in thoſe very times, was the Church ſo rent and torne in ſunder with *Capitoll* hereſies, trenching upon the very vitall parts and fundamentall principles of *Chriſtian* Religion, touching the ſacred *Trinity*, and incarnation of our bleſſed *Saviour*, *ut illis temporibus ingenioſa res fuit eſſe Chriſtianum*, ſo as in thoſe times it was a matter of wit to be a *Chriſtian*: ſuch were the *nicities* wherein their Teachers differed, and ſuch their *ſubtilties*, they bound their ſchollers to maintaine.

Centur. 4. c. 4.

Contra hæreſes, cap. 41.

Eraſmus.

It

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It is the testimonie of S. *Gregory* in his moralls, that as the world groweth elder in age, so it increaseth in the knowledge of religion and supernaturall truths; *Vrgente mundi fine superna scientia proficit & largius cum tempore excrescit*: And within a while after, *Quicquid in sanctæ Ecclesiæ initijs latuit finis quotidie ostendit.* But more fully doth hee speake to this purpose in his *Homilies* upon *Ezekiel*; *Hoc quoque nobis sciendum est, quia & per incrementa temporum crevit scientia spiritalium patrum; plus namque Moses quam Abraham, plus Propheta quam Moses, plus Apostoli quam Propheta in omnipotentis Dei scientia eruditi sunt. Fallor, si ex ipsa Scriptura non loquitur: pertranſibunt plurimi & multiplex erit scientia. Dan.* 12. And againe, *Quanto mundus ad extremitatem ducitur, tanto nobis æternæ scientiæ aditus largius aperitur.* *Lib. 9. cap. 6.* *Homil. 16.*

But that which to mee seemes most strange, is, that so many of them were infected with the errour of the *Millenaries*, that so many, specially of the *Greeke Fathers*, held that the *Angells* were created long before the creation of the visible world, that a number both of the *Greeke* and *Latine* maintained, that the soules of men departed this life, went neither to heaven nor hell, till the resurrection of the bodie, but remained in certaine hidden receptacles they knew not where, that *Anti-Christ* was to come of the tribe of *Dan*, that the *sonnes of God*, who in the sixth of *Genesis*, are said to have fallen in love with the *daughters of men*, were the blessed *Angells*: upon which occasion, *Pererius* a learned *Iesuite* hath these memorable words, *Pudet dicere quæ de optimis Scriptoribus hoc loco dicturus sum*: I even blush to utter those things which heere I am to speake of excellent writers, they being not onely false, but absurd and shamefull, unworthy the wit and learning of famous men, as also of the purity and holinesse of the blessed *Angells*; yet truth inforceth mee to speake, partly least that should seeme probable to any man, by reason of the countenance of so grave *Authours*, which is no way to be approved; and partly, that from hence it may appeare how much the *Church* of *Christ*, from that time to this hath profitted in the knowledge of holy Scriptures and divine mysteries: *Nam multa quondam vel doctissimis viris, aut obscura & dubia, aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perspicua, indubitata, exploratèque percepta sunt*: for many things anciently either obscure or doubtfull, or altogether unknown to the most learned among them, are now become even to meane Clarkes cleere and certaine. And with him fully accords *Andradius* in his defence of the *Tridentine* Councell, *God hath revealed many things to us that they never saw.* And *Dominicus Bannes* a famous schoole-man: *It is not necessary, that by how much the more the Church is remote from the Apostles times, by so much there should be the lesse perfect knowledge of the mysteries of faith therein, because after the Apostles times, there were not the most learned men in the Church, which had dexterity in understanding and expounding matters of faith.* *Roffensis* likewise our Countrey-man strikes upon the same string: *it cannot be unknowne to any, but that many things are more narrowly sifted and clearely understood by the helpe of latter wits, as well in the Gospell, as other parts of the Scriptures, then formerly they have beene*; and lastly, to make up the musicke full, *Cardinall Cajetan* beares a part, *Let* *Comment. in locum.* *Lib. 2.* *2a 2æ, pag. 58.* *Confut. assert. Luth. art. 8.* *In 1. Gen.*

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no man thinke it ſtrange, if ſometimes wee bring a new ſence of holy writ, different from the Ancient Doctours, but let him diligently examine the Text and context, and if hee finde it to agree therewith, let him praiſe God, who hath not tyed the expoſition of the ſacred Scriptures, to the ſenſes given by the ancient Doctours. Theſe teſtimonies I the rather vouch for that the *Authours* of them being profeſſed *Champions* of the *Roman* Church, withall profeſſe themſelves to bee the greateſt friends to the ancient *Fathers*, but conclude this Section with that of *Caſaubon* in his *Prolegomena* to his exercitations; *Poſtquam è denſiſſimis tenebris lux literarum emerſerat, omnes artes, omnes ſcientiæ & diſciplinæ, ipſa imprimis Sacra Theologia brevi tempore ita ſunt excultæ, ornatæ, auctæ, ut eo nomine florentiſſimo cuique priorum ſeculorum quod proximè eſt elapſum videatur poſſe anteponi.*

SECT. 2.

Of enſuing ages.

YEt not to conceale a truth, theſe were lightſome times in regard of thoſe *ſucceeding ages* that followed after, when *Divinity* was woven into *diſtinctions*, which like Cobwebs were fine and curious in working, but not much uſefull. And in the meane time for the moſt part in the *Scriptures* and holy *Languages* there was ſo great ignorance, *ut Græcè noſſe ſuſpectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*, that, as witneſſeth *Eſpencæus* himſelfe a *Doctour* of the *Sorbon*, to bee skilled in *Greeke* was ſuſpitious, in the *Hebrew* almoſt hereticall; which ſuſpition *Rhemigius* an interpreter of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, ſurely was not guilty of: for commenting upon theſe words, *à vobis diffamatus eſt ſermo*, hee tells us, that *diffamatus* was ſomewhat improperly put for *divulgatus*; S. *Paul* being not very ſollicitous of the propriety of words: whereupon *Ludovicus Vives* demaunds, *quid facias principibus iſtis Scholarum qui nonnum ſciunt Paulum non Latinè, ſed Græcè ſcripſiſſe*: What ſhall we ſay to theſe *Maſters* in *Iſrael*, who know not that S. *Paul* wrote not in *Latine*, but in *Greeke*.

2. *Tim.* 3. *diſgreſſione* 17.

1. Theſſ. 1. 8.

Comment. in Civit. Dei. l. 2. *cap.* 21.

Vignier in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory affirmeth that *Gerbertus* the firſt *Archbiſhop* of *Rhemes* and *Ravenna*, afterwards *Pope* under the name of *Silveſter* the ſecond, was reputed a *Magitian*, becauſe hee was well ſtudied in the Mathematiques; as witneſſe *Dithmarus* and *Glaber Hiſtoriographers* of the ſame age.

Anno 998.

King *Alfred* in his preface upon the Paſtoralls of S. *Gregory* (which he tranſlated into *Engliſh*) ſaith, that when hee came firſt to his Kingdome, he knew not one Prieſt on the South-ſide of the river *Humber*, that underſtood his ſervice in *Latine*, or that could tranſlate an Epiſtle into *Engliſh*; And *Clemangis* in his booke *de corrupto Eccleſiæ ſtatu cap.* 6. *non à ſtudijs aut ſchola, ſed ab aratro etiam & ſervilibus artibus ad parochias regendas paſſim proficiſcebantur, qui paulo plus Latinæ Linguæ quam Arabicæ intelligerent; imò & qui nihil legere & (quod referre pudet) Alpha vix noſſent à Beta diſcernere, & ſi parum docti, negligentius ſanè morati, utpote qui abſque literis in otio educati nihil niſi impudicitias, ludos, commenſationes, jurgia vaniloqua ſectentur.* Sr *Thomas*

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Sr *Thomas Moore* in his Epistle to the University of *Oxford* lately published, speakes of certaine good fellowes there, calling themselves *Trojans*, who opposed the *Grecians*, that is, such as studied the *Greeke* tongue; whereof one proceeded to that madnesse, that in a publique *Lent Sermon*, *Non modo contra Græcas literas & Latinam & politiem, sed valdè liberaliter adversus omnes liberales artes blatteravit*; Hee not onely rayled against the *Greeke* tounge, and the more polite *Latine* phrase, but very liberally against all the liberall arts.

It appeares by the rescript of Pope *Zacharie* to *Boniface* a *German* Bishop, that the *Priest* in those parts baptized in this forme, *Baptizo te in nomine Patria, & Filia, & Spiritua Sancta*: And by *Erasmus*, that some *Divines* in his time would take upon them to prove, that Heretiques were to be put to death, because the *Apostle* saith, *Hæreticum hominem devita*, which it seemes they understood as if he had said, *de vita tolle*. I have somewhere read, that two *Fryars* disputing whether *God* made any more worlds then one, the one wisely alleadging that passage of the *Gospell* touching the ten Lepers which were cleansed, *Annon decem facti sunt mundi*, as if *God* had made tenne worlds, the other looking into the text, replyes as wisely, with the words immediately following, *Sed ubi sunt novem?* but what is become of the nine? so as from thence hee would prove but one to be left. Hee that is disposed to make himselfe merrie in this kinde; may finde in *Henry Stephens* his Apologie of *Herodotus*, a number of like stuffe, I will onely touch one or two of the choisest. *Du prat* a Bishop & Chancellour of *France*, having received a letter from *Henry* the eighth King of *England*, to *Francis* the first of *France*; wherein among other things hee wrote, *mitto tibi duodecim Molossos*, I send you twelve mastiffe dogs, the Chancellour taking *Molossos* to signifie *Mules*, made a journey of purpose to the Court to begge them of the King; who wondring at such a present to bee sent him from *England*, demaunded the sight of the letter, and smiling thereat, the Chancellour finding himselfe to bee deceived; told him that hee mistooke *Molossos* for *Muletos*, and so hoping to mend the matter, made it worse. Another tale hee tels of a Parish Priest in *Artois*, who had his Parishioners in suite for not paving the Church, and that the charge thereof lay upon them and not upon him, he would prove out of the 17 of the Prophet *Ieremie, Paveant illi, non paveam ego*. I remember Arch-Bishop *Parker* somewhere in his *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, makes relation of a *French* Bishop, who being to take his oath to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, & finding the word *Metropolitica* therein, being not able to pronounce it, he passed it over with *Soit pour dict*, let it be as spoken.

3. Part. Decret. de consecr. distinct. 4. Can. 84

An old *Priest* in King *Henry* the eights time, alwayes read in his Portesse, *Mumpisimus Domine*, for *Sumpsimus*; whereof when he was admonished, he said, that he had now used *Mumpisimus* 30 yeares, and would not leave his old *Mumpsimus* for their new *Sumpsimus*; and when they had most grossely broken *Priscians* head, being taken in the fact, their common defence was, those words of S. *Gregory*, *non debent verba cœlestis Oraculi subesse regulis Donati*, the words of the heavenly Oracles ought not to be subject to the rules of *Donatus*.

R. Pacæus de fructu doctrinâ.

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But about 200 yeares ſince, together with the *Arts*, the *languages* likewiſe began to reviue in ſo much as *Hebrew* and *Greeke* are now as common as true *Latine* then was, *Hebraei ipſi Vatablum Hebraicas literas Lutetiæ profitentem admirati ſunt; Chriſtiani vero maximo cum fructu docentem audiverunt*, ſaith *Thuanus*; The many exact tranſlations and faire editions of the *Bible* in this later age, deſerved here to have beene remembred; as alſo the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which about 4 or 5 yeares ſince the moſt renowned father in *God*, and moſt excellently learned *Prelate*, the preſent *Archbiſhop* of *Armach*, and *Primate* of *Ireland*, not without great charge (as a rare jewell) got into his hands. It being a matter of ſpeciall moment and yet ſcarce heard of among *Chriſtians* for many ages paſt, as witneſſeth Mr *Selden* in his preface to *Marmora Arundelliana*; and Dr *Feild* in his third booke of the *Church* and firſt chapter tells us, that in this laſt age of the world wee have from the *Neſtorians* received the *Syriacke* New Teſtament, delivered unto them, as they ſay, from S. *Marke* the *Evangeliſt*, and religiouſly preſerved amongſt them till our times. See the preface of *Guido Fabritius* ſet before the tranſlation thereof in the Kings *Bibles*. And for the true ſence of *holy Scripture*, never had the *Church* more judicious and faithfull Interpreters, then by the *Divine Providence* it hath enjoyed theſe laſt 100 yeares.

Anno 1547.

Piſcator in his preface to his *Commentarie* on the *Proverbs* & the *Canticles*, undertakes a long diſcourſe to ſhew how far wide the foure moſt noted Doctours of the *Weſterne Church*, namely *Ambroſe*, *Hierome*, *Auguſtine* and *Gregory* were in the expoſition of many paſſages of *holy Scripture*, together with the cauſes thereof. Whereunto hee makes this entrance; *Viſum mihi eſt hac præfatione indicare cauſas expoſitionum falſarum quibus ſcripta illorum (quod citra contumeliam dico) referta ſunt, ut ex hac antitheſi eluceſcat, quanta beatior ſit in hoc negotio ætas noſtra quam ætas fuit illorum, ac proinde ut gratias Deo pro tanto beneficio & doctrinæ cæleſtis luce agantur.* And then having performed (as he conceiveth) what he promiſed, he thus concludes; *Atque hæc ſunt exempla falſarum ſacræ Scripturæ Veteris Teſtamenti expoſitionum quæ in quatuor illorum præcipuorum Eccleſiæ Latinæ patrum ſcriptis occurrunt: Vnde jam perſpici poteſt ſæculum noſtrum ſæculo illorum quod ad intellectum S. Scripturæ attinet longè beatius eſſe. Faxit Deus ut hoc ipſius beneficium gratis animis agnoſcamus*: Beſides, the *Sermons* of this latter age, ſpecially in this land, have doubtleſſe beene more exquiſite and effectuall, then ordinarily they have bin in any precedent age, inſomuch as it is obſerved, that if there were a choice collection made of the moſt accurate, ſince the entrance of Q. *Elizabeth*, to theſe preſent times, (leaving out the largeneſſe of applications thereupon) it would prove one of the rareſt peeces that hath been publiſhed ſince the *Apoſtles* times.

Bibl. ſanct. l. 4. *Conciones Cornelij Muſſi* (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*) *Hetruſca lingua editæ, Gregorij magni, Baſilij magni, Chryſoſtomi & cæterorum Græciæ patrum ſermonibus propter doctrinæ & facundiæ majeſtatem comparandæ.* And yet for mine owne part I ſhould thinke the *Sermons* of Biſhop *King*, or Biſhop *Andrewes*, or Biſhop *Lakes*, and ſome others, nothing inferiour to his, and in ſome reſpects farre beyond them.

Hereunto

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Hereunto might bee added for practicall *Divinity*, the decisions of *cases of conscience*, which the *Ancients* did not handle professedly, but onely upon the Bye, and the many singular treatises tending to devotion, which I wish they were as well practised as they are written. And no doubt but the great agitation of *Controversies*, which these latter times have produced, hath not onely sharpned the spirits of *Divines*, but made the grounds of *Christian* Religion to bee better understood. For, as S. *Augustine* speakes of the *Fathers* writing before *Pelagius*, *ante exortum Pelagium securius loquebantur Patres*, before the rising of *Pelagius* the Fathers spoke more securely: so may wee truely say, before *Luther* arose and awakened the world, *Divines* spoke and wrote more loosely then since they have done: The sparkes of truth being forced out of contention, as the sparkes of fire are out of the collision of the flint and steele.

To conclude this Section touching *Divinity*, it is most true which a learned *Divine* of our owne times and, *Church* hath rightly observed, that whosoever shall peruse the *Church* storie digested into *Centuries* or *Annales*, or cast but a glance of his eye upon the *Catalogues* of writers, made by Saint *Hierome*, *Suidas*, *Photius*, *Gennadius*, *Tritemius*, *Illyricus*, *Ball*, and *Bellarmine*, shall finde the ages of the *Church* to resemble the starres of the skie. In some parts wee see many glorious and eminent starres, in others few of any remarkeable greatnesse, and in some none but blinkards and obscure ones: In like manner, in some ages of the Church, we may behold many worthy and glorious lights like stars of the first or second magnitude, in others few of any note or bright lustre, and in some none but obscure and unknowne *Authours*, resembling the least and obscurest starres in the skie. After wee have passed the eight age of the Church, wee fall into *Cymerian* darkenesse. *Bellarmine* cannot speake of the ninth age with patience. *Seculo hoc nullum extitit indoctius aut infœlicius, quo qui Mathematicæ aut Philosophiæ operam dabat vulgo Magus putabatur*: never was there any age more unlearned or unhappy then this, in which he that studied the Mathematickes or Philosophy, was commonly held a Magician. *Sabellicus* is at a stand in admiring the palpable *Egyptian* darkenesse thereof: *Mirum est quanta omnium bonarum artium oblivio per id tempus mortalium animos obrepserit, ut ne in Pontificibus quidem ullis sive Principibus quicquam illucēret quod vitam juvare posset.* A wonder it is, how strange a forgetfulnes of all good arts about this time crept upon the mindes of men: so as neither in Prelates nor Princes appeared any thing which might further civility. *Genebrard* after a sort blesseth himselfe from it, *Infœlix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus doctrina & ingenio claris, sine etiam claris Principibus atque Pontificibus*: This is called the unhappy age, voyde of men renowned either for wit or learning, as also without any famous either Princes or Prelates: So great an alteration there is in the studies and endeavours of men in diverse ages, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse, and then by Gods blessing for the better againe.

D. F.

De Romano Pontific. lib. 4. cap. 12.

Ennead. 9.

Chron. lib. 4.

I will conclude this Section with that of *Platina* in the life of *Paul* the second, Bishoppe of *Rome*, who lived about that age; *Paulus*

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hæreticos eos pronunciavit qui nomen Academiæ vel ſerio vel joco deinceps commemorarent. Humanitatis ſtudia ita oderat & contemnebat, ut ejus ſtudioſos uno nomine hæreticos appellaret. Hanc ob rem Romanos adhortabatur ne filios diutius in ſtudijs literarum paterentur, ſatis eſſe ſi legere & ſcribere didiciſſent.

SECT. 3.

The Lawyers of this laſt age, preferred before thoſe of former times.

NExt *Gods Lawes*, thoſe of the *Empire* ſeeme to challenge their place, howbeit with us, having neither that reward nor imployment as they deſerve, they have loſt both their ranke and dignity, but in forraine parts where they are cheriſhed and honoured, they marvellouſly flouriſh, in ſo much as in ſome tranſmarine Kingdomes their *Lawyers* are held, and for the moſt part undoubtedly are more ſufficient Schollers then their *Divines*; and within this laſt *Centenarie*, much more ſufficient then the writers and profeſſours of the ſame facultie in many precedent ages, as well in that part which is profeſſed in Schooles, as the practique expreſſed in judgements and pleadings. He that ſhall judiciouſly compare *Baldus* and *Bartolus*, *Iaſon* and *Accurſius*, with *Cuijacius*, *Alciatus*, *Otiomannus*, *Duarenus*, all *Frenchmen*, ſhall eaſily finde theſe latter not onely for their phraſe more polite, and for their methode more exact, but for the marrow & true ſence of the Law more profound. I will inſtance onely in the two firſt. For *Cuijacius*, it is a memorable teſtimony which is yeelded him by *Maſſonius*; *Iacobus Cuijacius juris Romani radices tanta cura effoſſas in lucem protulit, ut cæteri ante eum ignoraſſe illas, ipſe ſolus poſt multos & quæſiviſſe diligentius, & penitius inveniſſe videatur*: *Iames Cuiace* with ſo great induſtrie digged up and brought to light the very rootes of the *Imperiall* Law, that both others before him ſeemed to be ignorant of them, and hee alone after others to have ſought them more diligently, and diſcovered them more fully: but that of *Pythæus* outvies this of *Maſſonius*, where in an *Epitaph* erected to him, he doubts not to ſtile him, *Romani juris à primis Conditoribus interpretem primum & ultimum*, the firſt and the laſt interpreter of the *Roman* Law ſince the firſt founders thereof: adding withall, that what cleare and native light ſoever is at all brought to that ſcience, this preſent age hath derived it from him, and to him poſterity muſt owe it, which he hath well expreſſed in this *Diſtich*:

Cuijacij Themidiſque vides commune ſepulchrum,
Conduntur ſimul hic quæ periere ſimul.

Cujas and *Themis* here lie in one common grave,
They dy'd together and one ſepulchre they have.

Whereunto may bee added the grave teſtimony which *Arias Montanus* gives *Alciat*.

Eloquio jus Romanum lucebat & arte,
Turba obſcurarunt barbara legulei.
Andreas priſco reddit ſua jura nitori,

Conſultoſque

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Consultoſque facit doctius inde loqui.
The Civill Law with art and eloquence did ſhine,
But barbarous pettifoggers did the ſame obſcure;
In ſeaſon *Alciat* came and did the Lawes refine,
And taught the Lawyers thence to ſpeake more pure.

Yet *Cuijacius* himſelfe, whether out of judgment or modeſty I cannot affirme, was content to yeeld the bucklers to *Govianus*, touching whom *Thuanus* witneſſeth, that himſelfe heard him thus proteſting, *Govianum ex omnibus juris Juſtinianei interpretibus, quotquot ſunt vel fuere, unum eſſe, cui, ſi quaeratur quis excellat, palma deferenda ſit*: that of all the Interpreters of the Lawes of *Juſtinian*, which either are, or have bin, if the queſtion ſhould bee, who amongſt them moſt excelled, *Govianus* was the onely man, to whom the price was of right to bee adjudged. Now for the latter part, which is the *practique*, it may eaſily be evidenced to any who will bee pleaſed to loooke into it, that by the obſervations, experience, paines, and learning of the *Lawyers* of thoſe latter ages, it is grown to much more exactneſſe and perfection, then former ages had. Which appeares by the *judgments*, *deciſions*, *arreſts*, and *pleadings* of the higheſt Courts of the greateſt part of the *Chriſtian* Nations, which are extant in great numbers, as the *deciſions* of the ſeverall *Rotes* of *Italy* at *Rome*, at *Naples*, at *Florence*, at *Genoa*, at *Bononia*, at *Mantua*, at *Peruſium*, and the reſt. The *Iudgments* of the *Imperiall* chamber at *Spire*, which is the laſt reſort of the *Germane* Nation: and the arreſt of the ſeverall Courtes of *Parliament* in *France*, as *Paris*, *Aix*, *Burdeaux*, *Grenoble*, and the reſt: to which may bee added the pleadings of *Monſieur Servin*, the *French* Kings advocate, and others of that nature, which are all publiſhed and extant, partly in *Latine*, and partly in their owne languages, with that variety and learning as much exceedes the former ages.

Bibliot. hiſt. 99.

SECT. 4.

Ancient and Moderne Phyſitians compared eſpecially in the knowledge of Anatomy and Herbary, the two legges of that Science.

THE third great Profeſſion is *Phyſicke*, in which beſides the uncertaine and fabulous reports of *Apollo* and *Eſculapius*, wee reade not of any excellent till *Hippocrates*, and after him being much decayed, it was revived by *Galen, ut ſub eo rurſum nata medicina videatur*, ſo as it ſeemed under him to be borne againe. Two ſpeciall parts thereof are the *knowledge of the body of man, and the knowledge of ſimples*: touching the former, the opening and anatomizing of mens bodies. It was doubtleſſe among the *Antients* in very little uſe, I meane the *Ægyptians*, the *Hebrewes*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the Primitive *Chriſtians*. Firſt then I know the *Ægyptians* are by ſome ſaid to have beene this way moſt skilfull, but conſidering how exceſſively curious & ceremonious, or rather ſuperſtitious they were in preſerving their bodies intire & unputrified, I conceive their opening thē to have beene rather for the imbowelling & imbaulming, then the anatomizing of them: and for the *Grecians*

Laurentius.

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cians they could not well practise it, in as much as they usually burnt their dead bodies, by the testimony not onely of *Homer* and *Herodotus*, (whose authorities yet in this case might passe as sufficient) but likewise of *Thucidides* and *Plutarch*, witnesses beyond all exception, whereof the latter in the 3 booke and 4 question of his *Sympasiaques* gives us to understand, that their custome was with the bodies of ten men to burne one of a woman, because they supposed their flesh to bee more unctuous, and thereby to helpe forward the burning of the rest more easily and speedily; The same author likewise writes of *Pyrrhus* in his life that the rest of his body being consumed to ashes, only his great toe with which he cured the *Spleene* remained unburnt. And surely had Anatomy bin in use among the *Grecians*, mee thinkes Physitians and Anatomists should somewhere discover it in the works of *Hippocrates* yet extant, which I presume cannot be showne; once I am sure, that when at the instance of the *Abderites* he came to visite *Democritus*, he found him (as may be seene in his Epistle to *Damogetus*) cutting up severall beasts, who being by him demaunded the reason thereof, *Democritus* returnes him this answere, *Hæc animalia quæ vides propterea seco, non dei opera perosus, sed fellis bilisque naturam disquirens*; these beasts which thou seest, I cut up, not because I hate the works of God, but to search into the nature of gall and choller: now if he feared lest the cutting up of beasts might be censured as an hating of Gods workes, hee must needes much more have feared that censure, had hee cut up the bodies of men.

But among the *Iewes* it is evident, that this Art could not bee in use, for that their executed malefactours were put to death either by burning or stoning, (whom they buried under an heape of stones) or by crucifying them upon a crosse; and for these they had expresse charge, *Deu.* 21. at the last verse, that they should not suffer them *to hang all night upon the tree, but in any wise must they bury them the very day they were crucified*: and besides it was most precisely injoyned them *Numbers* 19. 11. that they might not so much as *touch the dead body* of any that was either executed, or died otherwise, and hee that touched it was by the law of *Moses* so farre held *uncleane*, that if he presumed to enter into the *tabernacle* before he was purified, he was to be cut off from *Israel* for defiling it; nay, if in this case he but touched bread or pottage, or wine, or oyle, or any meate, hee thereby made it uncleane, as appeares *Aggai* 2.13.

Some more doubt seemes to bee touching the ancient *Romans*, but I thinke it may easily bee shewed, that from the *Grecians* they likewise tooke up & practised the burning of dead bodies: the places which they commonly used to this purpose were by them called *puticuli* or *culinæ*, & the pots or vessels in which they preserved the bones & ashes of the burnt bodies, *Vrnæ*, whereof I have seen one in M. *Chambers* his keeping at *Bath*: but all the difficultie seemes to cõsist in this, when this custome *began* among them, and when it *ceased*, for the former it is commonly held, that it was not in use among the *Romans* before *Sylla* the *Dictator*, who having himselfe cruelly tyrannized upon the dead body of *Marius*, & fearing lest the same measure might be shewed to himselfe, commanded

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manded that his body instantly upon his death should be burned, whereas *Plin.* 7. 54. only sayes, that he was the first of the *Cornelian* family that had his body burnt; & *Tully* 2 *de legibus* restraines it more narrowly, *Primus è patritijs Cornelijs igni voluit cremari*, he was the first of the *Cornelian* nobility that commanded it; and hee that attentively readeth the *Roman* story will easily finde, that this custome was practised among them long before *Sylla*, even from the first foundation of *Rome*, so witnesseth *Ovid* in his 4. *de Fastis*, speaking of *Remus* the brother of *Romulus*;

Arsuroſque artus unxit.
The limbes that now were to be burnt
His brother did annoynt.

And againe:

Vltima plorato ſubdita flamma rogo eſt:
The last fire now was set unto his hearse.

After this *Numa* being by sect a *Pythagorian*, forbad his owne body to bee burnt, as witnesseth *Plutarch* in his life, which he needed not have done had not the custome then beene usuall: and *Tullus Hostilius* his successour had not his body therefore burnt because he was stricken dead with lightning, for so was the Law. After this again *Tully* in his second *de legibus* tells us, that the Law of the 12 Tables commanded, *Hominem mortuum in urbe nè ſepelito, nevè urito*: let no dead body be buried or burned in the Citie, which (as he there addes) was for feare their buildings might from thence take fire: now the Lawes of the 12 Tables were composed, as witnesseth *Gellius* 20. 1. in the 300 yeares after the foundation of the City, which was almost 400 yeares before *Sylla*; and if any desire further satisfaction in this point, I referre him to the learned and copious *Annotations* of *Blasius Vigenerus* in *French* upon the first *Decade* of *Livie*, which Authour himselfe hath excellently translated into that language; among other examples produced by him to their purpose, he makes it plaine out of *Livie lib.* 8. that the body of the sonne of *Manlius* the Consull, (who contrary to his fathers command fought out of his ranke, & was therefore by a command from the same mouth put to death) was presently carried out of the campe and burned with all military pompe, and this he assignes to the yeare 412 by his computation, above 270 yeares before the death of *Sylla*.

Now this practise of the *Romans* I have the longer insisted upon partly for the checking of *a common errour*, holding that before *Sylla* the *Romans* burnt not their dead bodies; and partly to shew that many of those monstrous Gyantlike bodies, which as well among the *Romans* as *Grecians* are said to have beene digged up, where undoubtedly burnt, but chiefly that hereby it may appeare, that the noble and usefull practise of *anatomizing* mens bodies, was not in use among them, neither indeed could it bee, considering they held it unlawfull, *aspicere humana exta*, as *Pliny* speakes in his proeme to his 28 booke, to looke upon the entrals of mens bodies, and *Dion* in his 55 tells us, that it was granted to *Tiberius* to touch the body of *Augustus*, *quod mos alias erat*, which was otherwise unlawfull: & from hence it was that their *Vespillones*, *Coriarij*, *Pollinctores*, *Libitinarij*, and other officers of that kinde imployed about

about the washing, the annointing, the carrying forth, the burning and providing things necessary about the dead, were not suffered to live in the City, and the bodies themselves were burnt without the City, and few there were that went forth of the city gates to wait on the funerals of their neereſt and deereſt friends.

Sen. nat. quaſt. 3. 18.

Now the Antiquity of this custome being cleared, a second doubt there is, when it ceased: manifest then it is, that it continued in use till the *Antonius*, and then began it by degrees to be disused; *Macrobius* witnessing in the seaventh booke and seaventh chapter of his *Saturnals*, that in his time it was in a manner growne out of use, yet certaine it is that the bodies of *Pertinax* and *Severus* fifty yeares after, were both burned, as reporteth *Dion* of the one, and *Herodian* in his fourth book of the other: and neere about this time it was that *Galen* lived, so as I verily beleeve hee never or very seldome opened the bodies of men, I know that *Riolan* and *Laurentius* have both of them zealously defended him against the Neotericks, who charge him with much weakenesse and ignorance in this Art, but I cannot observe that either of them hath produced so much as one cleare passage out of any part of his workes, to prove that he ever so much as once opened the body of man: dogges indeed, & swine, & apes it appeares he opened, & once an Elephant, but for his usuall opening of mens bodies, in my minde they bring no sufficient proofes, which *Laurentius* himselfe well perceiving, modestly concludes his answere to the first instance brought against *Galen* with a *verisimile est*, it is likely that he cut up the bodies of men.

But let us passe on from the *Ieves* and *Gentiles*, to the Primitive *Christians* who were (as their workes shew) *professed adversaries* to this practise. *Tertullian* in the fourth chapt. of his booke *de anima*, speaking of *Herophilus*, doubts whether he may call him *medicum* or *lanium*, a Physitian or a butcher, *qui hominem odijt ut noſſet* saith hee, who hated mankinde that he might know it, & S. *Augustine de Civit. dei* 22. 24. harpes much upon the same string, *Etsi medicorum diligentia nonnulla crudelis quos anatomicos appellant laniavit corpora mortuorum*: howbeit the over-diligent crueltie of some Physitians whom they call *Anatomists* hath butchered the bodies of the dead: And to like purpose is that of *Boniface* the eight, *extravag. commun. lib. 3. tit. 6. cap.* 1. where he severely threatens such with the thunderbolt of *excommunication* irrevocable, but onely by the sea *Apostolique*, who exenterate dead bodies, and cut the flesh from the bones, mangling it into gobbets, *quod non ſolum* (saith hee) *divinæ majestatis conſpectui abominabile plurimum redditur, ſed etiam humanæ conſiderationis obtutibus occurit vehementius; abhorrendum* which is a practise abominable in the eyes both of God and men. Out of all which it appeares that this practise of anatomizing the dead bodies of men, so profitable to bring us to the knowledge of our selves, and consequently of our maker, so necessarie to Physitians & Surgeans, was never brought into the bodie of a perfect art, till this latter age. *Nos multa quotidie prioribus ſeculis incognita obſervamus*: we observe many things utterly unknowne to former ages: And this last age in truth hath yeelded men singular in this art. *Veſalius, Vaſſæus, Varolius, Sylvi-*

Laurentius.

us,

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us, Fallopius, Piccolhominæus, Columbus, Riolanus, Bauhinus, Laurentius, who followed *Henry* the fourth of *France* in his *civill* warres, & gained much experience by cutting up the bodies of such as were slaine in the field, *ut videatur hæc Ars nunc summum perfectionis fastigium attigisse*, they be his owne words, so as this Art now, and never before seemes to have reached the very top of perfection. Never was it in any age so illustrated with lively and exquisite pictures, so encouraged with stipends, so furnished with schooles, fitting instruments, & all manner of helpes, & generally so honoured as it is at this day. And truly I have often not a little wondred with my selfe, that an Universitie so famous in forraine parts as this of *Oxford*, was never to my knowledge provided of a *publique Lecture* in this kinde, till now; as neither was it for a *garden of simples*, now in good forwardnes by the noble munificence of the *Heroicall Earle* of *Danbie*, nor of a *History Lecture*, nor of an *Arabique*, though it were long since solemnly decreed in the Councell of *Vienna*, that this University, as likewise *Paris*, *Bononia*, *Salamanca*, and *Rome* (which were undoubtedly then accounted the principall Universities in *Christendome*) should each of them have maintained two professours in that language, as also in *Chalde* & *Hebrew*: *Clementinarum, lib. 5. Tit. 1. cap. 1.*

Now for the knowledge of *Simples*, the other legge, as it were upon which *Physicke* stands, as *Theophrastus* was in many things amended by *Pliny*, and *Pliny* by *Dioscorides*, so hath *Dioscorides* himselfe by the happy travels of *Ruellius*, and *Routillius*, and *Leonardus Fuchsius*, who in his Epistle to *Ioachimus* Marquesse of *Brandenburge*, tells us, that this part of *Physicke* was a while since so utterly neglected and defaced, that, had not *God* raised up industrious and learned men to restore it, *actum planè de Medicina Herbaria fuisset*, it had beene utterly lost: But *Hermolaus Barbarus* was he, who by translating *Dioscorides* out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, and by adding his *Corrolarium* thereunto touching the same subject, first recovered the ancient lustre thereof. And since, by reason of the discovery of many parts of the world unknowne to the Ancients, many *plants*, *gummes*, *drugges*, and *mineralls*, are by *Monardus* and others knowne to us, which they never heard of.

To these *Herbalists* of this later age may bee added *Gerard* our owne Countrey-man, and *Dodonæus*, of whom *Meursius* gives this testimonie; *De eo hoc fatendum, in sua arte illi pares paucos, superiorem neminem, usquam extitisse.* *Athenæ Batavæ.*

SECT. 5.

Of the profitable use of extractions, and the Paracelsian Physicke, either wholly unknowne to the Ancients, or little practised by them.

TO the perfitting of the *Anatomicall* and reviving of the *Botanicall* art in this latter age, may bee added a *new* kinde of *Physicke* professed by a *new sect* of *Physitians*, never heard of in the world before; and altogether differing from the *Ancients*, as in *name* and *tearmes of art*, so likewise in *rules*, in *matter*, and *methode* & *manner* of proceeding,

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as well for *doctrine* as *practise*; a founder it had (if wee may credit himselfe) descended of a noble and ancient familie among the *Helvetians*, the name which hee gives himselfe *Philippus, Theophrastus, Bombastus, ab Hoenhaim*, or *Paracelsus*, by which name he is now commonly known; borne he was in or about the yeare 1494, and died at *Salisburge* in *Germanie*, in the yeare 1541, being then but forty seaven; a man strangely composed, as *Bullinger*, and *Gesner*, and *Operinus*, a Citizen of *Basile* (his bosome-friend and individuall companion for some yeares) have characterized him: without learning, without civilitie, without religion, being never heard to pray, a great hater of women, and yet an excessive lover of wine, exceedingly vaine-glorious in his words and writings, & yet sordide in his apparell, and base in the company he willingly made choice of, which for the most part were Coach-men and Cartars, or bores of the Countrey, & with these would he sit up drinking all night, and (then seldome shifting himselfe) cast himselfe downe on a bed to sleepe, prodigall he was in his expenses, yet seldome wanted money, & sometimes having not a pennie in his purse over night, hee would draw forth handfulls of gold in the morning, which made men beleeve hee had indeed the art of transmutation of mettals, and that he carried with him the Philosophers stone in the pommell of his sword, which he alwayes wore: he spent some time in most of the Universities in *Christendome*, consulting in matters of physicke with *Doctours, Surgeans, keepers of Bathes, wise men, Magitians, Alchymists, Monkes*, and of all kinde of people: And lastly, passing into *Arabia*, he there likewise spent tenne yeares more in the same studies, (if we may credit *Bickerus* in *Hermete redivivo*) and so returning (as he there speakes) loaded with the spoiles of the *East*; hee brought to light in those parts of the world the use of *Hermeticall, Spagyricall*, or *Chymicall* Physicke, (as they tearme it.) So as where *Galen* mentions in his time but three sects of Physitians, *Emperikes, Methodists*, and *Dogmatiques*; we have now a fourth that goe under the name of *Chymiques, Hermetiques*, or *Paracelsians* (& a branch of them as I conceive, is the order *Roseæ Crucis*) who treading in the steppes of their *master*, have changed *Aristotles* three principles of naturall bodies, *matter, forme*, and *privation*; into *Salt, Sulphur*, and *Mercury*; and from the severall temper of these three, they affirme all sicknesses and health to arise. I will not in all things undertake the defence of them, neither can I if I would; the truth is, they magnifie themselves too much; and overvaluing themselves and their owne wits, and worth, they too much disesteeme the precepts and practise of the Ancients; yet it cannot bee denied, but by reason of their artificiall *extractions, separations*, and *preparations* of their medicines; they have had happy successe in the curing of some *desperate diseases*, which in former ages have bin thought incurable; and *Paracelsus* himselfe, even by the acknowledgment of his adversaries, wrought wonders in the speedy healing of inveterate and festered ulcers; for that he was able by meere art to make *Homunculos* little men, or to raise the dead to life, or to prolong the life of a man to some thousands of yeares, (as hee vainely boasteth of himselfe) is I confesse no part of my Creede. Well then, leaving their vanities to themselves,

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I doubt not but the most learned Physitians of this age, who sticke most to *Galen*, (if they be not led with *faction* or *fancie*, but with *judgement*, *reason*, and *experience*) will easily confesse at times a profitable use of the *Paracelsian extractions* in their practice, as being lesse loathsome, & cumbersome, and withall more active and vigorous, more spirituall and operative; as on the other side it must be granted, that being applied without good advise and moderation, they cannot but prove dangerous, by reason of their peircing and searching nature; so as the joyning of the *Galenicall* and *Paracelsian* Physicke together, making use of them both as occasion serves, is by 1 *Audernacus*, 2 *Sennertus*, 3 *Quercitan*, and some others of best note, held the best and safest course. I cannot here omit *Quercitanes* words to this purpose: *Si Hippocrates, vel Aristoteles, vel ipse etiam Galenus nunc reviviscerent, obstupescerent certè tot ornamentis artem hanc adauctam atque illustratam, tot novis inventis ditatam, tot mirificis operationibus confirmatam*: If *Hippocrates*, or *Aristotle*, or *Galen* himselfe were now alive, they would wonder to see this art enlarged and beautified with so many ornaments, enriched with so many new inventions, confirmed by so many strange practises and experiments. Whereupon hee inferres: *Verissimum itaque est quod sapientum quidam medicorum nostri seculi ait, creverunt cum ingeniis & ipsa scientia atteque magna & incredibilia incrementa sumpserunt*: It is most true, which one of the wisest Physitians of our age affirmes, together with good wits the sciences sprang up, and the Arts are incredibley inproved.

1. *De vetere & nova medicina.*
2. *De Chymicorum cum Galenicis consensu.*
3. *Pharmacopæa dogmaticorum restituta.*

Ad Paracelsum verò quod attinet, (they are the words of the same Author) *equidem mihi nequaquam proposui ipsius theologiæ patrocinium suscipere, sed præter illud testimonium quo Erasmus illum quibusdam epistolis ornavit ausim ego dicere & tueri, multum illum penè divinitus in re medica docere, & quæ nunquam satis admirari & prædicari grata posteritas possit*, Touching *Paracelsus* I will not take upon mee the defence of his divinity; but beside that testimony which *Erasmus* in some of his epistles affords him, I dare affirme and maintaine, that in *Physicke* hee hath taught many things by a divine inspiration after a manner, and such as gratefull posterity will never bee able sufficiently either to commend or admire

Neither can I here in silence passe over that weapon salve first found out and brought into the light by the same *Paracelsus*, as the most receaved opinion is. Some there are I confesse, who have written against it, but those who have written in defence of it, are no lesse learned and judicious, as namely *Paracelsus* himselfe, *Oswaldus Crollius*, *Iohannes Ernestus*, *Burgravius*, *Rodolphus Goclenius*, *Iohannes Baptista* ab *Helmont* a Doctor of phisicke at *Brussells*, *Robert Flud* Doctor of physicke of out owne nation, And to these adhere or at leastwise incline, *Cardan*, *Baptista Porta*, and my Lord of S. *Alban*, but on the other side I finde the practise hereof censured and cryed downe by *Libavius*, *Tidicæus*, *Keckerman*, *Iohannes Roberti a Iesuite*, with whom joyne the universities of *Louvain* and *Doway*, who have written on both sides so learnedly as I may truly concerning them take up that of the Poet.

-----Vitulo tu dignus & hic.

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yet certaine it is, that the good though ſtrange effects hereof have bin found by many and evident experiments, if wee may beleeve the relation of ſuch, whoſe place and authority well deſerves credit.

CHAP. 8.

Touching Hiſtory, Poetry and the Art Military.

SECT. 1.

That the moderne farre exceeded the Ancients in Chronologie and Coſmography, the two eyes of Hiſtory.

AS the two legges of *Phyſicke* are *Anatomie* and *Herbarie*, ſo the two eyes of *Hiſtory* are *Chronologie* and *Topographie*, *computation* of *times*, and *deſcription* of *places*: in both which it is certaine, that the *Modernes* have ſo farre exceeded the *Ancients*, as theſe ſeeme to have ſeene nothing in a manner in regard of them. Firſt then for *Chronologie*, how dim ſighted are the *Ancients* in the *computation* of *times*, how miſerably doe they wander up and downe in the darke, & knocke their heads each againſt other, and how excellently have latter Writers, and ſpecially *Ioſeph Scaliger* in that moſt elaborate worke of his *de emendatione Temporum*, cleared thoſe miſts, and chaſed away that darknes. *Baronius* toward the end of his *apparatus* ſet before his *Annals* doubts not to affirme, that the Church of God anciently was wont to compute the yeares from the beginning of the world not according to the *Hebrew* originall, but according to the 70 interpreters; and *Genebrard* not farre from the end of his firſt booke aſſures us that the Septuagint or rather their corrupters of them added of their owne about 600 yeares.

Ex. 1. in Paron p. 150.

It is to this purpoſe a notable ſpeech of *Caſaubons*, *Scientia temporum quantoperè fuerit poſt renatas literas exulta, quàm admiranda acceperit incrementa, aſinus eſt qui ignorat inter literatos, malignus & beneficiorum Dei ingratus æſtimator qui diſſimulat, ſtupenda enim ſunt quæ ſummi viri in noſtra præſertim Gallia & Germania præſtiterunt.* He that knowes not how much the knowledge of times hath beene laboured ſince the new birth of good letters, among the learned, can bee held but an aſſe, and hee who diſſembles it, envious, and an ungratefull under-valuer of *Gods* bleſſings toward this age: admirable things they are which in this kinde men of note have atchieved, ſpecially in our *France* and *Germany*. To which rich teſtimony of *Caſaubon* fully accords that of *Scaliger* himſelfe in the firſt *cap.* of the forenamed booke; *venio ad noſtros, recentiores dico, qui hodiè ſummo cum fructu, ſacra Græca & Romana hiſtoriæ tempora digeſſerunt. Ii heroica virtute chronologiam negligentia & contemptu majorum intermortuam ac ſepultam, è tenebris & oblivionis ſilentio quotidiè eruere conantur. Certè meum ſemper judicium fuit eam rem majore cum laude ab illis reſtitutam, quam ab antiquis proditam fuiſſe. Nam non ſolum*

plaraque

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plæraque in ratione temporum priſtinæ integritati reddiderunt, ſed & longè meliora efficerunt.

The learned workes in *Chronologie* of *Funccius*, *Buntingius*, *Bucholcerus*, *Helvicus*, *Calviſius*, *Genebrardus*, *Gordanus*, *Salianus*, *Torniellus*, *Wolphius*, *Petavius*, and our *Engliſh Lively* (of whoſe skill in *Chronologie*, the ſame *Caſaubon* makes honorable mention, *cent. Bar. Exer. 16. n. 13.*) their workes, I ſay, publiſhed to the world, make their words good, and fully teſtifie what hee there affirmes. The computation of the yeare even among the *Grecians* (then held the wiſeſt people of the world) was for a long time groſſe and uncertaine, till *Meton* the *Athenian* corrected it; which invention of his being intertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome* was there inſerted into their Calender in Golden letters, being from thence called the *golden number*, which name it ſtill retaineth unto this day: but afterward, this being likewiſe found defective, *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*; and after this againe *Hipparchus* a noble Aſtronomer, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former obſervations, which they diligently amended; yet not ſo exactly, but a farther information ſtill needed, which *Iulius Cæſar* made, by the advice of the beſt Mathematicians then to be found, who more preciſely examining the courſes of the Sunne and Moone, reduced the yeare unto the former which is now in uſe with us containing 365 dayes and ſix houres, which houres in foure yeares make up one whole day that is intercalated every fourth yeare, the 24. of *February*: this worthy worke of *Cæſars*, *Plutarch*, and *Scaliger*, paralell with his greateſt triumphs; yet was it not ſo accurate, but the firſt Generall Councell held at *Nice*, found in it ſomewhat amiſſe and reformed it: though ſome miſtake was herein alſo obſerved by *Bede*, *Argyrus*, *Campanus*, *Iohannes de ſacro boſco* and others, and thereupon was the right ordering thereof attempted by *Nicholaus Caſanus*, and *Petrus de Alliaco* Cardinalls; *Paule of Middleborough*, and *Lucas Gauricus* Biſhops, *Regiomontanus*, *Stoflerinus* and *Pighius* learned men; but *Aloyſius Lilius* was hee who compoſed a treatiſe thereof, which after his death being by his brother *Antonius* Dr of phyſicke, preſented to *Gregorie* the 13th Biſhop of *Rome*, he approved it ſo well as he ſent Copies thereof to the chiefe Princes, and Univerſities under his juriſdiction, to crave their opinions thereupon, and conſents thereunto; and for the better ſetling thereof, called to *Rome* the moſt famous Mathematicians through the world, profeſſing the *Romiſh* Religion, who conſulting of this great buſineſſe by the ſpace of ten yeares, at laſt agreed upon that Calender, which is called either *Gregorianum*, becauſe it was publiſhed in the yeare 1582 during the Popedome, and by the command of *Gregorie* the 13th, or *Lilianum*, becauſe it was for the maine ground thereof the invention of *Aloyſius Lilius*, which though it be oppoſed by *Scaliger*, *Gernianus*, *Vieta*, *Maeſtlin* and others, yet hath *Clavius* (who was himſelfe preſent and a principall actor in that Mathematicall Synode in *Rome*) undertaken the defence thereof againſt them all, how juſtly I leave it to the skilfull in that profeſſion to judge, but this I thinke, that it is an eaſier matter to finde fault with that, then to finde out a better.

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Now for *Topographie*, the other eye of *History*, *Strabo* often, and that deservedly censures *Eratosthenes*, *Hipparchus*, *Polybius*, *Posidonius*, the graveſt *Authours* among the *Ancients*, and *Ptolomie* ſharply takes up *Marinus Tyrius*, though otherwiſe a diligent Writer: yet both *Strabo* & *Ptolomy* themſelves, if they be compared with our latter Geographers, *Hondius*, *Mercator*, *Thevet*, *Merula*, *Ortelius*, *Maginus*, *Cluerus*, *Gemma Friſius*, *Appian*, *Hunterus*, *Guicciardine*, *Michael Tramma ſinus*, *Franciſcus Demongenitus*, *Bernardus Puteanus*, *Andreas Vaviſor*, *Tramontanus*, *Petrus Martyr*, and the learned *Munſter* how defective how imperfect would they bee found. Vpon the laſt of which this Epitaph is deſeruedly beſtowed:

Vrſtitius Hiſt. Baſil.

Germanus Eſdras heic
Straboque conditur;
Si plura quæris, audies
Seb: Munſterus Ingelh.
Theologus & Coſmogr:
Inter primos ſummus.
Solennem aſcenſionis mem:
Anno Sal. M. D. L. II.
Major ſexag: morte piâ
Illuſtravit.

The ignorance of former ages in this point was ſo groſſe, that what time *Pope Clement* the ſixth, as wee reade in *Robert* of *Aveſbury*, had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine* to bee *Prince* of the *Fortunate Ilands*, and for to aide and aſſiſt him, muſtred Souldiers in *France* and *Italy*, our Countreymen were verily perſwaded that hee was choſen *Prince* of *Brittaine*, as one (ſaith hee) of the *Fortunate Ilands*: yea and our very *Ligier Embaſſadours* there with the *Pope*, were ſo deepely in this opinion, that forthwith they with-drew themſelves from *Rome*, and haſted with all ſpeed into *England*, there to certifie their Countreymen and friends of the matter: It is very obſervable indeed admirable that neither *Herodotus*, nor *Thucydides*, nor any other *Greeke* authour contemporarie with them, have ſo much as mentioned the *Romans* though then growing up to a dreadfull power, and being both *Europæans*; and for the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, the *Grecians*, as witneſſeth *Budæus* in his fourth booke *de aſſe*, were ſo utterly ignorant of them, that *Ephorus* one of their moſt accurate writers, tooke *Spaine*, which hee calls *Iberia*, to bee a Citie, though the Coſmographers make the circuit of it to containe above 1136 *French* miles, ſo true is that of *Fracaſtorius* in his Epiſtle to *Paule* the third Biſhoppe of *Rome* prefixed to his booke which hee intitles *Homocentricorum*: *Majores noſtri*: &c. Our anceſtours knew little Weſtward beyond the Fortunare Ilands, and Eaſtward as little beyond *Catygara*, ſo as of the whole habitable world, hardly one halfe thereof was knowne to them. The head of *Nilus* was to the ancients utterly unknowne, as witneſſeth *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, *Strabo* in his Geographie *lib.* 17. *Diodorus Siculus* in his *Bibliotheca lib.* 1. to which *Ovid* in his *Metam.* alludes:

Anno 1344.

Nilus

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Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem, Lib. 2.
Occuluitque caput, quod adhuc latet.
Nile fled for feare to the words utmoſt bound,
And hidde his head, which cannot yet bee found.

And with him doth *Lucan* accord, Lib. 10. Pharſ.

Et te terrarum neſcit cui debeat orbis
Arcanum naturæ caput, non prodidit ulli:
Nec licuit populis parvum te Nile videre,
Amovitque ſinus, & gentes maluit ortus
Mirari quam noſſe ſuos.
Nor knowes the wondring world in what world bred,
So nature, *Nile* conceales thy ſacred head,
None ſeeing thee not great; thy fountaines ſhee
Hath ſet apart, and would that they ſhould bee
Rather admir'd then knowne.

Notwithſtanding that the firſt originall of this river was ſought after by many great Potentates, and that with exceſſive travell and charge, as namely *Soſoſtris, Cambyſes, Alexander, Philadelphus, Nero*; yet was it diſcovered by none of them. *Sed hoc tempore ut alia multa comperta ſunt veteribus incognita, ſic etiam deprehenſa ſunt primordia Nili*, ſaith *Pererius in Gen. lib. 3. de Paradiſo*: but now as many others things are found out unknowne to the ancients, ſo likewiſe among others the head-ſpring of *Nilus*, and that in vaſt mariſhes neere the mountaines of the *Moone*, not farre from the famous promontorie of *Good hope*, where is the utmoſt bound of the Continent, according to the latitude of the Globe of the earth, Southward:

Yet that which to me ſeemeth more ſtrange, is that thoſe two learned Clearkes *Lactantius* and *Auguſtine*, ſhould with that earneſtneſſe deny the being of any *Antipodes*. Their words are worth the noting, thereby to ſee their confidence and eagerneſſe in the maintenance of ſo evident a miſtake. *Quid illi*, ſaith *Lactantius*, *qui eſſe contrarios veſtigiis noſtris Antipodes putant, num aliquid loquuntur? aut eſt quiſquam tam ineptus qui credat eſſe homines quorum veſtigia ſunt ſuperiora quam capita? aut ibi quæ apud nos jacent inverſa pendere? fruges & arbores deorſum verſus creſcere, pluvias, & nives, & grandinem ſurſum verſus cadere in terram? Et miratur aliquis hortos penſiles inter ſeptem mira narrari, quum Philoſophi & agros, & maria, & urbes, & montes penſiles faciunt?* What ſhall wee thinke of them who give out there are *Antipodes*, that walke oppoſite to us, doe they ſpeake any thing to the purpoſe, or is there any ſo blockiſh as to beleeve there are men whoſe feet are higher then their heads, or that thoſe thinges there hang, which with us lye on the ground? that the plants and trees ſpring downeward, that the ſnow and raine, and haile fall upward upon the earth? and need any man marvell that hanging gardens are counted in the number of the ſeven wonders of the world, ſince the Phyloſophers have made both fields and ſeas, cities and mountaines all hanging? *Lactantius* is herein ſeconded by *Auguſtine*: *Quod verò & Antipodes eſſe fabulantur, id eſt homines à contraria parte terræ ubi ſol oritur quando occidit nobis, adverſa pedibus noſtris calcare,* Divinarum Inſtitut. 3. c. 24. De Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 9.

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calcare vestigia, nullâ ratione credendum est. Their fable of the *Antipodes*, that is, men dwelling in the opposite part of the earth where the Sunne rises when it sets to us, having their feete opposite to ours, is a matter altogether incredible, and by no meanes to bee beleeved. But *Zachary* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*, led (as it seemes) by the authority of these Fathers, went farther herein, condemning one *Virgilius* a Bishop of *Saltzburg* as an *Heretique*, only for holding that there were *Antipodes*. But time and travell have now discovered the contrary so evidently, that, we may as well doubt the being of a Sunne in the firmament as the experimentall clearenes of this truth.

Aventinus in hist. Bojorum An. 745.

And as evident it is now likewise found to bee by certaine experience, that under the middle or *burning Zone* (which the *Ancients* by meanes of excessive heat, held altogether *inhabitable*) there is as healthfull, temperate, and pleasant dwelling as any where in the world, as appeares by the relations of *Benzo*, *Acosta*, and others. Yet that the Ancients held them inhabitable, appeares by those verses of *Ovid*.

—Duæ dextrâ cælum totidemque sinistrâ
Parte secant Zonæ, media est ardentior illis;
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
Cura Dei, totidemque plagæ tellure premuntur.
Quarum quæ media est, non est habitabilis æstu.
Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utrumque locavit
Temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma.

And with him doth *Virgill* fully accord;

Quinque tenent cælum zonæ, quarum una corusco
Semper sole rubens, & torrida semper ab igne
Quam circum extremæ dextra lævaque trahuntur
Cæruleâ glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris,
Has inter mediamque duæ mortalibus ægris
Munere concessæ Divum.

Besides the *Ancients* (as it seemes) were altogether ignorant of the new World discovered in the yeare 1592 by *Columbus*, now knowne by the name of *America* or the *West-Indies*, whatsoever from *Platoes Atlantis*, or *Solomons Ophire* be sleightly pretended to the contrary: Of the discovery whereof our English Latin Epigrammatist thus wittily writes.

Cedere diluvium camposque patere liquentes,
Nuncia de cælo prima Columba venit.
Æquora sic ultra nostris incognita, primus
Nunciat immensos esse Columbus agros.
Aurum, arrham secum tulit alter, & altera olivam;
Alter divitias; altera delicias.

Yet I confesse I have often wondred not a little at *Senecaes* bold prophetick spirit touching that discovery:

Senecain Medea

Venient annis *Sæcula seris,*
Quibus Oceanus *Vincula rerum*
Laxet, & ingens *Pateat tellus,*
Typhisque novos *Detegat orbes,*
Nec sit terris *Ultima Thule.*

In

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In latter times an age shall rise,
Wherein the Ocean shall the bands
Of things enlarge: there shall likewise
New worlds appeare, and mighty lands
Typhis discover, then *Thule*
The worlds end shall no longer be.

This *propheſie* wee have found fulfilled not onely in the discovery of those vast Regions before unknowne, but in opening by meanes of *Navigation*, and the helpe of the *Compasse* every creeke and corner of the habitable world, worth the knowing: so that now it hath, and never before had it, *thorow lights* made in it. Nay particular Countreys have bin of late yeares most exactly described by severall *Writers*. The *Netherlands* by *Lewis Guicciardine*, *Great Brittaine* by the renowned *Camden*, & the like by others. Neither have there wanted some who have descended to Provinces and Shires, Master *Carew* to the *survay* of *Cornewall*, Master *Lambert* to the *perambulation* of *Kent*, and Master *Burton* to the description of *Leceſterſhire*: yea particular Cities, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, *London*, and the Houses of great Princes have found their particular *Maps* and delineations so fully and perfectly expressed, as in *Braunius* may bee seene, that a man who never saw them but in representation, may now speake as particularly of them, as if hee had beene borne and bred in them.

SECT. 2.

That the defect of the Ancients in Naturall and Eccleſiaſticall history is justly corrected by the Modernes, and in Civill history the Modernes are matched with the Ancients: And of the knowledge of weights and measures, and the true valuations of coynes recovered & restored by later writers, which thorow the neglect of former ages hadd well nigh perished.

THe body of *History*, branches it selfe into History *Naturall*, *Eccleſiaſticall*, and *Civill*. For the first it is most certaine, that even *Ariſtotle* himselfe and *Pliny* were ignorant of many things, and wrote many not onely uncertaine, but now convinced of manifest errour and absurdity, *Conradus Geſnerus* hath laboured this part of *History* most industriously: but others who have undertaken severall pieces of this burden more exactly, some *de animalibus inſectis, cruſtaceis, teſtaceis, Zoophytis*, as *Abdrovandinus*. Some of fishes, as *Rondoletius*: Some of Bathes, as *Baccius*, and *Blanchellus*, and *Michael Savanorola*; Some of Metals, as *Georgius Agricola*; and some of plants and vegetables, as *Mathiolus*, *Ruellius*, *Fuchsius*, *Bauhinus*, *Lobelius*, to whom may bee added the commendable paines of *Gerrard* in our owne languagg. And some others againe purposely of some one particular kinde of beasts, or birds, or fishes, or plants, or bathes, or metalls.

History *Eccleſiaſticall* hath likewise beene shamefully abused by thrusting into it many *fabulous narrations* of the lives of *Saints* and deaths of *Martyrs*: and so much doe the *Romaniſts* themselves acknowledge, as

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Cap. 1. namely *Mariana* though a *Iesuite*, in his booke of the comming of *Iames* the *Apostle* into *Spaine*; *Quis enim negare negare possit fastos Ecclesiasticos aliquando adulatione temporum, aut potius incuria hominum, multis maculis contaminatos, libris alijs quibus preces Ecclesiasticæ rituſque sacrorum continentur multas fuisse inspersas confusasque fabulas & commenta? Addam, nonnunquam in templis reliquias dubias, prophana corpora pro sanctorum (qui cum Christo in cælo regnant) exuvijs sacris fuisse proposita; Est enim miserum negare non posse, quid sit turpe confiteri; at nescio quo pacto fictis sæpe fabulis & præposteris mendaciorum vagis populus magis quam veritate & sinceritate capitur, ea est mentis nostræ inanitas, has sordes ubi semel irrepserunt in Ecclesiam, sacrorum ritus, libros Ecclesiasticos, nobis fortassis dormientibus, attrectare nemo audet, mutire nemo, nè impietatis suspicionem commoveat scilicet, & religioni adversarius esse videatur.* Which words of *Mariana* I wonder how they escaped the *Index expurgatorius*; yet *Canus* a *Dominican Fryer* comes little short of him; *Dolenter hoc dico, multò severius à Laertio vitas Philosophorum, quàm à Christianis vitas Sanctorum fuisse scriptas; longeque incorruptius & integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quàm exposuerint Catholici, non res dicam Imperatorum, sed Martyrum, Virginum, & Confessorum.* In like manner, *Ludovicus Vives* unto the same purpose much complaines; *Quæ de sanctis scripta sunt, præter pauca quædam multis fœdata sunt commentis, dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, & non quæ egit Divus, sed quæ ille egisse eum velle, exponit.* To whose testimonies it shall not bee amisse to adde that of *Cardinall Bessarion*, who as *Bodin* reports it, when hee saw many cannonized for Saints at *Rome*, whose course of life hee much misliked, professed that hee much doubted whither those things were true which by the Ancients were delivered touching their pretended Saints; and in truth I thinke, wee may justly say, that the greatest part of them who have beene conversant in writing these kinde of *Legends*, proposed none other scope to themselves then that which did the *Commædian* to himselfe.

Lib. 11. cap. 6.

De trad. discipl. lib. 5.

Prolog. And.

Poeta quum primùm animum ad scribendum appulit,
Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.

Baronius, and before him the *Magdeburgians*, have both very diligently, though with different purposes travelled herein; in so much that now betweene them both, wee have made up a compleate History of the *Church*, which former ages never saw.

Civill History indeed the *Grecians* and *Romans* excelled in, but with much partiality on both sides, and many speeches they have put into the mouthes of *Commanders* and others, meerely fained; *Quintilian* doubts not to oppose *Salust* to *Thucidides*, and to equall *Titus Livius* to *Herodotus*; and besides, they lay in darkenesse and obscurity, for the space of many hundred yeares together, till this latter age, in which they were not onely drawne into the light, but emulated and equalled. *Cornelius Tacitus* so much magnified, as that *Tacitus* the Emperour by a publique edict commanded him to

Lib. 10. cap. 1.

Crinitus. l. 4. c. 2

bee

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bee laid up in all Libraries, and copies of him to bee transcribed ten times every yeare: Sr *Henry Savill* sharply censures for his stile, taking occasion from those words in the life of *Agricola*, *bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter: at te* (saith he) *Corneli Tacite bonam historiam facile credimus, bonam oratorem crederemus libenter*, were it not for this & some other sayings of the like making: *Fuit illi vero*, saith *Tacitus* (judging of *Seneca* as we may of him) *ingenium amœnum, & temporis illius artibus accommodatum*: How that age was eared long or round I cannot define, but sure I am it yeelded a kinde of sophisticate eloquence and riming harmony of words; where-under was *small matter* in sense, when there seemed to be most in appearance; and diverse instances he brings out of *Tacitus*, and as Sr *Henry Savill* taxes him for his phrase, so doth *Strada* for his History, in that not content with bare relations, he addes of his owne *conjectures*, *animadversions*, *interpretations* of actions, sometimes savouring of *detraction*, sometimes of *flattery*, and for the most part, as it best served his turne, to make way for the *displaying of his wit* in his politicall observations and precepts, as he shewes by diverse passages taken out of him, accusing him likewise of *irreligion*: and with *Strada* herein accords *Lipsius*, who calls *Tacitus*, *immemorem, securoque pugnantem*, unmindefull of what he had said, and crossing himselfe: *Bonamicus, sectantem veri specium relicta veritate*, a follower of the shadow of truth, leaving the truth it selfe: *Cæsar Baronius*, who convinces him of envy and lying: *Tom.* 1. *Annal. lib.* 21. *cap.* 24. as likewise doth *Marsilius Ficinus de Christiana religione, cap.* 35. and *Dion nepos in vita Probi Imperatoris*. And to passe by others, *Tertullian*, who lived in the next age after him, stiles him *mendaciorum loquacissimum*, a loud lyar, and in truth his vaine and fabulous narration touching the *Iewes*, in the last booke of his *history*, together with his virulency against the Christians, *Annal.* 15. 10. shew him to have beene none other, whatsoever he pretend to the contrary: But I leave him and returne to *Civill Historie* in generall, of which *Gerardus Iohannes Vossius*, the famous Professour of History at *Leyden*, hath composed an art not attempted to my knowledge by any of the Ancients, which he intitles *Ars Historica*, and digested it into 32 Chapters: the same learned Authour hath in two volumes given his judgment of all the *Greeke* and *Latine* Historiographers, amongst which hee doth not alwayes preferre the former before the latter, but in his first Booke and first Chapter of *Latine Histories* tells us: *Habet Historia quasi pueritiam suam, habet adolescentiam, item ætatem statam; denique suæ ei quoque senectus fuit: nec minus ea gradibus suis distincta, quàm variare illam in hominibus videmus*: *Historie* hath its childhood, it hath its youth, as also its manhood or full growth, and lastly its old age, and all these no lesse distinct in their severall stations, then we see them vary in men: but herein is the difference, men ordinarily returne not from decrepito age to youth againe, as *Historie* did, by confession of the same Authour in his third Booke and Contents of the first Chapter: *à longa historiæ senectute ad ea transitur tempora, quibus, (ut rerum omnium Circuitus sunt) literarum etiam & eloquentiæ honos cæpit revalescere*, after a long old age of Historie, we are now come to those times (such a revo-

lution

Lib. 3. *Annal.*

Lib. 1. *prol.* 2.

In notis.

In serm. Poet. ser. 5. *de veris-sim.*

In Apolog. c. 16.

lution there is of all things) in which the honour of learning and eloquence began to reflourish.

To come nearer home, Sr *Walter Rawleigh*, for so farre as he hath gon in the Historie of the world, is matchable with the best of the *Ancients*. *Francis Guicciardine*, *Comines*, *Thuanus* not inferiour to any. The second of which, *Lypsius* in his note upon the first booke of his *Politickes*, doubts not to compare *cum quovis antiquorum*, with the best of the *Ancients*: and the third, for elegancie of stile and variety of weighty matter, *Lansius* equalls *cum quibusvis sive veterum, sive recentium in eo genere scriptis*: with any writings in that kinde either of the ancients or moderne, and the particular Histories of most Countries, have received, as it were, new light and fresh colours in this latter age. The *Spanish* from *Mariana*, and *Turquets*; the *French* from *Peter Mathew*, and *Du Serres Aubignaus*, the *High Dutch* from *Paulus Iovius* and *Sleidan*; the *Low Dutch* from *Meteranus* and *Ybbo Emmius*; the *Scottish* from *Buchanan*, the *Irish* from *Stanniburst*, the *Sicilian* from *Fazelus*, the *Turkish* from *Knoles*; and for our owne storie, it lay dispersed in the narrations of severall writers, and those for the most part Monkes, till *Polidor Virgil* collected it into one body: but in my judgement Sr *Henry Savill* and Mr *Camden* have better deserved, by presenting us the Authours themselves in two severall volumes: Some peeces hereof wee have very well done in our owne language, as the three *Norman* Kings, *Henry* the fourth and *Edward* the sixt by Dr *Hayward*: *Edward* the fifth, or rather *Richard* the third by Sr *Thomas Moore*; *Henry* the seaventh by my Lord of S. *Albanes*; the life of Queene *Elizabeth* by Mr *Camden* since translated. But for the entire course of our *Chronicles* fully and fairely done, the worthy travells and great expence of Mr *John Speede* in the accurate performance of that noble worke well testifie his fervent zeale to his Countrey, and deserves both acceptation and commendation of all good Patriots.

In cap. 9.

Orat. pro Gallia.

Neither have there beene wanting such as have written, and that very commendably the lives of particular men, eminent for vertue, or learning, or place. *Onuphrius* and *Cicarella* come nothing short of *Anastasius* and *Platina* in the lives of the *Popes*. The lives of the *Emperours*, *Petrus Mexias* hath well performed. *Serrarius* of the Archbishops of *Mentz*, and *Mathew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury* of his Predecessours. *Barlet* hath with good approbation published the life of *Scanderbegge*, *Zenocarus* of *Charles* the fifth, *Catena* of *Pius Quintus*, Doctour *Humphreys* of Bishop *Iewell*, Sir *George Paule* of Archbishop *Whitegift*: and Dr *Carleton* late Bishop of *Chichester* of Mr *Gilpin*: and it were to be wished that this kinde of Historie were more in use, as well for the honour of the deceased, as the incitement of the living; in which kinde *Thevet*, and *Paulus Iovius*, and the right Reverend Father in God, Doctour *Godwine*, now Bishop of *Hereford*, deserve both prayse and imitation.

An *appendix* of historie is the right valuation of *weights* and *measures*, and *coynes*, which though they were doubtles knowne to the *Ancients* who used them; yet since for many ages past, the knowledge of them hath

hath much growne out of use, and was in a manner lost; which bred a marvellous great mistake and confusion in *historie*, untill by the worthy paines of *Budaus*, *Gesnerus*, *Alciatus*, *Glarianus*, *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, *Mariana*, and our learned Countrey-man *Edward Brierwood*, late professour of *Astronomie* in *Gresham* Colledge, it was againe regained and restored: And if any desire to see all that have written of this subject, I referre him to *Gasper Wolphius* his treatise, intituled, *Virorum illustrium alphabetica enumeratio qui de ponderibus ac mensurarum doctrina scripserunt.*

SECT. 3.

A comparison betweene the Greeke *and* Latine, *as also betweene the ancienter and latter Latine Poets, and those that have written in other languages, and that poetry as other arts hath fallen and risen againe in this latter age.*

TOuching *Poetrie* for the inventive part thereof, Sir *Philip Sidneyes Arcadia* is in my judgement nothing inferiour to the choisest peece among the Ancients, and for the Poets themselves it is true of the most ancient, both among the *Greekes* and *Latines* which *Bartas* hath of *Marrot*:

Thee *Marrot* I esteeme even as an old *Colosse*
All spoyled, broken, overgrowne with mosse,
Worne picture, Tombe defac'd, not for fine worke I see,
But in devout regard of their antiquity.

Volcatius Sidigitus having named nine of the *Roman Comedians*, addes in the close of all: *Gellius* 15.24.

—Decimum addo antiquitatis causâ Ennium.
Ennius as tenth I adde,
Because hee ancient'st is.

Quos (sicut præsens tempus ostendit) non solum neglectos, verum etiam risui habere jam cœpimus, saith *Macrobius*, speaking of the ancient Poets in his sixth booke *de somnio Scipionis* and first chapter; whom (as the times present shew) we now begin not only to neglect but to laugh at.

This controversie being it seemes on foote in *Horace* his time, (as in all ages it hath beene) he wittily demaunds this question.

Si meliora Dies, ut vina, poemata reddat,
Scire velim pretium chartis quotus arroget annus.
If as time betters wine, it betters Poems too,
Tell me how many yeares doth give the price enough.

And in the end concludes,

Qui veteres ita miratur laudatque Poetas
Vt nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.
Who praises and admires old Poets much doth erre,
If nought he doth compare, or nought to them preferre.

Vis imiter veteres? Cereste tuusque Poeta,
Desperem si sua carmina quid sapiant?

Saith

Lib. 11. epi. 55. Saith *Martial*,

Thou would'ſt *Chreſtillus* that I imitate
The Poets ancient, and of thy palate;
But with this caution let me ſurely periſh
If thou canſt beſt judge what verſes beſt do reliſh.

Hercules Ciophanus witneſſeth, that *Palnudes* well knowing that *Greece* had not a Poeme ſo abounding with delight and beauty, as *Ovids Metamorphoſis*, tranſlated it into that language. And generally the *Latine* Poëtices. l. 5. c. 2 Poets, who came after the *Greeke* in time, are notwithſtanding by *Scaliger* preferred before them; And by name *Virgill* before *Homer*, *Virgilius artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectioris naturæ ſtudijs atque judicio ad ſummum extulit faſtigium perfectionis*: *Virgill* receiving from him an unpoliſht art by the ſtudie and judgement of a choiſer temper, raiſed it to the utmoſt point of perfection. And againe, *Equidem unum illum cenſeo ſciviſſe quid eſſet non ineptire, unum eſſe inter omnes unicum, ſingulis autem inſtar omnium.* Truely I thinke hee onely knew what it was not to trifle, that hee was the onely one amongſt them all, and inſteed of all being compared with any one. To which I know not what can bee added, except that of *Macrobius* exceede it. *Hæc eſt Maronis gloria, ut nullius laudibus creſcat, nullius vituperatione minuatur*: This is *Virgils* commendation, that a man can neither adde to him by prayſing him, nor take from him by diſprayſing him. *Iuvenall* puts him in equall ballance with *Homer*.

Ibid.

Sat. 11. *Conditor Iliados cantabitur, atque Maronis,*
Altiſoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.

And againe,

Sat. 6. *Committit Vates, & comparat inde Maronem*
Atque alia parte, in trutina ſuſpendit Homerum.

But *Propertius* doubts not to preferre him before *Homer*,

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graij,
Neſcio quid majus naſcitur Iliade.

And ſo doth a late friend of mine, no leſſe commendable for his *Poetry* then *Divinity*, who upon occaſion of this controverſie agitated betwixt *Scaliger* and *Lypſius*, ſent me theſe enſuing verſes.

VINDICIÆ VIRGILIANÆ.

Sive

IVLII CÆSARIS SCALIGERI

Virgilium Homero præponentis contrà

I. Lipſ. Apologia.

VTcunque contrà Iuſtus acriter pugnet,
Sententiæ tamen libens tuæ accedo,
Vatum ſevere cenſor & gravis Iuli,
Cui Mantuanus omnium eſt apex ſummus
Quotquot fuerunt, ſunt, erunt Poëtarum.
At Sol Stagiræ Cæſaris Deus primum
Tribuit Homero, tribuit & Platoni palmam:

Plato

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Plato Poëtas exulare qui cunctos
Re præter unum hunc publicâ suâ jussit.
Tribuit uterque non nego merentique:
Sed tribuit olim sæculis & haud paucis
Fulvum priusquam hunc hauserat Maro Solem:
Coæva namque floruisset Æneis,
Nec occupasset Ilias & Vlyssea,
Apollinarem noster iste censurâ
Sophi utriusque lauream reportasset.
Nam quod paterculum citas tuum Lipsi,
Acremque testem Fabium, utrumque laudantem
Et præferentem calculo suo Chium.
Ratione aberras, remque non putas rectè.
Non quantacumque merita vatibus nomen
Addunt, nisi ætas temporisque longinqui
Adsit vetustas: nam recentibus livor
Malignus obstat densa nubila obtendens,
Suamque summæ æruginem affricat laudi:
Ingens tua olim dignitas fuit Publi,
Incomparabilisque: verùm adhuc causas
Declamitante Fabio, & improbè scriptis
Mendacibus Velleio adhuc adulante,
Novitas & invidia tuæ obfuit famæ.
Nunc cum tibi adsint defuere quæ sæclâ,
Simul & tui occidit malignitas ævi:
Emunctioris miror ut aliquis nasi,
Rerumque liber æstimator & prudens,
Tibi aut Homerum, aut quemlibet Poëtarum
Cuicuimodi sit anteponat aut æquet.
Duo Poëtam verba resque commendant,
Vtroque noster summus in genere vates.
Fœcunda fateor & beata verborum,
Graio supellex: interim tamen sæpè
Friget, jacetque negligens, levis, laxus.
Maroniana oratio gravis, casta,
Illustris, apta, nobilis, sibi constans,
Et mole commoda, artuum & toris firma:
Quali Deorum interpres, & Camœnarum
Apollo præses, ipsaque utitur Suada.
Momenta verò quisquis æstimans rerum
Præponderare Publio putat Chium,
Ille aut Achillis pervicaciam sævi,
Vafrique Vlyssis callidos dolos inter
Prudentiamque & fortitudinem, Heroïs
Piumque pectus Dardani quid est nescit:
Aut veritati authoritate prælatâ,

Errare cum majoribus ſuis mavult
Quam vera ſapere cum minoribus, quorum
Vecordiæ hoc eſt, imperitiæ eſt illud.
Sed iſte Chius author, inquies, primus,
Rerumque origo eſt, unde cæteri vates,
Suumque ſuxit ipſe Publius nectar.
Primo negamus eſſe originem primam,
Nam quas ab illo poſteri hauriunt, illas
Et ipſe ab alijs fortè fabulas hauſit.
Tum quicquid inde mutuatur hic noſter
Non à Magiſtro id accipit, nec ut diſcat,
Sed ut Magiſter adprobat quod eſt rectum,
Aut devianti comiter viam monſtrat,
Docetque rectè dicta perperam fari.
Aut ſaltem ab illo ſi qua didicit, & quis non
Sapiens per alium didicit atque profecit?
Tamen ita didicit jure dicere ut poſſit,
Πολλὸι μαθηταὶ χρείττονες διδασκάλων.

Iohannes Dunæus
S. T. B.

So much was the people of *Rome* affected with the recitation of *Virgills* verſes, that they exhibited no leſſe honour and reverence to him, reciting them, then to the Emperour *Auguſtus* himſelfe: Yet if I ſhould match *Virgill* himſelfe with *Arioſto* or *Torquato Taſſo* in *Italian*, *Bartas* in *French*, or *Spencer* in *Engliſh*, I thinke I ſhould not much wrong him. Of the latter of which, our great *Antiquary* in the life of Queene *Elizabeth*, Anno 1591, gives this teſtimonie; *Muſis adeo arridentibus natus, ut omnes Anglicos ſuperioris ævi poetas (ne Chaucero quidem concive excepto) ſuperaret*, hee was borne ſo farre in favour of the *Muſes*, that hee excelled all the *Engliſh* Poets of former ages, not excepting *Chaucer* himſelfe his fellow Citizen. And among the *Latine* Poets, as they began their infancie or child-hood in *Livius Andronicus*, *Ennius*, *Accius*, *Pacuvius*, *Nevius*, *Plautus*, ſo they came to their full ſtrength in *Terence*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, *Ovid*, *Horace*, *Virgill*, *plus eſt exacti judicij in una Comædia Terentiana quàm in Plautinis omnibus*, there is more exact judgement in one of *Terence* his *Comedies*, then in all thoſe of *Plautus*. They declined in *Martiall*, *Iuvenall*, *Silius*, *Statius*: grew old in *Serenus*, *Sidonius*, *Severus*, *Auſonius*, but ſprang up and reflouriſhed againe in *Palingenius*, *Aonius*, *Politianus*, *Cerratus*, *Vida*, *Pontanus*, *Sanazarus*, *Fracaſtorius*; *quos cum quovis veterum compares, multis, & non ignobilibus anteponas*, ſaith the ſame *Scaliger*, whom a man may ſafely compare with any of the *Ancients*, and preferre before many of them, and thoſe not of the loweſt ranke. *Crinitus* his cenſure of the *Latine* Poets differs not

Idem Scalig. Ib.

Eraſmus.

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not much from this of *Scaligers*: and *Famianus Strada* hath ſo well both cenſured and imitated the chiefe of them, that hee comes nothing ſhort of the authours themſelves, which is the more to be wondred at, in that therein hee is to act ſo different parts, and to apply himſelfe to ſo different vaines; nay his imitation of *Claudian* in expreſſing a controverſie betweene a *Lutiſt* and a *Nightingale*, for quickneſſe and life may without prejudice bee equalled with any thing that *Antiquity* can boaſt of in that kinde. *In 5. libris de Poetis Latinis.*

It is true that (*Mantuan* excepted) few of the *Monkes* or *Fryars*, (who were counted the onely Schollers for a while) excelled in *Poetry*, for the moſt part they only delighted in rhyming, without either ſharpneſſe of wit, or neatneſſe of ſtile, and ſometimes they wanted all three: witneſſe thoſe poore verſes upon *Venerable Bede*.

Presbyter hîc Beda requieſcit carne ſepultus,
Dona Chriſte animam in cœlis gaudere per ævum,
Daque illi Sophiæ d'ebriari fonte, cui jam
Suſpiravit ovans intentus ſemper amore.

Presbyter *Bedes* corſe reſts buried in this grave;
Grant Chriſt his ſoule in Heaven eternall joyes may have:
Give him of to be drunke the well of wiſedome, to
Which with ſuch joy and love he ſtriv'd and breathed ſo.

Which verſes *William* of *Malmesbury*, though himſelfe a *Monke*, bitterly cenſures, as being ſhamefull ones, unworthy the monument of ſo worthy a man: Neither can the ſhame, ſaith hee, be leſſened by any kinde of excuſe, that in the Monaſtery, which whiles hee lived, flouriſhed as a Schoole of good letters, not a man could bee found to commend his memory to poſterity, but in ſo barren and ſlender a ſtile: Yet were theſe tollerable verſes in regard of thoſe which paſſed with applauſe in ſucceeding ages, the famous King *Ethelbert* had this *Epitaph* ſet upon him: *De rebus geſtis Anglorum. l. 1.*

Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in poliandro,
Fana pians certus Chriſto meat abque Meandro,

King *Ethelbert* lyeth heere
Cloſ'd in this Polyander,
For building Churches ſure he goes
To CHRIST without *Meander*.

Gervaſius de Blois, ſonne to King *Stephen*, and Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was there buried with this,

De Regum genere pater hic Gervaſius *ecce*
Eſt & defunctus, mors rapit omne genus.

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Even father *Gervase* borne of Kings race,
Loe is dead, thus death all sorts doth deface.

Upon the Great Seale of *Edward* the *Confessor* was this verse ingraven,

Sigillum Eaduvardi, Anglorum Basilei.

But I most pitty the mishap of *Francis Petrarch* a man of singular learning, and himselfe an excellent Poet as those times afforded, that his bones could finde no better an *Epitaph* then this at *Arqua* in *Italy*;

Frigida Franciſci *lapis hic tegit ossa* Petrarchæ,
Suspice virgo parens animam, sate virgine parce,
Fessaque jam terris cœli requiescat in arce.
This stone doth cover the cold bones of *Franc. Petrarch*,
Thou Virgin Mother take his soule, thou Christ pardon grant,
Now weary of the earth he rest in Heavens Arke.

But when together with the regeneration of other kindes of learning, *Poetry* likewise grew in request, among an infinite number which excelled in this kinde, I will onely instance in two, *Ronsard* and *Buchanan*: of the former of which *Pasquier* hath written this singular Epigram.

Seu tibi numeri Maroniani,
Lib. 1. *Seu placent Veneres Catullianæ,*
Sive tu lepidum velis Petrarcham,
Sive Pindaricos modos referre,
Ronsardus numeros Maronianos,
Ronsardus Veneres Catullianas,
Nec non Italicum refert Petrarcham,
Nec non Pindaricum refert leporem.
Quin & tam benè Pindarum emulatur,
Quin & tam variè exprimit Petrarcham,
Atque Virgilium, & meum Catullum
Hunc ipsum ut magis æmulentur illi:
Rursus tam graviter refert Maronem,
Vt nullus putet hunc Catullianum.
Rursus tam lepidè refert Catullum,
Vt nullus putet hunc Maronianum,
Et cùm sit Maro totus & Catullus,
Totus Pindarus, & Petrarcha totus,
Ronsardus tamen est sibi perennis.
Quod si nunc redivivus extet unus
Catullus, Maro, Pindarus, Petrarcha,
Et quotquot veteres fuere vates,
Ronsardum nequeant simul referre
Vnus qui reliquos refert Poetas.
Whether the Maro's number please,

Or

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Or elegant Catullus vaine,
Or Petrarchs Thuſcan gracefulneſſe,
Or Theban Pindars lofty ſtraine:
Ronſard doth Maro's rimes expreſſe,
And Elegant Catullus vaine,
And Petrarchs Thuſcan gracefulneſſe,
And Theban Pindars lofty ſtraine.
He ſo expreſſeth Pindars ſtile,
So doth Catullus emulate,
Virgil and Petrarch, that the while
They all ſeeme him to imitate.
Grave Maro he reſembles ſo,
None would him thinke Catullian:
So elegant Catullus too,
None would him thinke Maronian,
Though all Catullus, all Virgill,
All Pindar he and Petrarch bee,
Yet the ſame Ronſard is he ſtill.
Maro, Catullus might wee ſee,
Pindar or Petrarch live againe,
And all th'other Poets more or leſſe,
All joyntly hit not Ronſards vaine,
Who onely doth them all expreſſe.

To which we may adde *Pythaus* his *Epitaph* upon the ſame *Ronſard*.

Summe poetarum quos priſca & noſtra tulerunt,
Quoſque ferent Galli poſthuma ſecla tui:
Parce nec iſta tibi vanis dare juſta putato,
Sed tanquam ſummis manibus inferias.

Greateſt of Poets whom old or preſent times,
Or future to thy *French* ſhall ere bring forth,
Pardon, thoſe are not rights fitting thy worth,
But to thy great ghoſt like ſome ſprinkling rimes.

Yet *Ronſard* himſelfe being demaunded what hee thought of *Bartas* his Poems touching the workes of the firſt weeke, Truely *Bartas* (quoth hee) hath done more in one weeke, then I in all my life. *S. Goulart. in not. ad Bartaſ. Babyl. n. 32.*

Of the latter, namely of *Buchanan*, *Joſeph Scaliger* gives this teſtimonie,

Namque ad ſupremum producta poetica culmen
In te ſtat, nec quo progrediatur habet:
Romani imperij fuit olim Scotia limes,
Romanæ eloquij Scotia limes erit.

Unto the higheſt pitch haſt thou advanced Poetrie,
Raiſ'd to the height in thee it ſtands, and higher cannot flie.
Scotland ſometime the limit was of Roman Empirie,
By thee of Roman eloquence Scotland the bound ſhall be.

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SECT. 4.

In military matters the Romans exceeded the Grecians, and have themselves beene matched, if not surpassed in latter ages, in weapons, in fortifications, in stratagems, but specially in Sea-fights.

THough *Mars* and the *Muses* have little affinity, and seldome lodge together, yet will I not feare to joyne the *Art Military* next to *Poetrie*. And though the knowledge hereof belong not to my profession, yet I dare say, it will not be gain-said, but as *Alexander* herein exceeded his Predecessours, so did *Iulius Cæsar* him, & generally the *Romans* the *Grecians*; yet a worthy Knight and expert Captaine himselfe demaunding the question, whether was the better Souldier, the *Grecian* or *Roman*, makes answer the *Englishman*. And truely I thinke, hee who well considers what noble acts *Edward* the third, the *blacke Prince* his sonne, and *Henry* the fifth performed in *France*, and upon what tearmes and conditions, with what numbers, and against what enemies, will easily beleeve, that he spake not so much out of affection as judgement: The *Grecian* built his glory, and erected his triumphes of victory and trophies of honour, upon the delicacie of the *Persian* and nakednesse of the *Indian*, and the *Roman* for the most part, upon the division and rudenesse of poore barbarous nations; but the *English* his, upon the ruines of a stout warlike, and every way accomplished nation: and for *Cæsar* himselfe, if I should parallel him with *Charlemaigne*, *Hunniades*, *Tamerlane*, *Castriot*, *Ziska*, *Alexander Farnesius*, Prince of *Parma*, *Maurice* Count of *Nassaw* and Prince of *Orenge*, or the great *Henry* of *France*, I thinke I should not disparage him. Of which latter *Pythæus*, comparing him with the great *Alexander*, hath composed this Epigram.

Sir Walter Rawleigh in his history of the world. *Part. 1. lib. 5. cap. 1. §. 1.*

Cui palma vestrûm deferatur bellica
Certavit orbis, resque stetit anceps diu,
Sed mors secundum, Henrice, te istem dedit
Fecitque primum & ultimum simul ducem.

Which of you twaine the warlike palme should weare
Hath the world strove, and long beene at a pause,
But death O *Harry* gave to thee the cause,
Both first and last of Captaines name to beare.

Orat. pro Germ. pag. 1140. And of the late famous Prince of *Orenge*, *Lansius* doubts not to affirme, that hee was second to none of the ancient Captaines in greatnesse of minde, in wisedome of Counsell, in warlike vertues, and in the glory of his atcheivements.

The armour and weapons now used in the warres, as well for offence as defence, are nothing inferiour to the *Ancient*, nay many of them are doubtlesse more commodious, & some much more terrible: what childish weapons were the long-bow & crosse-bow, if we regard annoyance of the enemy, in comparison of the *Gunne* and great *Ordinance*: and yet nothing so many are now slaine in the warres as then: so as the present

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are both of more ready dispatch, and for the most part in conclusion of the warre lesse bloody. I am not ignorant that discourses have beene written by souldiers on both sides, some preferring the *bow* before the *gunne*, others the *gunne* before the *bow*, but the latter have beene by the most judicious preferred before the former, and time and experience have found their judgment true.

Pecarius likewise in his commentaries upon the fourth booke of *Aristotles* politicks by many reasons proves the *Cavallary* of these times by many degrees to exceed that of the Ancients, And for the managing of great horses. *Sigismundus Lecotellus of Ferraria* the *Schollar* of *Fredericus Grisonius*, the great master of that art, so farre excelled all that went before him that hee purchased thereby to himselfe great love, and honour, and riches, as well from his owne countreymen as strangers, and by the imitation of great rewards was earnestly sued unto by the greatest *Princes* of *Christendome* to repaire unto their courts.

But for the matter of *Fortification*, there is no question, but this age exceedes any that have gone before it, as far as we can trace the prints & footsteps of *Antiquity*. It being now brought into Art, the professours whereof wee name *Enginers*, a word unknowne to *Ancestours*, at least in that sence: But the *Italians* are they who likewise in this *Art* have shewed themselves most skilfull, as well in the precepts as practise thereof, and have carried away the *Bell* from all other *Nations*, as may appeare both by their bookes and workes.

Yet *Bertius*, in his booke lately published *de pontibus & aggeribus*, is bold to affirme that the *Pollizado* lately made by the *French King* before *Rochell* for the taking of it, was a worke in that kinde beyond any thing which other nations or the ancients had seene; his words in his preface to the Reader to that purpose are these; *Hanc ego lucubratiunculam nunc edo, ut visis uno intuitu omnibus, judices postea lector, annon superiorum regum temporumque gloriam rex noster Christianissimus non tantum assequutus, sed etiam prætergressus sit.*

And for *Stratagems* of warre, whether we take them in their projects or effects, I conceive those of latter ages to be nothing inferiour to those of auncient times, howsoever *Polianus* and *Iulius Frontinus* in their severall bookes of that subject be pleased to admire them: What a blunt invention was that of the *Trojane* horse, in comparison of the surprise of *Amiens* by the *Spaniard*; or of *Breda* by the *States* of the *united Provinces* in the *Netherlands*; or the disordering of the *Spanish* fleete, by Sir *Francis Drake* in 88; or the sending of doves out of the besieged towne of *Leyden* for the bringing backe of intelligence by the advise & direction of *Dousa*, of which *Heinsius*,

—— Qui falleret hostem
Dousa virum nequit mittere, misit avem.

But that recorded by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in the fourth booke of his first part of the *History* of the world, and acted in *Queene Maries* time, is in my judgment matchable to any that ever yet I heard of. Hee thus relates it: The *Iland* of *Sarke* joyning to *Garnesey*, and of that government, was surprised by the *French*, and could never have beene recovered Cap. 2. Parag. 18.

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vered againe by ſtrong hand, having corne and cattell enough upon the place, to feede ſo many men as would ſerve to defend it; and being euery way ſo vnacceſſable as it might bee held againſt the great *Turke*; yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. Hee anchored in the roade with one ſhip of ſmall burthen, and pretending the death of the Merchant, beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Iſle, offering preſent to the *French* of ſuch commodities as they had aboard. Whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come to ſhore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a knife) the *Frenchmen* yeelded: Then did the *Flemings* put a coffin into their boate, not filled with a dead carkaſſe, but with ſwords, Targets, and Harquebuſhes. The *French* receiving them at their landing, and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly, as they could not hide a penknife, gave them leave to draw their coffin up the rocks with great difficultie; ſome part of the *French* tooke the *Flemiſh* boate and rowed aboard the ſhippe to fetch the commodies promiſſed and what elſe they pleaſed; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the land, when they had carried their coffin into the Chappell, ſhut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the coffin, ſet upon the *French*, they runne to the cliffe and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to ſuccour, but finding the boate charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themſelves and the place.

Laſtly, for *Sea fight*, this age vndoubtedly ſurpaſſeth the *Ancient*, theirs being but *boyes play* in compariſon of ours. What poore things were their *Gallies* to our ſhips, their pikes and ſtone-bowes and ſlings, to our Canon & muſket ſhot; how vntowardly the managing of their veſſels, in regard of that skill, which latter ages have found out and practiſed: And herein I dare match our owne *Nation* (if perchance the *Hollander* have not gotten the ſtart of us) with any in the world: onely it were to bee wiſhed, that ſome worthy pen would vndertake the reducing of theſe kindes of fights into an *Art*, as many have done the land ſervice, by ſetting downe rules and precepts for it, gathered out of obſervation: Sir *Richard Hawkins* hath done ſomewhat in this kinde, but brokenly and glancingly, intending chiefely a diſcourſe of his owne voyage: Sir *Walter Rawleigh* tells vs in his hiſtory of the world, that himſelfe had entred vpon ſuch a worke, at the command of Prince *Henry*, but vpon his death put it by: The intendment was noble, and the writer doubleſſe very able, ſo as it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe peeces and fragments which he left behinde him, touching that ſubject, were ſought vp and brought to light, that they might ſerve, if not for ſufficient directions in matter of practiſe, yet for patternes and delineations to ſuch as would farther advance and perfect ſo worthy a buſineſſe; there being no one thing (as I conceive) which can bee more important for the ſtate, or more concerne the ſafety and wellfare of this *Iland*.

Lib. 5. c. 1. p. 6.

CHAP. 9.

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CHAP. 9.

Touching Grammar, Rhetorique, Logicke, the Mathematiques, Philosophy, Architecture, the Arts of Painting and Navigation.

SECT. 1.

Touching Grammar, Rhetoricke, and Logicke.

BUt leaving these considerations to *Souldiers*, let us returne to our owne *Element*, taking a view of the *liberall sciences*, among which *Grammer* deservedly challenges the first ranke, as being indeede the *key* that opens the doores to the rest. This *latter age* hath herein excelled so farre, that all the great learned Schollers, who have of late risen, specially if they adhered to the reformed *Churches*, have beene by the *Fryers*, and such like people in a kinde of skorne tearmed *Grammarians*: But these *Grammarians* are they, who by the helpe of *Philologie*, and the languages, have discovered so many forgeries and supositious writings, now by all acknowledged so to be, which before passed as currant, as well in the workes of the *Fathers* of the *Church*, as prophaine *Authours*. These are they, who have presented us with so many exact *Translations* out of *Greeke* and *Hebrew* into *Latine*, & againe out of *Latine* into other *languages*. And howsoever *Albericus Gentilis*, and some others have written in defence of the *Latinity* of that translation of the *Bible*, which goes under the name of the *Vulgar*; yet can it not bee denyed, but it is justly accused of much incongruity & barbarisme, which by latter *Translations* have beene reformed. These are they, who have vindicated infinite *Authours* from a number of foule corruptions, which by tract of time had crept upon them, thorow the ignorance or negligence of *Transcribers*, or *Printers*, or both: So that they have herein in a manner restored the Authours to themselves, making them speake in their owne words and sence; and besides by annotations, animadversions, commentaries and expositions, by the search and helpe of coynes, old Epitaphes, inscriptions, and such like remainders of Antiquity, have further added a marveilous great light unto them.

But for the manifold and needefull use of the mysticall art of *Critickes*, I referre the Reader to *Heinsius* his *Prolegomena*, prefixed to his *Aristarchus Sacer*. To which may be added the exquisite helpe of *Dictionaries*, *Lexicons*, and *Grammars* in this latter age beyond the precedent, not only for the easier learning of the Westerne languages, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*, but specially of the Easterne, the *Hebrew*, the *Chalde*, the *Syriacke*, the *Arabique*. The Christians scarce saw any grammar in *Hebrew* before that of *Capnio*, or *Reuchlin*, nor of *Chalde* before that of *Munster*, nor of *Syriacke* before that of *Tremellius*, *Masius*, and *Guido Fabricius*, nor of *Arabique* before that of *Raphelengius*, *Baptista*, and *Erpenius*: and (which is worth the observing) of all the auncient Fathers, but onely two; among the Latines S. *Hierome*, and among the *Grecians*,

Grecians, are found to have excelled in the *Orientall* languages, this laſt centenary having afforded more skilfull men that way then the other fifteene ſince *Chriſt*. To Grammar may likewiſe be referred the uſefull art of *Brachygraphy*, or writing by ſhort markes, which though it were practiſed among the *Romans*, as appeares by that of *Plutarch* in the life of *Cato Vticenſis* and that of *Martial*.

Lib. 14. Epig. 208.

Currant verba licet, manus eſt velocior illis,
Nondum lingua ſuum, dextra peregit opus.

Though words be ſwift, ſwifter the hand doth runne,
The tongue hath not, the hand its worke hath done.

Yet have wee not certaintie that either the *Grecians*, or the *Hebrewes*, or any of thoſe Eaſterne Nations had before the *Romans* the uſe or knowledge thereof, and beſides, this invention for ought wee finde was loſt in ſucceeding ages, but in theſe latter recoverd againe, or ſomewhat at leaſtwiſe equivalent thereunto. And to *Brachygraphie* may be added, the writing by *Zifers* or *nota furtiva* ſecret markes for the hiding of the writers minde from others ſave him to whom hee writes it, as alſo the wittie invention of dezifring or diſcovering the moſt difficult of thoſe ſecret characters; in both which, how farre latter ages have excelled the former, appeares not onely by the teſtimony of *Pancirollus*, and *Salmuth* in his commentaries upon him, but of *Hermannus Hugo* in his 17. chapter *de prima ſcribendi origine*.

Anagrams, *Chronograms*, and variations of verſes though they bee not much uſefull, yet are they the bloſſomes of wit which being ripened are fitter for greater matters. Of theſe we finde nothing among the Ancients; and incredible it is that which *Lanſius* hath demonſtrated in his Preface to the *Reader* of one verſe, which by his computation may bee turned no leſſ then thirty nine millions, nine hundred ſixteen thouſand and eight hundred ſeverall wayes; his verſe is.

Lex, rex, grex, res; ſpes, jus, thus, ſal, ſol (bona) lux, laus.
orthus.
Mars, mors, ſors, fraus, fex, ſtix, nox, crux, pus (mala) vis, lis.

In the next place, *Rhetorique* preſents it ſelfe, which in truth was brought to the height among the *Grecians* and *Romans*, ſpecially whiles their ſtates remained popular: But in the general declination and decay of *Arts* which followed after, this likewiſe was well neare extinguiſhed, that little life of it which remained, being reſerved onely in the predicancy of *Poſtillars*, or the patheticall ſermons of *Friers*, till *Sadoletus*, *Bembus*, *Muretus*, and others revived and reduced it to its ancient luſtre.

Logicke indeed is it, wherein wee are thought to be moſt defective in regard of former ages; and it is true, that the *Schoole-men* had ſet their ſtocke, the utmoſt of their endeavours upon this part of learning, their whole life being in a manner little elſe but a perpetuall wrangling and altercation, & that many times rather for victory & oſtentation of *wit*, then a ſober & ſerious ſearch of *truth*: ſo as their entrance being vaine, their end was likewiſe fruitleſſe. What huge volumes have they compiled

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piled of the *Predicables* and *Predicaments*? as if in them consisted the very spirit and soule of *Logicke*; whereas in truth they are rather an *Appendix* or *preparative* unto it, then *part* of it. By which meanes they kept men so long in the *porch*, that they entred not into the *house* till it was more then time to goe out of it. *Latter ages* finding this intollerable inconvenience, have well compacted the body of this Art into a lesser compasse (yet so as *Aristotles* Text is not to be neglected) and to this body have they not improperly added the doctrine of *Methods* as a necessary limbe thereof: whereas wee doe not finde that anciently, it was so held either by the *Founders* or principall *Masters* of this science, or at least wise they have left us no sufficient *Rules* and precepts touching this most usefull part. Even *Hooker* himselfe (though otherwise no friend to *Ramysts*) acknowledgeth that it is of marveilous quicke dispatch, shewing them that have it as much almost in three dayes, as if it dwelt threescore yeares with them: and againe, that the minde of man is thereby restrained, which through curiosity, doth many times with perill wade farther in the search of truth then were convenient. And for *Raymundus Lullius* (a man it seemes of a strong braine) some great wits are of opinion, that by his *ars brevis*, greater matters may in the sciences bee more speedily effected, then by any helpe of the *Ancients* that went before him.

SECT. 2.

Touching Astronomie and Geometry, as also the Physickes and Metaphysickes.

FOR the *Mathematickes*, *Regio-Montanus* might in *Ramus* his judgement safely enough compare with the best of the *Ancients*: *Noribergatum Regio-Montano fruebatur, Mathematici inde & studij & operis gloriam tantam adepta, ut Tarentum Archyta, Syracusæ Archimedi, Byzantium Proclo, Alexandria Ctesybio non justius, quàm Noriberga Regio-Montano gloriari possit*: Then did *Norinberg* injoy *Regio-Montanus*, and from thence purchased so great honour both of the studie and practice of the *Mathemrtiques*, that *Tarentum* could not more justly glory in *Archytas*, nor *Syracuse* in *Archimedes*, nor *Byzantium* in *Proclus*, nor *Alexandria* in *Ctesybus*, then might *Norinberg* in *Regio-Montanus*. I will onely touch the two most noble parts thereof, *Astronomy* and *Geometry*. It was the opinion of the greatest part of the *Ancients*, not only, *Grecians*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Hebrewes*, but many Doctours of the Christian Church, as appeas by *Espencæus* in his Treatise *de Cœlorum animatione*, that the Heavens, or at least the starres were *living bodies*, informed with quickening soules. *Multi scriptores Ecclesiastici cœli rotunditatem non modo negârunt, sed etiam sacris literis adversari existimârunt*, saith *Pererius* in his second booke and third question upon *Genesis*; many of the *Ecclesiasticall* Writers not onely denyed the spericall or circular figure of the Heavens, but were of opinion that it crossed the holy Scriptures. S. *Augustine* himselfe in diverse places seemes to make a doubt of it: but *Chrysostome* *Schol Math l. 2.*

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ſtome in his *Homilies* upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrewes* dare challenge any that ſhould defend it; & herin is he followed by *Theodoret* & *Theophilact*. But theſe fanceis are now ſo generally cryed downe, that to revive thē would be counted no leſſe then folly, & to defend thē abſurdity. How groſly was *Tacitus* miſtaken in the life of *Agricola*, in yeelding the reaſon of the ſhort nights in the northerne parts of this Iland, as Sr *Henry Savill* in his Annotations upon that place hath made it evident. In how many things are *Aratus* & *Eudoxus* corrected by *Ptolomy*, & *Ptolomy* himſelfe by *Regio-Montanus*, *Alphonſus*, *Purbachius*, *Copernicus*: & they againe by *Clavius*, *Galilæus*, *Kepler*. *Tycho Braye cum antiquitate tota in illo ſtudiorum genere comparandus*, ſaith *Meurſius*, in his epiſtle dedicatory *præfixed* to his *Athenæ Batavæ*. It was the errour of *Ariſtotle*, that *via lactea* was a meteor; and not onely of *Ariſtotle*, but almoſt all before him, that there were but *eight Celeſtiall Spheares*; after this *Timocaris* about 330 yeares before *Chriſt* found out *nine*, but about the yeare of *Chriſt* 1250, *Alphonſus* diſcovered *ten*, and the received opinion now is, that there are *eleven*, the higheſt of all being held *immoveable*, the ſeate of Angels and bleſſed ſpirits. Vpon which ground *Fracaſtorius* in his fore mentioned Epiſtle to Pope *Paul* the third, doubts not confidently to affirme, *Superioris mundi illius quod cælum dicimus magnam partem majoribus noſtris ignotam fuiſſe*, that a great part of that higher world, which we call heaven was to our anceſtours unknowne: and then after a few lines addes: *Nunc vero (quaſi utriuſque mundi cognitio fato reſervata fuerit ætati noſtræ) & majori numero & modo magis admirando cogniti orbes ſunt*, but now (as if the knowledge of both the worlds were by deſtinie reſerved to this our age) the Celeſtiall Orbs are knowne both more in number, and in a manner more admirable. And thus wee ſee how truth is the daughter of Time, how one day teacheth another, and one night certifieth another; which is likewiſe verified in the admirable invention of compoſing the *Ephemerides*, unknowne to *Ptolomy* and the Ancients, who for want of the uſe of it were forced by Tables to make their ſupputations in a moſt toyleſome manner: who was the firſt inventer thereof I am not certaine, ſaith *Cardan de rerum varietate lib.* 11. *cap.* 59. but *Purbachius* was the firſt who ſeemes to have brought it to light, after whom *Regio-Montanus* inlarged it, but *Zelandinus*, *Meſtlinus*, *Stadius*, *Maginus*, *Origanus*, and others have ſince perfected it, *ita ut jam nihil deſiderari poſſe videatur*, nothing ſeemes to bee wanting to it.

The like may be ſaid of *Geometry*, I will inſtance onely in one *demonſtration*, which is the *Quadrature* of a *Circle*. This *Ariſtotle* in diverſe places calls *ſcibile* but not *ſcitum*, a thing that might be knowne, but as then not knowne, in as much as the meanes of finding it out, though much laboured, yet was it in his time unknowne among the *Ancients*: *Antiphon*, *Bryſe*, *Hippocrates*, *Euclide*, *Archimede*, *Apollonius*, *Porus* travelled long & earneſtly in the diſcovery hereof, but *Buteo* in a booke written of purpoſe, hath accurately diſcovered their errours herein. And *Pancirollus* in his *nova reperta* tels us, that *annis abhinc plus minus triginta Ars iſta fuit inventa, quæ mirabile quoddam ſecretum in ſe continet*: about thirty yeares ſince was that Art found out, which containes in it wonderfull

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derfull secrets, And to shew that it is indeede found out, he there makes *demonstration* of it, approved and farther explicated by *Salmuth*, who hath both translated him, and written learned commentaries upon him. Notwithstanding *Ioseph Scaliger* in an *Epistle* of his to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, challenge this Invention to himself: *Nos tandem in conspectum post tot secula sistimus*, we at last after so many ages have brought to light, and exposed it to publique view. *Cyclom. et. Elem.*

True indeede it is, that *Adrianus Romanus* hath written an Apologie for *Archimede* against *Scaliger*, wherein he labours to prove that he hath not found out the conclusion he pretends, which is answered by *Scaliger*, and againe replied upon *Romanus*, but which of them hath the best I referre to the determination of the professours in that facultie: and hereunto annexe a briefe view, of the most observable inventions of moderne Mathematicians unknowne to the Ancients, sent mee from my learned friend Mr *Brigges* Professour of *Geometrie* at *Oxford*.

Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita.

Astronomia Copernicana quæ docet Terram esse centrum orbis Lunaris, Solem vero esse centrum reliquorum omnium planetarum: quod in Venere & Mercurio, cum sint in inferiori parte suorum orbium etiam oculis deprehendi potest, ope tubi Optici nuper inventi. Docet etiam per motum Telluris diurnum, Ortus & Occasus omnium syderum: Et per motum ejusdem annuum in Orbe suo magno, omnium Planetarum motus & distantias, eorumque in cœlo progressus, stationes & regressus, multo facilius & accuratius investigare, quàm per Ptolomæi aut antiqui cujusquam Epicyclos aut alias Hypotheses

Sydera quatuor Medicæa (ita enim appellantur à Galileo Galilei Florentino qui ea per Tubum Opticum primus invenit) quæ circa Iovis stellam perpetuò circumaguntur, & cum in ejus umbram inciderint, eclipsim patiuntur. Iove radios solares intercipiente, eodem modo quo Terra in eclipsi Lunari.

Æquationem Algiebraicarum omnium verum valorem invenire, si is sit rationalis: sin minus eum tamen proximè in numeris absolutis exprimere: idq; non minus accuratè, quàm latus quodlibet numeri surdi, vel lineæ cujusvis irrationalis longitudinem.

Data qualibet subtensa in Circulo, invenire subtensam trientis datæ peripheriæ: (quod Theon in Comentario in Ptolemæum arbitrabatur esse impossibile) nec trientis modò, sed omnino cujuscumque partis, imparis vel paris. Partis imparis invenitur ipsa subtensa: at partis paris non invenitur unica operatione ipsa subtensa, sed tantum subtensæ ipsius quadratum: quo autem magis fuerit nouen partium, eo operosior erit subtensæ inventio.

Canones Rectarum peripheriam Tangentium & Secantium, nulli antiquorum cogniti: quos Erasmus Reinholdus primus condidit, & Canon Sinuum (multo commodior Canone Subtensarum apud Ptolomæum) à Iohanne Regio Montano primo traditus, & postea à multis accuratissimè supputatus.

Tota Logarithmorum Doctrina, à Iohanne Nepero Barone Merchistonij primùm inventa: de qua nullus antiquorum vel per somnium unquam cogitavit. Quâ, plurima problemata Arithmetica, Geometrica, & Astronomica minimo negotio expediuntur, quæ aliàs vel impossibilia censenda sunt, vel admodùm difficilia; nec sine magno tædio, & multi temporis jactura absolvenda.

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Aream Trianguli, Sphærici, vel quantitatem anguli ſolidi invenire, primus docuit peritiſſimus Geometra Thomas Hariottus, cum ante eum nemo hoc ſit aſſequutus. Hujus propoſitionis ignoratio Ariſtoteli impoſuit ad 8 cap. libri 3. de cælo, opinanti locum ſolidum poſſe compleri à pyramide, idem etiam contigit P. Ramo ad 16. & 4 lib. Geometriæ, qui idem fieri poſſe contendit etiã ab Octaedro.

Dolij vel ſegmenti Sphæroidis menſuram invenire, per modum, qui Archimedeum (prop. 31 & 33. libri de Conoidibus) ſubtili & accurata veritate eadem quare poſſit, facilitate vero longè ſuperare.

Whereunto we may add the excellent invention of geometricall engines and proportions, found out by *Simon Stevinius* and dedicated to the late renowned *Prince* of *Oreng*.

I will cloſe up this conſideration of the *Sciences* with a view of *Philoſophy*, which branches it ſelfe into the *Metaphiſickes*, *Phiſickes*, *Ethickes*, and *Politickes*: the two latter of which I will reſerve to the next Booke, contenting my ſelfe at this time with the two former: Firſt then for the *Metaphyſicks*, that part of it which conſiſts in the knowledge of *immateriall ſubſtances*, was undoubtedly neither ſo well ſtudied nor underſtood of the ancient *Philoſophers*, as now it is of *Chriſtian Divines*. They knew little what belonged to the *attributes* of *God*, which of them were *communicable* to the *Creature*, which *incommunicable*, ſo as they might truly grave that *inſcription* upon their *Altars*, *Ignoto Deo*, to the unknown God; Their ignorance was likewiſe no leſſe touching the nature and office of *Angels*, the manſion or function of ſeparated ſoules, nay not a few of the moſt ancient *Chriſtian Divines* held the *Angels* corporeall, though inviſible ſubſtances, and that the reaſonable ſoule of man was derived from his *Parents*, whereas the contrary opinions are now commonly held both more *divine* and more reaſonable.

The *Phyſickes* or *Naturall Phyloſophy* is it which the *Ancients*, & ſpecially the *Grecians*; and among them *Ariſtotle* hath with ſingular commendation much inriched, yet can it not be denied, but he is by the experience of latter ages found very defective in the *hiſtoricall* part thereof: And for the ſpeculative, both himſelfe & his followers ſeeme to referre it rather to *profeſſion* & diſputation, matter of wit and credit, then uſe & practice: It is therefore a noble and worthy endeavour of my Lord of S. *Albanes*, ſo to mixe and temper practice & ſpeculation together, that they may march hand in hand, and mutually embrace and aſſiſt each other. *Speculation* by precepts and infallible concluſions preparing a way to *Practice*, and *Practice* againe perfecting *Speculation*. Now among thoſe practicall or active parts of *Naturall* Phyloſophie which latter ages have produced, *Pancirollus* names *Alchymie* for a chiefe one: And it is true that we finde little mention thereof in *Antiquity*, not ſuſpected of forgery: But for mine owne part I much doubt whether any ſuch experiment be yet really found or no: And if it be, whether the operation of it be not more dangerous & difficult then the effect ariſing from it, is or can be advantagious. But of this I am well aſſured, that as hee who digged in his Vineyard for gold miſſed it, but by opening the rootes of the Vines, thereby found their fruit the next yeare more worth unto him then gold: ſo whiles men have laboured by tranſmutation of metals

Nova reperta. 7.

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tals from one *species* to another to make gold, they have fallen upon the distillations of waters, extractions of oyles, and such like rare experiments unknowne to the *Ancients*, which are undoubtedly more pretious for the use of man, then all the gold of both the *Indies*.

SECT. 3.

Of the Arts of Painting and Architecture revived in this latter age.

HEreunto may be added the *Arts* of *Horsmanship*, and *Heraldry*, *Agriculture*, & *Architecture*, *Painting* and *Navigation*, all which have beene not a little both *inlarged* and *perfected* in these latter ages: yet with this difference, that some of them together with the other *Arts* decayed, and againe revived with greater perfection: Others were never in their perfection till now: I will instance only in the three latter. To begin then with the *Art* of *Painting*. When the *Romans* arrived to the height of their *Empire*, they equalled, nay excelled the *Grecians* herein, who before were esteemed the best in the world.

Venimus ad summum fortunæ, pingimus atque *Horat. Ep. 1. l. 2*
Psallimus, & luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
To fortunes height we are aspir'd, we paint, we sing,
The skilfull Greekes we passe in wrestling.

Quintilian in the last chapter save one of his last booke, shewes how much this *Art* was accounted of amongst the *Ancients*, and how by degrees it grew to perfection, and so doth *Pliny* in his 35 booke, & 9 & 10 chapters. Some inventing colours, others shadowes & landskips, and others rules of proportion, but in tract of time, it so farre againe decayed, that *Æneas Silvius* who lived about 200 yeares since, tels us in one Epistle, *videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nullâ prorsus arte politas*, We see the pictures made 200 yeares since polished with no kind of art: And in another immediatly following, *Si ducentorum, trecẽtorumve annorum, aut sculpturas intueberis, aut picturas, invenies non hominum, sed monstrorum portentorumque facies*, If we looke upon the sculptures or pictures made about 200 or 300 yeares since, wee shall finde faces rather of monsters then men, And to like purpose is that of *Durerus* himselfe an excellent Painter, *Penitus deperdita ultra mille annos latuit, ac tantidem ante ducentos hos annos per Italos rursum in lucem prodijt*: This *Art* lay hid in obscurity as it had bin utterly lost above a thousand yeares, til at length about 200 yeares agoe, it againe brake forth into light by helpe of the *Italian* wits. The most famous *Italians* in this Art were *Michael Angelo*, and *Raphael Vrbin*. To whom we might adde *Georgius Vassarius equall* to either them, if we may beleeve *Thuanus*. Some of our owne *Nation*, as namely Master *Heliard* an *Exeter* man borne, & many *Netherlãders*, whose *names* & *Icones* are published by *Hondius*, have herein deserved good cõmendation: But *Durerus* of *Norinberg* is indeed the *Man*, who as wel for *practice* as precepts in this Art, is by the most judicious most cõmended. He was cõmonly stiled whiles he lived, the *Apelles* of *Germany*, nay *Erasmus* in his Dialogue

Epistola ante Geometriam.

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of the right pronunciation of the *Greeke* and *Latine* Tongues, seemes to preferre him before *Apelles*: *Equidem arbitror* (saith he) *si nunc viveret* Apelles, *ut erat ingenuus & candidus*, Alberto *nostro cessurum hujus palmæ gloriam.* Truly I am of opinion, that did *Apelles* now live, being as hee was of an ingenuous disposition, he would in this Art yeeld the Bucklers to our *Albertus.* But for singular rules in this kinde, *Lomatius* may not be forgotten, whom Mr *Richard Haydocke* hath translated out of Italian into English, & dedicated to the ever honoured Sir *Thomas Bodley.*

Such is the *affinitie* betwixt the *arts* of *painting* & *building*, by reason they both stand chiefely upon *proportion* & *just dimensions*, that *Vassari*, who was both himselfe, hath likewise written the lives of the most famous & best skilled in both. *Vitruvius* who lived but in the reigne of *Augustus*, is the only man in a manner among the *Ancients*, either in *Greeke* or *Latine*, who is renowned for the rules of *Architecture*: among those of latter times, Sir *Henry Wotton* in his *preface* to his *Elements* of *Architecture*, reputes *Leon Baptista Alberti* the *Florentine*, the first learned *Architect* beyond the *Alpes*: To whom *Angelus Politianus* in an *Epistle* of his to *Laurentius Medices*, *Duke* of *Florence*, yeelds this testimony; *Ita perscrutatus antiquitatis vestigia est, ut veterem Architectandi rationem & deprehenderit & in exemplum revocaverit*: He so narrowly traced the prints and foot-steps of *Antiquity*, that hee both fully comprehended the manner of the ancient building and reduced it into patterne; and in the end concludes touching his worth as *Salust* of *Carthage*, *Tacere satius puto, quam pauca dicere.* I hold it safer to bee silent then to speake in few words; now as the most sufficient *moderne Architects* in most things follow the ancient, so in many things they vary from thē, & that upon just reason. The *ancient Grecians* and the *Romanes* by their example in their buildings abroad where the seate was free, did almost religiously situate the front of their house towards the South: But from this the *moderne Italians* doe justly varie. Againe, the *Ancients* did determine the *longitude* of all roomes, which were longer then broad by the double of the *latitude*, and the height, by the halfe of the breadth and length summed together: But when the roome was precisely square, they made the height halfe as much more as the *latitude*: from which dimensions the *moderne Architects* have likewise taken leave to vary and that upon good discretion.

Vitruvius l. 6. c. 3.

The publique buildings of the *Grecians* and *Romans* were doubtles very artificiall and magnificent, and so were likewise many of those of the ancient *Christians*, I meane their *Churches*, *Monasteries*, *Castles*, *bridges*, and the like: But the houses of private men were in the memory of our *Fathers*, for the most part very homely, till the Princes of *Italy* began to bestow more art and cost upon them. *Cosmo Medices* Duke of *Florence*, being one of the first who set upon this worke; the *Italians* were soone followed by the *French* after the victorious returne of *Charles* the eight from *Naples*, and they againe by us ever since the uniting of the *two roses* in King *Henry* the seaventh, who at his comming to the Crowne, had spent the greatest part of his time in *France*: Before his entrance we had indeede some huge vast buildings, but his house at

Richmond

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Richmond and his *Chappell* at *Westminster* (except perchance some would preferre *Kings* Colledge Chappell in *Cambridge* begun by *Henry* the sixth) were the two first neate curious peeces that this Kingdome had seene: The latter of which may well enough compare, not onely with any peece this day in *Christendome*, but for the bignes of it, with any thing in *antiquity* of that kinde. But for a stately dainty house, that of *None-such* excells, which King *Henry* the eight, saith our *great Antiquarie*, built with so great sumptuousnes, and rare workemanshippe, that it aspireth to the very toppe of ostentation for shew: So as a man may thinke, that all the skill of *Architecture* is in this one peece bestowed and heaped up together. So many statues and lively images there are in every place: so many wonders of absolute workemanshippe, & works seeming to contend with *Romane Antiquities*, that most worthily it may have, and maintaine still this name that it hath of *None-such*, according as *Leland* hath written of it. *Camden in Surrey.*

Huic quia non habeant similem laudare Britanni
Sæpe solent, nullique parem cognomine dicunt.

The Brittaines oft were wont to praise this place for that through all
The Realme they cannot shew the like, and *None-Such* they it call.

So as what *Sebastianus Serlius* a skilfull Architect spake of the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, may not unfitly be applied to this pile of building, that it is *unicum exemplar consummatæ Architecturæ*, the only patterne wee have of perfect Architecture; whether we cast our eyes abroad into the country upon the houses of Noble-men & Gentle men, or upon the Colledges & Schooles in the Universities, or upon the dwellings of the Merchant & Artificer in the towne & city, specially in the *Metropolis*; wee shal generally finde a wonderful great change in building within these last hundred yeares, this latter as much exceeding the former, as *Augustus* his *marble Rome* did that of *bricke*. And if we looke into farraine parts, the *Gallery* in *France* and the *Escuriall* in *Spaine*, will yeeld to nothing, *Antiquity* can boast of in that kinde. Upon which later (as witnesseth *Peter Mathew*) *Phillip* the second expended twenty millions of crownes; and Nonninus in his description of *Spaine*, thus writes of it: *H. 4 l. 1. Cap. 71.*

Et jactitent licet Ægyptij suas Pyramides; Græci sua delubra; Romani sua amphitheatra, ludos, circos, thermas, capitolia, palatia, & vanis numinibus sacrata templa: dum sese Hispania hoc Escurialis monasterio cætera orbis miracula superare noverit. Quid enim ad summam perfectionem peritissimi artifices illic requirant? an materiam? nihill eâ rarius an architecturam? ne Vitruvius quidem dederit exactiorem. an magnitudinem? vel quatuor regibus simul hospitium commodè præbuerit. An etiam hortorum nitorem, fontium amænitatem, sylvarum umbracula? ne ipsa Antiochiæ Daphne se comparaverit.

Yet if we may beleeve reports, the King of *Chinaes* pallaces, at least-wise for riches & state, put downe any thing which is to be seene in *Europe* at this day.

Now I know the *Pyramides* raised by the Egyptian Kinges, & the *Obeliskes* by the *Grecian* & *Romane Emperours* are much spoken of, as being unparalleld by any thing in these latter ages, and they were indeede

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insanæ substructiones, as *Pliny* speakes, mad kinde of buildings, only for shew and ostentation, nothing at all for use: yet that *Obeliske*, which in the yeare 1586 was raised by the direction of *Dominicus Fontana*, & at the charge of *Sixtus Quintus* (which *Thuanus* tearmes, *inter opera ejus primum & præcipuum*, the first and the principall among all the great workes which he did) may well be counted little inferiour to the chiefest of them. It was one solide stone 107 foote in height, weighing 956148 pounds: It was translated from the *Vatican*, where it lay in an obscure & durtie place almost covered over with filth, and erected in a more eminent place neere *S. Peters Church*. There were disbursed about this worke (as *Fontana* himselfe hath written) 37975 Crownes; there being imployed therein from the beginning of *May* to the middle of *September* 900 men and 70 horses.

SECT. 4.

Of the art of Navigation, brought to perfection in this latter age, and upon that occasion of the situation of Ophir.

THe last, but the chiefe and most usefull of the three *Arts* which I last named is *Navigation*, in which those of former ages were so ignorant, that they ingraved *Non ultra* upon *Hercules* pillars, that the *Nations* about *Pontus* thought no sea in the world like their owne, and doubted whether there were any other sea but that only; whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word used for the sea in generall. That the *Egyptians* (held otherwise a wittie people) used to coast the shores of the *Red Sea* upon *Raffs*, devised by King *Erythrus*.

Res nautica, rudis illa quondam & vel a littore formidanda, eam nunc sui fiduciam capit, ut ventos ipsos tempestatesque spernere videatur, saith *Doctor Rives in his preface to his navall historie*. The *Hollanders*, not much observed in former times for their navigatiõs, are now growne to that greatnes in that kinde, that they are said to build about a thousand vessels every yeare fit for navigation, and the crossing of the *Ocean*; whereof the least only, for the matter and the making beside the tackling, is said to stand them in at least 2000 crownes. And *Pontanus* affirmeth, that many times in one day there arrive at *Amsterdam* from diverse coasts, as many vessels as the yeare hath dayes in it. From whence it comes to passe, that they abound in making cloth, though they have no flocks of sheepe; in timber though they have no woods, in corne though they have noe arable grounds, or at leastwise very few; in wine though they have no vineyards, and lastly in linnen though they have no hempe, or very little; and with these commodities they furnish the world by the helpe of navigation, though their owne countrey be destitute of them: Which *Ioseph Scaliger* hath no less truly then wittily expressed in these his verses directed to *Dousa*.

Caſp: Ens hiſt: Belg: lib. 1.

In hiſt: *Amſtel. l. 2. c. 19.*

Ignorata tua referam miracula terra,
Douſa, peregrinis non habitura fidem.
Omnia lanicium hic laſſat textrina Minerva:

Lanigeros

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Lanigeros tamen hìc ſcimus abeſſe greges.
Non capiunt operas fabriles oppida veſtras;
Nulla fabris tamen hac ligna miniſtrat humus.
Horrea triticia rumpunt hic frugis acervi:
Paſcuus hic tamen eſt, non Cerealis ager.
Hìc numeroſa meri ſtipantur dolia cellis;
Quæ vineta colat nulla putator habet.
Hìc nulla, aut certè ſeges eſt rariſſima lini:
Liniſici tamen eſt copia major ubi?
Hìc medijs habitamus aquis: quis credere poſſit?
Et tamen hic nulla Douſa bibuntur aqua.

In the time of the *Romans*, the *Britanes*, our Anceſtours had a kinde of boate (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs and covered with leather, of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primum cana ſalix madefacto vimine parvam
Texerat in puppim, cæſoque induta juvenco
Victoris patiens, tumidum ſuperenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus *ſtagnante Pado, fuſoque Britannus*
Navigat Oceano:

The moyſtned oſyre of the hoarie willow
Is wooven firſt into a little boate,
Then cloath'd in bullocks hide, upon the billow,
Of a proud river lightly doth it floate
Vnder the water-man.
So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling Poe
Sailes the Venetian; and the Brittaines ſo
On the out-ſpread Ocean.

And to like purpoſe is that of *Feſtus Avienus*:

Navigia junctis ſemper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vaſtum ſæpe percurrunt ſalum.

Of ſtitched hides they all their veſſels had,
And oft thorow Sea in leather voyage made.

But that which is more obſervable, is that the *Iewes* were ſo unskilfull in this art, as both they and God himſelfe accommodating himſelfe to their capacity, commonly called the *Mediterranean* Sea, the *great Sea*; thoſe times, as it ſeemes, not being much acquainted with the *Ocean*. Nay *Clemens*, one of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, in his *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, lately publiſhed by Mr *Patrike Young*, calls the *Ocean impermeabilis*, impaſſible; and that ſuch was the opinion of thoſe times, appeares by the publiſhers Annotations on that place. And though the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, are much renowned in Hiſtories for great *Navigatours*; yet it is thought by the learned, that thoſe voyages they performed, was onely by coaſting, and not by croſſing the Ocean. Numb. 34. 6. *Clement. p.* 28.

---Hæc ætas quod fata negarunt
Antiquis, totum potuit ſulcare carinis,
Id pelagi immenſum quod circuit Amphitrite.

This age what fates to former times deni'd,

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Through the vaſt Ocean now in ſhips doth ride.

Lib. 1. de natura novi Orbis. cap. 1. 8. Saith *Fracaſtorius*, and *Acoſta*, *Equidem navigationem altiſſimo Oceano commiſſam, neque apud Veteres lego, neque ab illis aliter Oceanum navigatum puto quam à noſtris Mediterraneum*: That the Ancients adventured themſelves into the maine *Ocean*, neither doe I reade it in any of their Writers, nor doe I beleeve they otherwiſe ſayled over the *Ocean*, then wee doe now over the *Mediterranean* Sea. And it ſhould ſeeme they undertooke not their longeſt voyages without *Oares*, which the *Scripture* implies in that undertaken by *Ionas*, where the Marriners upon the riſing of a violent tempeſt were conſtrained to uſe their *Oares*. Jonas 1. 13.

I am not ignorant, that as *Vatablus* and *Arias Montanus* would make *Ophir*, whither *Solomon* ſent his Navy (by reaſon of the affinity of the name) to be *Peru* in the *Weſt Indies*, ſo *Pineda* ſpends no leſſe then twelve leaves in the largeſt Folio, to prove *Tharſis*, to which it is likewiſe commonly thought to have gone, to be *Tarteſſus* in *Spaine*: But for the firſt of theſe opinions, *Cornelius Wytfliet*, Secretary of State in the Counſell of *Brabant*, in his booke intituled *Deſcriptionis Ptolomaicæ argumentum*, or *Occidentis notitia*, hath ſtrongly coufuted it; and ſo hath *Pererius* in his third boooke upon *Geneſis* treating of *Havilah*. But Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident that himſelfe hath ſo knockt it in the head, as it were idle to make any more queſtion thereof. 'That this queſtion, ſaith he, be 'a ſubject of no farther diſpute. It is very true that there is no Region 'in the world of that name, (meaning *Peru*) ſure I am that at leaſt *Ame*-'*rica* hath none, no not any city, village, or mountaine ſo named: But 'when *Francis Pizarro* firſt diſcovered the lands to the South of *Panama*, 'arriving in that Region which *Attabaliba* commanded, (a Prince of 'Magnificence, riches, and dominion, inferiour to none) ſome of the '*Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demaunding by ſignes as 'they could, and pointing with their hands athwart the river or brook 'that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of 'that brooke or of water in generall: The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it downe in the 'journall of this enterpriſe, and in the firſt deſcription made and ſent 'over to *Charles* the Emperour, all that Weſt part of *America* to the 'South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever 'ſince, as diverſe *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me. Which alſo *A*-'*coſta* the *Ieſuite* in his Naturall and Morall *Hiſtory* of the *Indies* confir-'meth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth that a part of the *Indies* 'called *Iucutan* tooke the name of *Iocktan*, who as hee ſuppoſeth, navi-'gated from the utmoſt *Eaſt* of *India* to *America*. It is moſt true that *Iu*-'*catan* is nothing elſe in the language of that countrey, but, *What is that*, 'or *What ſay you?* For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place, 'no man conceiving their meaning, one of the *Salvages* anſwered *Iuca*-'*tan*, which is, *What aske you?* or *what ſay you?* Thus farre Sr *Walter Rawleigh*, yeelding the reaſon of his diſſent from *Montanus* & *Vatablus*, holding that *Ophir*, to which *Solomons* Navy ſayled for gold, was *Peru* in the *Weſt Indies*. Whereunto may be added out of *Salmuth* in his Commentary upon *Pancirollus*, that in all likelihood, this land of *Ophir* tooke

1. Kings 9. 28.

De rebus Salomonis l. 4. c. 14.

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its name from *Ophir* the son of *Iocktan*, (as the land of *Hauilah* likewise did from another sonne of his, mentioned in the same place) who as *Iosephus* witnesseth, fixed his seate in the *East*, placing the Countrey of *Ophir* about *Chersonesus*, with whom accords *Gasper Varrerius* in his Commentaries purposely written *de Ophyra Regione*, where hee plainely proves *Ophir* to bee that *Aurea Chersonesus* in the *East Indies*, which is now called *Malaca*. Moreover one of the principall commodities which *Solomons* fleete brought home was *Ivory*, of which in the *West Indies* there is none to be found, it being knowne to want *Elephants*: And lastly out of the Text it appeares, that *Solomon* prepared his Navy for a voyage into the *East*, inasmuch as his ships set forth at *Ezion-Geber* bordering upon the Red sea, and thither as to the *Rendivouz* came the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, *Hirams* men to joyne with them: which had beene a most indirect course, had they intended their voyage toward the West. Gen. 10. 29. Lib. 1. *Antiq.* cap. 14. 1. King. 9. 26. 27.

Now for *Pineda* his making of *Tharshis* to bee *Tarteſſus* in his owne Countrey of *Spaine*, though herein he follow *Gonopius Becanus*, yet in the judgement I suppose of most men, *recitasse est refutasse*, the very recitall of it, is refutation sufficient. For if I should demaund *Pineda* where those *Spanish* mines are now to be seene, from whence *Solomons* shippes brought so much treasure, hee must tell mee, that either they are dryed up, or transported to the *Indies*, from whence in fleetes they are yearely brought backe into *Spaine*, as *Serrarius* sports with him: *in novum orbem translata magnis classibus revehuntur*: So as had not *Spaine* it selfe an *Ophir* or *Tarshis* to furnish it with gold, the poverty of it would doubtles soone appeare to the world. Besides, *Pineda* herein dissents from *Acosta* his owne countryman & brother of the same society, who thinkes that by *Tarshis* the *Hebrewes* indefinitely understand *some remote, strange*, and *rich place*, as we, saith he, do by the *Indies*. And if we should say, that *Solomons Tarshis* by a little change of letters was *Paules Tarsus*, a famous Citie in *Silicia* (which seemes likewise to have its name from *Tarsis* the 2d son of *Iavan*) we therein should I thinke shoot nearer the marke then *Pineda*: but I must confesse for mine owne private judgment, I rather incline to their opinion who by *Tarshis* understand none other than the Sea. The *Israelites* and *Phenicians*, because they knew no other Sea then the *Mediterranean* in the beginning, & that the people of *Tarshis* had the greatest shippes, and were the first *Navigatours* in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called *Men of the Sea*, and the word *Tharshis* used often for the Sea. Thus S. *Hierome* in his Commentaries on *Daniel*, *Ionas fugere cupiebat non in Tharsum Silicia, sed absolutè in pelagus. Ionas* desired to flie not to *Tarsus* in *Silicia*, but to the Sea. But *Iunius* and *Tremelius* goe farther, translating *Tharshis* by *Oceanus*, thus: *Nam classis Oceani pro Rege cum Classe Chirami erat, semel ternis annis veniebat classis ex Oceano, afferens aurum & argentum: &c.* which we thus render in our last *English Translation*: *For the King had at Sea a Navy of* Tharshis *with the Navy of* Hiram, *once in three yeares came the Navy of* Hiram, *bringing gold and silver*. And from this opinion, that by *Tarshis* is, or may be understood the *Sea*, the learned *Drusius* in his *sacred observations* dissents not, onely hee affirmes *Hispanicorum lib. 7.* *De Natura novi Orbis. lib. 1. cap. 13.* Act. 21. 39. Gen. 10. 4. *Cap. 10.* 1. King. 10. 22. *Lib. 9. cap. 12.*

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affirmes that not *Tharſhis*, but *Iam* is the common name for the Sea, and that not in *Syriacke* as S. *Hierome* would have it, but in *Hebrew*. Whereas then it is ſaid or underſtood, that the ſhippes of *Solomon* went every three yeares to *Tharſhis*, if by *Tharſhis* we underſtand the *Sea*, the phraſe, is not improper or ſtrange at all: for wee uſe it ordinarily whereſoever we navigate, namely, that the Kings ſhippes are gone to the *Sea*, or returned from the *Sea*, by which it appeares (not to touch their opinion who deceived by the *Chalde Paraphraſt*, by *Tharſhis* underſtand *Carthage*) that the voyage of *Solomons* Navy was neither to *Peru* in the *Weſt Indies*, nor *Tarteſſus* in *Spaine*, but to *Ophir* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which being performed by coaſting, needed perchance more time, but leſſe skill in navigation.

Laſtly, whereas *Marianus Siculus* in his Hiſtory of *Spaine*, reports, that certaine coyned peeces of gold engraved with the image and inſcription of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, were found in the *American* mines, thereby inferring that thoſe Countries were then diſcovered: *Nathaniel Carpenter* late Fellow of *Exceter Colledge* in *Oxford*, in the ſecond booke and ſeventh chapter of his learned Geographicall concluſions, thus fully redargues that forgerie. We finde (ſaith he) *Auguſtus Cæſar*, for ſome petty conqueſts againſt barbarous people, emblazoned by the Poets of that time to the higheſt pitch of their invention: we may obſerve the age wherein *Auguſtus* lived, to be the flouriſh and pride of all the *Roman* learning; and himſelfe the Idoll and ſubject of moſt of their poeticall flatteries: having the happineſſe to be inveſted in the Empire in ſuch a time, wherein the *Roman* Monarchie having beene too much wounded with a civill diſſention, was willing to admire her firſt Phyſitian: and can any man then be ſo ſenſeleſſe to imagine, that the diſcovery of the golden world ſhould paſſe away clouded in ſuch a flattering age without any mention? could not ſo much as the name be regiſtred to teach poſterity the way to ſo rich an Empire? For mine owne part, I can aſcribe this (if the Hiſtory deſerve credit) to nothing elſe but the pride and impoſture of the *Spaniards*, whom we obſerve in all relations to be a moſt ingratefull nation, who admiring nothing but their owne greatneſſe, have requited their beſt deſerving Benefactours with diſgrace & obloquie, ſtriving to raze out their names and memorie to whom they owe the greateſt glory. *Columbus* was an *Italian* and no *Spaniard*, and therefore muſt not deſerve ſo much of *Spaine*, as his golden *Indies*, otherwiſe *Auguſtus Cæſars* Image, had beene better loſt then found; and the Biſhop received ſmall thankes for his paraſiticke preſentation. The Prelate he meanes was *Iohn Rufus*, Archbiſhop of *Conſentium*, who preſented it the Pope; and in the ſame place doth he clearely demonſtrate, that by *Platoes Atlantis*, *America* cannot be underſtood.

The perfection then of this Art of *Navigation* ſeemes by *Gods providence* to have beene reſerved to theſe latter times, of which [a] *Pedro de Medina*, and *Baptiſta Ramuſio* have given excellent precepts. But the Art it ſelfe hath beene happily practiſed by the *Portugals*, the *Spaniards*, the *Hollanders*, and our owne *Nation*, whoſe voyages and diſcoveries, Maſter *Hackluit* hath collected and reported in three ſeverall volumes, lately

[a] Tranſlated into *French* by *Nicolas de Nicolai* Geographer to the *French* King, & dedicated to *H.* ſecond of that name.

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lately inlarged and perfected by Mr *Purchas*, and it were to bee wished as well for the honour of the *English* name, as the benefit that might thereby redound to other *Nations*, that his collections and relations had beene written in *Latine*, or that some learned pen would bee pleased to turne them in that *Language*. Among many other famous in this kinde, the noble spirited *Drake* may not bee forgotten, who, *God* being his *Guide*, wit, skill, valour and fortune his attendants, was the next after *Magellanus* that sayled round about the World, whereupon one wrote these verses unto him.

Camden in Devonshire.

Drake peragrati novit quem terminus orbis,
Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque polus:
Si taceant homines facient Te sydera notum,
Sol nescit comitis immemor esse sui.

Sir *Drake* whom well the worlds end knew,
Which thou didst compasse round:
And whom both Poles of Heav'n once saw,
Which North and South doe bound.
The starres above would make thee knowne
If men here silent were:
The Sunne himselfe cannot forget
His fellow traveller.

And upon the first shippe (being named the *Victorie*) with which *Magellanus* first compassed the World, were these verses made:

Prima ego velivolis ambivi cursibus orbem,
Magellane novo te duce ducta freto.
Ambivi, meritòque vocor Victoria, nunc mi
Vela ala, pretium gloria, pugna mare.

And for the better breeding, continuance, and increase of such expert *Pilots* amongst us, it would doubtlesse be a good and profitable worke, (according to Master *Hackluits* honest mention in his *Epistle Dedicatory* to the Lord *Admirall*, then being) if any who had the meanes had likewise the minde to give allowance for the reading of a *Lecture* of *Navigation* in *London*, in imitation of the late *Emperour Charles* the fift, who wisely considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifold shipwracks which they sustained in passing & repassing betweene *Spaine* and the *West Indies*, established not onely a *Pilot Major* for the examination of such as were to take charge of shippes in that voyage, but also founded a *Lecture* for the Art of *Navigation*, which to this day is read in the Contractation house at *Sivill*. The Readers of which *Lecture* have not onely carefully taught and instructed the *Spanish Marriners* by word of mouth, but have also published sundry exact & worthy Treatises concerning *Marine Causes*, for the direction & incouragement of *posterity*: and namely these three, *Alonzo de Chavez*, *Hieronymo de Chavez*, & *Rodorigo Zamerano*, & to this purpose it is a commendable worke of Master *Hues*, who for the instruction of *Navigators* in the principles of *Geometry* & *Astronomy*, & thereby for the improvement & advancement of the Art of *Navigation*, hath written & twice published in two severall editions, a learned *Treatise* of the *Celestiall* & *terrestriall Globes*; & their use,

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which for the better use of such as are ignorant of the *Latine* tongue, and desirous to learne, I could also wish were translated into our owne *Language*.

CHAP. 10.

Touching diverse artificiall workes and inventions, at leastwise matchable with those of the Ancients, namely and chiefly the Invention of Printing, Gunnes, and the Sea-Card or Marriners Compasse.

SECT. 1.

Of some rare invention and artificiall workes of this latter age, comparable both for use and skill to the best of the Ancients.

AS the *Arts* and *Sciences* have all of them in these *latter ages* either beene *revived* from *decay*, or *reduced* to *use*, or *brought forward* to *perfection*: so many *secrets of Nature* and *rare conclusions* have beene found out and imparted to the World by *Albertus Magnus*, *Levinus Lemnius*, *Fernelius*, *Fracastorius*, *Mizaldus*, *Baptista Porta*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Cardanus*, *Trithemius*, *Delrio*, and others, and many singular *artificiall inventions*, for the *use*, *ease*, *delight*, or *ornament* of mankinde, as a number of *Mechanicall*, *Mathematicall*, & *Musicall* Instruments, *Grottes* or *Water-workes*, specially those in the Duke of *Florence* his dominions, and at S. *Germans* one of the *French* Kings houses, *Chimneys*, *stirrups*, *paper*, *spectacles*, *Porcellan*, *perspective-glasses*, *fining of sugars*, *hand-mils*, *gloves*, *hats*, *bands*, *watches*, the use of hoppes in our drinke, of riding in coaches, and of side-saddles, but since the time of *Richard* the 2d here with us: besides diverse excellent workes in *stuffs*, in *silkes*, in *linnens*, in *hangings*, in *carpets*, and the like, particularly set downe by *Polidore Virgill de Inventoribus Rerum*, *Pancirollus* in his *Nova reperta*, *Cardanus* in his 17 booke *de artibus artificiosisque rebus*, *Dornavius* in his Oration which he intitles *fœlicitas hujus sæculi*: to whom notwithstanding much more might easily be added. For as truth is the daughter of time, so are usefull Inventions too, as rightly *Manilius*, *lib.* 1.

Sed cùm longa dies acuit mortalia corda
Et labor ingenium miseris dedit, & sua quemque
Advigilare sibi jussit fortuna premendo,
Seducta in varias certârunt pectora curas,
Et quodcunque sagax tentando reperit usus,
In commune bonum commentum lata dedere.

But when that tract of time had whet mens wits,
And industry had moulded them, by fits
Fortune pressing each man to endeavour
To free himselfe from miserie, together
They bend their mindes to search out sundry things,
And what is found by observation sage,
They cheerefully impart from age to age.

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Of some of these kinde of workes in *Germany* onely; specially in the Lower, and at *Ausburg* and *Norinberg* in the higher, *Lansius* thus writes. *Scio veteres varia in veste mirabiliter lusisse: Cui enim ignota sunt Instriana pexa? cui Phryxianæ togæ? cui Attalica auro intexta? cui Babylonicæ Martiali laudatæ eleganti versu?*

Non ego prætulerim Babylonica picta, superbè
Texta, Semiramiâ quæ variantur acu. *Lib.8.Epig.28.*

Sed vetus illa pulchritudo cum Belgica comparata in agris & sylvis nata videatur. Superat res ipsa fidē: adeò in immensum crevit Acupictoriæ splendor. Nullus hic color abest: cogita, quem voles. Ac si exemplum poscis; nulli pavones tam variâ venustatis vestiuntur plumâ, quam Belgica nostra tapetia: ita multicoloria, discoloria, versicoloria videas; totiesque propè mutanda, quoties movenda; ac in omni flexu reflexuq; alium atque alium colorem ostentantia: ut ambigas, laudatur aliquis error in re seria firmâque. Veniant jam, qui unquam manuum dexteritate immortalitatē sibi pepererunt; veniant pictores, Apelles, Xenxis, Protogenes, Parrhasius, Aristides Thebanus; veniant architecti, Ctesiphon Gnosius, qui templum Ephesinæ Dianæ construxit; Dinocrates, qui Alexandriam Egypti; Philo, qui Pyreum Athenienſium; veniant sculptores, Leocares, Alcamenes, Bryaxis, Pythis, Scopas; veniant statuarij, Polycletus, Praxiteles, Ctesias, Lysippus; veniant artifices, opifices alij quicunque: invenient in utrâque Germaniâ magistros, sub quorum disciplinâ artium tyrocinia iterasse reputabunt omnis suæ fœlicitatis caput. *C. Scriban. in 1. Ant. c. 15.*

I will onely specifie some of the *rarest artificiall workes* of this *latter age*, comparable for the workemanship with the best of the ancient.

Peter Ramus tels us of a *wooden Eagle*, & an *iron flie* made by *Regiomontanus* a famous *Mathematician* of *Norinberge*, whereof the first (in imitation and emulation of *Architas* his dove) flew forth of the city aloft in the aire, met the *Emperour* a good way off comming towards it, and having saluted him, returned againe, waiting on him to the Citie gates. The *second* at a feast, whereto he had invited his familiar friends, flew forth of his hand, & taking a round, returned thither againe to the great astonishment of the beholders: Both which the divine pen of the noble *Du Bartas* hath excellently expressed. *Schol. Mat. l. 2.* *Gellius lib. 10. & cap. 12.*

Why should I not that wooden Eagle mention,
A learned *Germans* late admir'd invention,
Which mounting from his fist that framed her,
Flew farre to meet an *Almaine Emperour*.
And having met him with her nimble traine
And weary wings, turning about againe,
Followed him close unto the Castle gate
Of *Norinberg*, whom all their shewes of state
Streetes hang'd with Arras, arches curious built,
Gray-headed Senate, and youths gallentise,
Grac't not so much as only this devise. *The 6 day of the first weeke.*

He goes on and thus describes the *flye*,

Once as this *Artist* more with mirth then meat
Feasted some friends whom he esteemed great,
From under's hands an iron *flye* flew out,

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Which having flowne a perfect round about,
With weary wings return'd unto her Maſter,
And as judicious on his arme he plac't her.
O divine wit, that in the narrow wombe
Of a ſmall flye could finde ſufficient roome
For all thoſe ſprings, wheeles, counterpoiſe and chaines,
Which ſtood inſteed of life, and ſpurre and reines,

Deſinamus itaque Archytæ columbam mirari, cum muſcam, cum aquilam geometricis alis alatam Noribergia exhibeat, ſaith *Ramus*, let us give over to wonder at *Archytas* his Dove, ſithence *Norinberg* hath exhibited both a *Fly* and an *Eagle* winged with Geometricall wings. *Bartas* likewiſe remembers the curious *Diall* & *Clocke* at *Strausburgh*, which my ſelfe have beheld not without admiration.

But who would thinke that mortall hands could mould
New heavens, new ſtarres, whoſe whirling courſes ſhould
With conſtant windings, though contrary wayes
Marke the true monds of yeares, and moneths, and dayes,
Yet 'tis a ſtory that hath oft beene heard,
And by a hundred witneſſes averr'd.

Neither doth hee forget that moſt exquiſite ſilver *ſpheare* (matchable with *Archimedes*, or that of *Zapores* King of *Perſia*) which was ſent as a preſent from the Emperour *Ferdinand* to *Solyman* the great *Turke*, and is, mentioned by *Paulus Iovius* and *Sabellicus*: It was carried as they write by twelve men, unframed and reframed in the *Grand Signeours* preſence by the maker, who likewiſe delivered him a booke containing the miſtery of uſing it.

Nor may we ſmoother nor forget ingrately
The *Heaven of ſilver*, that was ſent but lately
From *Ferdinando* as a famous worke,
Unto *Bizantium* to the *greateſt Turke*:
Wherein a ſpirit ſtill moving too and fro,
Made all the *Engine* orderly to goe;
And though th'one ſpheare did alwayes ſlowly ſlide,
And contrary the other ſwiftly glide;
Yet ſtill their ſtarres kept all the courſes even
With the true courſes of the ſtarres of heaven.
The Sunne there ſhifting in the *Zodiaque*
His ſhining houſes, never did forſake
His pointing path; there in a moneth his ſiſter
Fulfill'd her courſe, and changing oft her luſtre
And forme of face, (now larger, leſſer ſoone)
Followed the changes of the other moone.

To theſe may bee added the inſtrument of perpetuall motion, invented by *Cornelius* a *German* here in *England*, and the ſayling coaches, invented by *Stevinius* in the *Netherlands*, upon both which *Hugo Grotius* hath beſtowed theſe excellent verſes.

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In organum motus perpetui, quod est penes maximum Brittaniarum Regem.

Perpetui motus indelassata potestas,
Absque quiete quies, absque labore labor;
Contigerant cælo, tunc cùm natura caducis
Et solidis, unum noluit esse locum:
Et geminas partes lunæ dispescuit orbe,
In varias damnans inferiora vices.
Sed quod nunc natura suis è legibus exit,
Dans terris semper quod moveatur opus:
Mira quidem res est, sed non nova Maxime Regum;
Hoc fieri docuit mens tua posse prius.
Mens tua qua semper tranquilla & torpida nunquam;
Tramite constanti per sua regna meat.
Vt tua mens ergo motus cœlestis imago est,
Machina sic hæc est mentis imago tuæ.

Iter currus veliferi.

Mira canam, sed visa mihi, sed cognita multis,
Et nisi visa mihi, non habitura fidem. &c.

De hujus currus veliferi inventore, ejusdem *Grotij* Epigramma.

Ventivolam Typhis deduxit in æquora navim;
Iupiter in stellas, ætheriamque domum.
In terrestre solum virtus Stevinia: nam nec
Typhy tuum fuerat, nec Iovis illud opus.

Lastly, I doe not remember in antiquity any example of such as being borne without hãds, have with their toes supplyed the use of them, in writing and all other workes of that nature, many such have wee heard of and seene in this kinde, but among them all none more famous then that *German*, upon whom *Iohannes Posthius*, a Poet no lesse excellent then a Physitian, wrote this elegant *Epigram*, and sent it to *Camerarius*; as himselfe witnesseth in the first Centurie of his *Historicall Meditations*. Cap. 37.

Mira fides! pedibus dextrè facit omnia Thomas,
Cui natura parens brachia nulla dedit.
Namque bibit pedibus, pedibus sua fercula sumit,
Volvit & his libros, præparat his calamos,
Quin & literulas pede tam bene pingere novit,
Artificis superet grammata ducta manu.
Maximus hoc Cæsar, stupuit quondam Æmilianus,
Donaque scribenti largus honesta dedit.
Omnia nempe potest vigilans industria, quodque
Natura ipsa negat, perficit ingenium.

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SECT. 2.

Of the benefit and Inventour of the most usefull Art of Printing.

BUt leaving these;

Magna nec ingenijs investigata priorum
Quæque diu latuere canam.

I'le speake of greater things which long lay hid,
Neither were found by search of former wits.

These spoken of, are in truth but toyes and trifles in regard of those three most usefull inventions, which these *latter ages* challenge as due & proper to themselves, *Printing*, *Gunnes*, and the *Marriners Compasse*; of which *Cardane* comparatively speakes in high tearmes. *His tribus tota Antiquitas nihil par habet:* All Antiquity can boast of nothing equall to these three. Upon these then will I insist, and with these conclude this comparison of *Arts* and *Wits*; the rather for that there is none of them, but some have excepted against, as being not *moderne* but *ancient* inventions. I will begin with *Printing*, touching which *Bodin* outvies *Cardane*, *Vna typographia cum omnibus omnium veterum inventis certare facilè potest.* Printing alone may easily contend for the prize with all the inventions of the *Ancients*. And *Polydore Virgill* having spoken of the famous Libraries erected by the Ancients, presently addes, *Fuit illud omnino magnum mortalibus munus; sed nequaquam conferendum cum hoc quod nostro tempore adepti sumus, reperto novo scribendi genere: tantum enim uno die ab uno homine literarum imprimitur, quantum vix toto anno à pluribus scribi possit.* That was indeed a great benefit to mankinde, but not to be compared with this which our age hath found out and enjoyed, since a new kinde of writing was brought to light and practised, by meanes whereof, as much may be printed *by one man in one day*, as could be written by *many in a whole yeare*; or as *Sabellicus*, as much as the *readiest pen-man could well dispatch in two yeares.* And by this meanes, bookes which were before (in a manner confined to the Libraries of *Monasteries*, as their onely *Magazines*, were redeemed from bondage, obtained their inlargement, and freely walked abroad in the light; so as now they present themselves familiarly to the eyes and hands of all men, & he that hath but slender meanes, may notwithstanding furnish himselfe in a competent manner, there being now more good *Authours* to bee bought for *twenty shillings*, then could then bee purchased for *twenty pounds*. And besides, they then spake such *languages* as it pleased the *Monkes* to put into their mouthes, who many times thorow ignorance, or negligence, or wilfulnes, mistooke words and sentences, and sometimes thrust that into the *Text* which they found in the *Margine*. From whence arose such a confusion in most *Authours*, that it much puzled the best wits how to restore them to the right sense, as *Ludovicus Vives* complaines, it befell him in the setting forth of S. *Augustines* workes *de Civitate Dei*, *& divinandum sæpenumero fuit, & conjecturis vera restituenda Lectio*: I was often forced to guesse at the sense & none otherwise then

De subtil. l. 17.

De Meth. hist. lib. 7.

De Inventor. rerum l. 2. c. 7.

Encad. 10. 6.

In præfatione.

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then by conjectures could the text be restored to the true reading: And *Erasmus* in his Preface to the workes of the same Father, *Vix in alterius tam impiè, quàm in hujus sacri Doctoris voluminibus lusit otiosorum temeritas*, hardly hath the rashnes of idle braines so impiously played its part in the volumes of any other, as of this holy *Doctour*: Yet that other complaint of his in his Preface before S. *Hieromes* workes, touching the many and grosse corruptions which therein he found, farre exceedes this, *Vnum illud & verè dicam & audacter, minoris arbitror Hieronymo suos constitisse libros conditos, quàm nobis restitutos*: This one thing may I truly and boldly affirme, that in mine opinion, S. *Hieromes* bookes cost him lesse paines the making, then me the mending. Againe, it cannot be denyed but the faireneſſe of the letter, beyond that of ordinary writing, addes no small grace to this Invention. *Mira certè Ars*, saith *Cardane*, *quâ mille chartarum una die conficiuntur, nec facile est judicare an in tanta facilitate ac celeritate pulchritudo, an in tanta pulchritudine celeritas, & facilitas sit admirabilior*: An admirable Art sure it is, by which a thousand sheetes may bee dispatcht in a day; neither is it easie to judge whether in so great easinesse and quicknesse of dispatch, the faireneſſe of the letter, or in the faireneſſe of the letter the quicknesse of dispatch, and easineſſe thereof, bee more to be wondred at. Lastly, it is not the least benefit of Printing, that by dispersing a number of *Copies* into particular mens hands, there is now hope that good letters shall never againe suffer so universall a decay as in former ages they have done, by the burning and spoyling of publique *Libraries*, in which the whole treasure of learning was in a manner stored up. Since then by this meanes, bookes are become both *fairer*, and *cheaper*, and *truer*, and *lesse subject to a totall perishing*: and since by this *Art* the *preserver of Arts*, the Acts and writings of worthy men are made famous, and commended to posterity; it were a point of haynous ingratitude to suffer the *Inventor* thereof to be buried in oblivion.

De varietate rerum, l. 3. c. 64

Some difference I confesse there is about his name, yet not such but may be reconciled without any great difficulty. *Peter Ramus* seemes to attribute it to one *John Fust* a *Moguntine*, and in truth shewes good cards for it, telling us, that hee had in his keeping a Copie of *Tullies Offices* printed upon parchment, with this inscription added in the end thereof: *Præsens Marci Tullij clarissimum opus, Iohannes Fust Moguntinus civis non attramento, plumali canna, neque æreâ, sed arte quadam perpulchra manu Petri de Gernesheim pueri mei fœliciter effecit, finitum* anno 1466, 4 *die mensis Februarij*. This excellent worke of *Marcus Tullius*, I *John Fust* a citizen of *Mentz* happily imprinted, not with writing inke, quill, or brasse pen, but with an excellent *Art* by the helpe of *Peter Gernesheim* my servant: finished it was in the yeare 1466, the 4th of *February*. *Pasquier* averres that the like had come to his hand, and *Salmuth* that one of the same impression was to be seene in the publique Librarie of *Ausburg*, and another (as others) in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and my selfe have seene a fifth in the publique Librarie at *Oxford*, though with some little difference in the inscription. Yet *Polidore Virgil* from the report of the *Moguntines* themselves affirmes, that *John Gutenberg* a Knight, & dwelling

Scol. Mathem. lib. 2.

Lib. 4. cap. 22.

Theat. 124

Lib. 2. cap. 4.

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ling in *Mentz*, was the first inventor thereof, and therein with him accord *Palmerius* in his Chronicle, *Melchior Guilandinus* in the 26 Chapter of his Treatise touching *paper* & *parchment*, *Chasaneus* in his *Catalogue* of the *Glory of the world*, the second part and 39 Consideration, *Veignier* in his *Bibliotheque*, *Bibliander de communi ratione omnium linguarum*, in his chapter of printing (professing that therein he followes *Wymphilingius* in his *Epitomie* of the affaires of *Germany*) *Iohannes Arnoldus* in his booke of the Invention of Printing. And lastly, *Munster* in his *Cosmographie*, who addes this particular, that he smoothered it a long time, labouring to conceale it all that he might. For the reconciling then of this difference, it may well be that *Gutenberg* was indeed the first happy inventour of this invaluable *Art*: But *Fust* the first, who taking it from him, made proofe thereof in printing a booke: They both then deserve their commendation, but in different degrees: *Gutenberg* in the highest. *Fust* in a second or third; & no doubt but many since have added much to the speede, grace and perfection thereof, whose names, though wee know not, yet perchance, have they as well deserved of the commonwealth of learning as he: Sure we are, that *Manutius*, *Operinus*, *Raphelengius*, *Plantin*, *Frobenius*, and both the *Stephens*, the Father and the Son, are not to be forgotten, but remembred with honour, for the furthering and perfecting of this *Art*. *Quibus plus debet Christianus orbis, quàm cuiquam fortissimorum belli ducum ob propagatos fines patria debuit unquam*, saith *Thuanus*: and upon *Aldus Minutius*, *Beza* hath deservedly bestowed these singular sparkes of his younger wit.

Hist. lib. 25.

In Iuvenilib. cui adde Nic: Leonicen. in lib. de morbo Gallico ubi in Aldi laudem praclarè.

Didonis cecinit rogum disertus
Maro: Pompeij rogum Lucanus:
Et disertè adeò hoc uterque fecit;
Vt nunc vivere judicetur illa,
Nec jam mortuus hic putetur esse:
Immo sunt redivivi & hic, & illa.
Ergo credere fas erit Poëtas
Divos: utpote qui loquendo possint
Vitam reddere mortuis: quod ipsis
Est Divis proprium & peculiare.
Quod si credere fas Deos Poëtas;
Vitam reddere quod queant sublatam:
Quanto est justius aquinsque, quaso,
Aldum Manutium Deum vocare;
Ipsis qui potuit suo labore,
Vitam reddere mortuis Poëtis?

Hist. Ind. lib. 6. Lib. 2. Arem. apud Indos c. 38 Lib. 14. Hist.

Yet some there are who writing of the affaires of the *Indies* as *Petrus Maffaius*, *Garzias ab Horto*, & *Paulus Iovius* assure us, that either the *Germans* borrowed this Invention first from the *Chineses*; or at leastwise the *Chineses* had the practise and use of it long before them. Whereunto I answer (not to question the credit of the *Authours*, though in truth (as is well knowne) no great friends to the *German* nation) that though it were long since in use with the *Chineses*, yet, for ought appeareth, was it never

never, nor yet is with them brought to that perfection, as it is with us at this day: *Si à veteribus tale quiddam excogitatum sit, ut nemo debita laude fraudandus, fateri quisque debeat omnia minus fuisse exculta, nitida, subtilia, elimata, nec tam spectabili literarum varietate exornata atque expolita*, saith *Levinus Lemnius*. If any such thing was discovered by the *Ancients* (either by the *Chineses* or otherwhere) as they are not to bee robbed of their due praise, so ought wee to confesse, that all things are now more exact, perfect, and better polished with a faire variety of letters. But that the *Germans* should borrow it from the *Chineses*, as is pretended by the *Spaniards*, is more I thinke then is true, I am sure, then is yet proved, or in likelyhood doth appeare: And the *Germans* themselves will never with patience endure such a wrong. *Germania certè nunquam sibi hanc laudem patietur extorqueri*, sayth *Salmuth*, *Germany* will never suffer the praise of this *Invention* to bee wrested from her: and *Beroaldus*,

De occultis rerum mirac. l. 3. cap. 4.

O Germania muneris repertrix,
Quo nil utilius dedit vetustas,
Libros scribere quæ doces premendo,
Thou *Germany* this blessing did'st invent,
Then which the world more usefull never saw,
To write on bookes thou teachest thus by print.

And with him accords *Laurentius Valla*, though himselfe an *Italian*, if those verses bee his, which are ascribed unto him in the front of his Workes.

Abstulerat Latio multos Germania libros,
Nunc multò plures reddidit ingenio.
Et quod vix toto quisquam perscriberet anno,
Munere Germano conficit una dies.
Germania drew great store of bookes from *Italy*,
But now much more she doth then she receiv'd, repay:
What erewhile in one yeare could scarcely written be;
Now by *Germania's* helpe is finisht in a day.

SECT. 3.

Of the use and Invention of Gunnes.

AS the Invention of *Printing* is chiefely in use in time of *Peace*, so is that of *Gunnes* in time of *warre*, with which the *Aries*, *Onagri*, *Catapultæ*, or *Balistæ*, *Engines* of the *Ancients*, (which I know not well how to *English*, they being growne for the most part out of use) are no way comparable, *Nec ulla ex parte huic conferendus est antiquus Aries, vires inferiores habebat, & difficilius ad muros adigebatur*, saith *Patricius*, The *Ramme* anciently for battery, is in no sort to bee compared with this *Engine*, it had lesse strength, and more difficulty there was in bringing it, and applying it to the walls. And *Bodine* to like purpose, (though herein perchance hee jumpe not with *Lipsius* in his *Poliorcetica*) *omitto Catapulta Veterum & antiqua belli tormenta, quæ si cum nostris conferantur*

De regno lib. 7. tit. 6.

Method. hist. c. 7

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De Machinis dialogo. 11.

ſanè puerilia quædam ludicra videri poſsint. I paſſe over the *Engines* of the *Ancients*, which being compared with ours, are rather childiſh toyes then inſtruments of warre. And *Lipſius* himſelfe calls it, *Geniorum, non hominum inventum*, an invention of ſpirits and not of men. Such is the force of theſe moderne *Engines*, that they not onely deſtroy men, but caſt downe wals, rampiers, towers, caſtles, cities, and ſhake the talleſt ſhippes into ſhivers, there being nothing that comes within their reach that can ſtand againſt them. It was a peece of almoſt incredible bigneſſe which by *Mahomets* command was imployed againſt *Conſtantinople, ad quam trahendam adhibebantur ſeptuaginta juga boum, & bis mille viri*, as witneſſeth *Chalcondilas* in his eighth booke *de rebus Turcicis*, for the drawing of which was imployed ſeaventy yoke of oxen, and two thouſand men. It is true that there is nothing more miſchievous to beſieged cities, and ſo is there nothing that helpes them more for the chaſing away of the beſiegers, it being ſo for the moſt part in all things, which either the Art or wit of man, or *God* & *Nature* hath framed, that the more helpefull they are being well uſed; the more hurtful are they being abuſed: then fire and water there is nothing more commodious to the life of man, yet is the *Proverbe* true, that when they are once inraged, & paſſe their bounds they become merciles: The tongue is ſaid by *Æſope* to be both the beſt & the worſt meate that comes to the market: for with it wee both *bleſſe God* and *curſe men*, ſaith S. *Iames*. And *yron* by *Pliny* is rightly tearmed, *optimum, peſsimumque vitæ inſtrumentum*, the beſt and worſt inſtrument belonging to man. But ſure it ſeemes that *God* in his providence had reſerved this Engine for theſe times, that by the cruell force and terrible roaring of it, men might the rather be deterred from aſſaulting one another in hoſtile and warlike manner; And I verily beleeve that ſince the invention and uſe therefore, fewer have beene ſlaine in the warres then before. Neither doth it ſerve, (as is commonly objected,) to make men cowards, but rather hardens them. For hee that dares preſent himſelfe to the mouth of a *Cannon*, cannot feare the face of death in what ſhape ſoever it preſents it ſelfe.

How ſoever ſome have not beene wanting, who would beare us in hand that this invention is not of *latter times*, but *ancient*; among whom *Lib. 1. c. 7. ſect. 4* Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is one, who in his *Hiſtory of the World*, referres not onely the Invention of *Printing*, but of *Gunnes* too, and *Ordinance* of battery to the *Indians*, grounding himſelfe heerein upon the report of the *Portugals*: And hereby, ſaith he, wee are now made to underſtand, that *Lib. 2. c. 14.* the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonij Tianei*, is no fable, though expreſt in fabulous words, when he ſaith, that the wiſemen which dwell betweene *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges* uſe not themſelves to goe forth to battle, but that they drive away their enemies with *thunder* and *lightning*. But hereof I can ſay nothing, chooſing with *Camerarius, potius credere quàm cum moleſtia experiri*, rather to beleeve it, then to endure the hazard and *Meditat. hiſtor. centur. 2. 28.* trouble to make try all of it. Others referre it to *Salmoneus*, as witneſſeth *De occult. rerum miraculis lib. 3. cap. 4.* *Levinus Lemnius*, induced thereunto by thoſe verſes of *Virgill*

Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,
Dum flammas Jovis & ſonitus imitatur Olympi,
Ænead. l. 5.

Quatuor

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Quatuor hic inuectus equis & lampada quaſſans,
Per Graium populos, mediaque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ouans, Diuûmque ſibi poſcebat honores;
Demens qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen,
Ære & cornipedum curſu ſimulabat equorum
I ſaw *Salmoneus* there endure
Moſt cruel paines and great;
For that he dar'd the flames of *Ioue*,
And thunder counterfeit.
In Chariot drawne with horſes foure,
Shaking a fiery brand,
Through mids of *Elis* towne he rode,
And through all *Grecian* land
Tryumphing wiſe: and to himſelfe
Audaciouſly did take
Honours divine. Mad franticke man
That did not inlie quake:
With horn-foote horſes, and braſſe wheeles,
Ioues ſtormes to emulate,
And lightning impoſſible
For man to imitate.

But *Servius* in his Commentaries conceives, that this imitation of *thunder* was by driving his Chariot over a braſen bridge: And if hee uſed any *Engine*, it ſeemes to have beene rather for *rattling* and terrour, then for any *reall* effect: and whereas great *Ordinance* exceede thunder, this was ſuch that it came farre ſhort of it. And therefore as *Rosa* hath well obſerved, the Poet calls it,

---Non imitabile fulmen.

But this I leave as a very uncertaine ground for the ancient invention of this *Engine*. *Petrarch* and *Valturius* upon better ſhew of reaſon (as they conceive) referre it to *Archimede*, found out (as they pretended) by him for the overthrow of *Marcellus* his ſhippes at the ſiege of *Syracuſe*. But it were ſtrange that both *Plutarch* & *Livie*, who have written largly of his admirable wit and wonderfull *Engines*, and particularly of the ſiege of that citie, ſhould among the reſt forget this *rare invention*; and yet more ſtrange that the *Romanes* upon the taking of the citie ſhould not take it up and make uſe of it: Nay, as *Magius* (who hath written a chapter of purpoſe, to refute them who referre this invention to the *Ancients*) hath obſerved; neither *Heron*, nor *Pappus*, nor *Athenæus*, nor *Biton* in their manuſcripts of their *Mechânickes*, (for printed they are not) have deſcribed any ſuch *Engine*: nor *Ægidius Romanus*, (who lived and wrote in the raigne of *Philip* the *faire* King of *France* about the yeare 1285.) where hee treates purpoſely of *warlike Engines* and *inſtruments*, remembers any ſuch thing. *Brightman* in his expoſition on the *Revelation* of S. *Iohn*, tels us that by the *fire*, and *ſmoake*, and *brimſtone* which in that place are ſaid to have iſſued out of the mouth of the horſes, are to bee underſtood our *powder*, and *gunnes* now in uſe, and that of them S. *Iohn* propheſied, but how theſe can bee ſaid to iſſue out of the *mouthes* of *horſes*,

De remed. utriuſque fort. dial. 99.
De re militar.
Miſcel. l. 1. c. 1.
De regimine Principum l. 3. part. 3. c. 18.

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horſes, he doth not well expreſſe, nor I thinke well underſtood.

The common opinion then is, that this deviſe was firſt found out by a *Monke* of *Germanie*, whoſe name many writers affirme to bee deſervedly loſt. But *Forcatulus* in his fourth booke of the *Empire* and *Philoſophy* of *France*, names him *Berthold Swarts* of *Cullen*, and *Selmuth*, *Conſtantine Anklitzen* of *Friburg*: Howſoever they all agree that he was a *German Monke*, and that by chance a ſparke of fire falling into a pot of *Niter*, which he had prepared for *Phyſicke* or *Alchimy*, and cauſing it to fly up, hee thereupon made a compoſition of powder, with an inſtrument of braſſe and yron, and putting fire to it, found the concluſion to anſwere his expectation. The firſt publique uſe of *Gunnes* that wee reade of, was thought to bee about the yeare 1380 as *Magius*, or 400 as *Ramus*, in a battle betwixt the *Venetians* and the *Genowayes* fought at *Clodia-Foſſa*, in which the *Venetians* having from this *Monke* belike gotten the uſe of *Gunnes*, ſo galled their enimies, that they ſaw themſelves wounded and ſlaine; and yet knew not by what meanes, or how to prevent it, as witneſſeth *Platina* in the life of *Vrbane* the ſixth. And *Laurentius Valla* in the ſecond booke and 34 Chapter of his *Elegancies*, (which as himſelfe teſtifies, hee wrote in the yeare 1438) affirmes that the *Gunne* grew in uſe not long before his time. His words are, *Nuper inventa eſt machina quam Bombardam vocant*, the Engine which they call the Gunne was lately found out. And *Petrarch* who lived ſomewhat before him to like purpoſe in his 99 dialogue of the *Remedies of both fortunes*, though herein I confeſſe he ſeemes to croſſe himſelfe, *Erat hæc peſtis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur*: This peſtilent deviſe was lately ſo rare, that it was beheld with marveilous great aſtoniſhment. Yet I have ſeene the copie of a record, that *great Ordinance* were brought by the *French* to the batterie of a Caſtle or fort called *Outhwyke*, neere to *Calis*, & then in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, the firſt yeare of *Richard* the ſecond; of which fort, one *William Weſton* was Captaine, and being queſtioned in Parliament for yeelding up the fort, hee doth in his excuſe alleage, that the enemies brought to the batterie thereof nine peeces *de groſſes Canons par les quelles les mures & les meaſons du dit Chaſtel furent rentes & percuſſez en pluſieurs lieux*, of great Canons, by meanes whereof the walls & houſes of the ſaid Caſtle were in diverſe places rent in ſunder and ſorely battered; and in another place, hee tearmes them *huge*, moſt *grievous*, and *admirable Ordinance*: nay more then ſo, I am credibly informed, that a commiſſion is to bee ſeene for the making of *Saltpeter* in *Edward* the thirds time, and another record of Ordinance vſed in that time ſome twenty yeares before his death: by all which it ſhould appeare, that either the *invention* of *Gunnes* was ſooner then is commonly conceived, or that our *Nation* & the *French* had the uſe of it with the firſt, howſoever it is moſt cleare, that at leaſt-wiſe in theſe parts of the world this invention was not knowne till in latter ages in compariſon of the worlds duration.

Nova Reperta, tit. 11.

Lib. 3. c. 14.

SECT. 4.

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SECT. 4.

Of the use and invention of the Marriners Compasse *or Sea card, as also of another excellent invention said to bee lately found out upon the* Loadstone, *together with a conclusion of this comparison touching Arts and Wits, with a saying of* Bodins, *and another very notable one of* Lactantius.

TO these inventions of *Printing* and *Gunnes*, may be added in the last place that of the *Marriners Compasse*, of which *Bodin* thus confidently speakes, *Cum magnete nihil sit admirabilius in tota rerum natura, usum tamen ejus plane divinum Antiqui ignorarunt*: Though there bee nothing more admirable then the Load stone in the whole course of Nature, yet of the Divine use thereof were the Ancients ignorant: And *Blondus*, *Certum est id navigandi auxilium priscis omnino fuisse incognitum*: It is certaine that helpe of sayling was altogether unknown to the Ancients. And *Carden*, a man much versed in the rarities of *Nature, inter cætera rerum inventa admiratione primum digna est ratio Nauticæ pyxidis*. Among other rare inventions, that of the Marriners Compasse is most worthy of admiration. By meanes of it, was *Navigation* perfected, the lives and goods of many thousand have bin, and daily are preserved: It findes out a way thorow the vast Ocean, in the greatest stormes and darkest nights, where is neither path to follow, nor inhabitant or passinger to inquire; It points out the way to the skilfull Marriner when all other helpes faile him, and that more certainely though it be without reason, sense, and life, then without the helpe thereof all the Wisards & learned Clearkes in the world, using the united strength of their wits and cunning can possibly doe. By meanes of it are the commodities of all countries discovered, trade, and trafique, and humane societie maintained, their severall formes of government and religion observed, and the whole world made as it were one *Commonwealth*, and the most distant *Nations, fellow citizens* of the same body politique.

Methode hist. cap. 7.

Italia Illustrata regione 13. De subtilit. 17.

This wonderfull instrument wee have amply discribed by *Cieze* in his second tome and ninth chapter, *de Rebus Indicis*, and *Bellonus* in his second booke and sixteenth chapter *de Singularitatibus*: But for the reason thereof, I say with *Acosta*, *Causas hujus tanti prodigij alij rimentur, & Sympathiam nescio quam conentur inducere, ego summi Opificis potentiam providentiamque quoties intueor, & vehementer admiror & jucundissimè celebro*. Let others search out the causes of this so wonderfull an instrument, & pretend therein I know not what Sympathy, I for my part as oft as I looke upon it, cannot but exceedingly admire, and most willingly praise the power and providence of *God*.

De Natura novi orbis. l. 1.

Whether it were knowne to the *Ancients* or no, some doubt is moved, as of all things else there is: But herein in my judgement, without any sufficient reason. For can we conceive that so rare a devise; and of so singular use could be knowne to *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, *Dioscorides*,

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rides, *Galen*, and that wee ſhould no where in any of their workes finde the leaſt mention thereof? Surely, I for my part ſhall never beleeve it, neither can I bee perſwaded that ſo pretious and uſefull an invention could poſſibly be entertained and commonly practiſed, and yet loſt againe out of the world as if it had never beene. But that indeede it was not practiſed appeares by this, that the *Ancients*, when by reaſon of a ſtorme or myſt they had loſt the ſight of the lights of heaven, they had no remedie to flie unto; *Nullum cœlo nubibus obſcurato à magnete aut alio inſtrumento petebatur auxilium*, when the heaven was darkened with clouds, they had no aſſiſtance from the *Load-ſtone* or any other inſtrument.

Blondus Italia illuſtrata Regione 3.

Ænead. 5.

---Clavumque affixus & hærens
Nunquam amittebat, oculoſque ſub aſtra tenebat.

The helme he held and never it forſooke,
But on the ſtarres his eyes did ever looke.

Saith the *Poet*, as long as the ſtarres appeared; but when they were bemiſted, they then wandred they knew not whither.

Ænead 3.

Tres adeo incertos cæca caligine ſoles,
Erramus pelago, totidem ſine ſidere noctes.

On Sea we rou'd three dayes as darke as night,
Three nights likewiſe not ſeeing ſtarrie light.

And *Ovid.*

Metam. 11. 10.

Verum ubi ſit neſcit tanta vertigine pontus
Fervet, & inducta piceis è nubibus umbra
Omne latet Cœlum.

He knew not where hee was, the ſea ſo wrought
And all the skie with pitchie clouds was fraught.

Act. 27. 20. And in S. *Pauls* coaſting voyage by ſea, when they had loſt the ſight of the *Sunne* and *Starres*, all hope that they ſhould be ſaved was then taken away.

Some notwithſtanding have beene found, who have thought this invention ancient. *Levinus Lemnius* in his third booke and fourth chapter *de Occultis naturæ miraculis* ſeemes to doubt of it. *An hoc inſtrumentum Nauticum ſuperioribus ſeculis extitit, an noſtro id ævo excogitatum, non auſim certo pronunciare*: whether this inſtrument of *Navigation* were in being in former ages, or found out in latter times, I cannot certainly define. Now that which chiefely cauſes him to make a doubt thereof, is thoſe words of *Plautus*, *Hic ventus nunc ſecundus eſt, cape modo verſoriam*: where by *verſoriam*, *Lemnius* would have us underſtand the *Marriners compaſſe*. and then addes, *Quamquam ut opinor hæc pixidicula noſtro jam tempore magis exculta ſit, elimata, expolita, omniaque exactius demonſtret*, as in the ſame chapter he ſpeakes of Printing: Yet I beleeve that this inſtrument was in latter ages brought to exact perfection. But for *Plautus* I dare ſay hee was never guilty of ſuch a meaning: *Turnebus* by *Verſoriam* underſtanding the rope with which they ſayle, others the rudder, with which the ſhip is turned. Neither of which are impertinent or improper, ſo as there is no neceſſity of applying it to the Marriners Compaſſe.

In Mercatore. Scena 5.

Lib. 20. adverſ. cap. 4.

Stephen

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Stephen Pasquier in his 4. booke & 23 chapter of his *Recherches* of *France*, brings it up as high as the times of S. *Lewis* by the verses of one *Hugh de Bercy*, who lived in his raigne, and as hee pretends plainely describes it: but whether the words be so plaine as hee makes them, or whether they were published by some other since *Bercy*, but in his name, is very uncertaine, specially since no *Poet* or *Historiographer* contemporary with him, or more ancient then hee, are found to make mention thereof: and yet S. *Lewis* died not much above 300 yeares since. *Pineda* for the more commodious placing of *Tharshis* in *Spaine*, is confident that it was in use in *Solomons* time, making his universall wisedome, and deepe insight in the nature of all things, the principall ground of his opinion: But *Solomons* wisedome though it were universall, and deepe, beyond all the children of the *East*, in as much as *God* gave him *latitudinem cordis*, a large heart as the sand of the sea shore, yet was it finite and limited as well in things naturall as supernaturall. I doubt not but *Adam* in the state of integrity knew more then *Solomon*, and yet I dare not pronounce him *omniscious*, that being an *attribute*, (as is likewise *Omnipotencie*, *ubiquity* & *eternity*) individually proper to the *Godhead*, & incommunicable to any created substance, though meerely incorporeall, whether they be the damned or the blessed spirits. If then the holy *Angels*, if *Adam* in Paradice knew not all things, nay if the Sonne of *God* himselfe, as hee was man confesse himselfe to bee ignorant in some things, why should wee thinke it strange to affirme, that *Solomon* knew not all things. If there be such a secret as the artificiall transmutation of other mettals into gold, (which by the experiments of many is confidently avouched) it is more then probable he was ignorant of it: for had he knowne it, he needed not to have sent his Navy to *Ophir* or *Tharshis* for gold; as likewise had he knowne this secret of the *Load-stone*, it needed not to have spent three yeares in going and comming, neither should his Mariners have needed to crave the assistance of the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, as *Pilots* for the better conducting of them into their voyage. I conclude then that either *Solomon* knew not this secret, or if he knew it, he put it not in practise, or if hee put it in practise, it was since lost and recovered againe, which to mee seemeth the most unlikely of all.

En sa bible guyot *Lib. 4. de rebus Solomonis c. 4.*

Now to the authority of these *three*, who plead for the antiquity of this invention, may be opposed *thirteene*, and those in learning nothing inferiour who plead against it, maintaining it to have beene an Invention of *latter ages* unknowne to the *Ancients*, as *Acosta lib. 1. histor. Ind. cap. 17. Mariana lib. 1. de rebus Hispaniæ cap. 22. Malvenda lib. 3. de Antichristo cap. 24. Gomara tomo 1. Indicæ Historiæ cap. 10. Turnebus lib. 20. adversc. cap. 4. Pancirollus* in his *Nova reperta tit. 11. Salmuth* in his Commentaries on that place. *Philander* in his Comment. upon *Vitruvius lib. 10. cap. 14. Lilius Giraldus lib. de Navig. cap. 1. Cardan de subtilitate lib. 17. Bozius de signis Ecclesiæ lib. 2. Bodin* in his methode of Historie *cap. 7. Ramus in Sol. Mathemat. lib. 2.* And to those may bee added many more, were I ambitious in mustering up of names, or did the cause require it. Since the writing hereof I finde that our *Fuller Miscell. 4. 19.* thinkes it like-

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wise very probable, that the *Tyrians* anciently had the use of the *Compasse*, and that *Solomon* might be the Inventor thereof, but against him may be produced the *reasons* before presſed against *Pineda*, and not only the *authorities* already alleadged, but unto them wee may farther adde that of *Gaspar Varrerius* in his Commentary *De Ophyra Regione*, *Cujus vim naturamque lapidis in Arctos semper respectantis antiquis ignotam fuisse manifestum est.* It is cleere that the native propertie of this stone of turning alwayes to the *North*, was to the ancients unknowne.

But a greater doubt presents it selfe about the *time* and *Author* of this Invention, when and by whom it should first bee found out and set on foote. Doctor *Gilbert* our Country-man (who hath written in Latine a large and learned discourse of the properties of this stone) seemes to be of opinion that *Paulus Venetus* brought the invention of the use thereof from the *Chineses*. *Osorius* in his discourse of the acts of King *Emanuel*, referres it to *Gama* and his Country-men the *Portugals*, who as he pretends tooke it from certaine barbarous Pirats roaving upon the Sea, about the *Cape of good hope*. *Goropius Becanus* likewise thinkes he hath great reason to intitle it upon his Coütreymen the *Germans*, in as much as the 32. points of the winde upon the *Compasse* borrow the name from the *Dutch* in all *Languages*. But *Blondus* who is therein followed by *Pancirollus*, both *Italians*, will not have *Italy* loose the praise thereof, telling us that about 300 years agoe it was found out at *Malphis* or *Melphis* a Citty in the Kingdome of *Naples* in the *Province* of *Campania*, now called *Terra di Lovorador*. But for the Authour of it, the one names him not, and the other assures us, he is not knowne: yet *Salmuth* out of *Cietzus* and *Gomara* confidently christens him with the name of *Flavius*, and so doth *Du Bartas* in those excellent verses of his touching this subject.

Hispaniorum l. 3.
Italia illustrata Regione 13.

W'are not to *Ceres* so much bound for bread,
Neither to *Bacchus* for his clusters red,
As Signior *Flavio* to thy witty tryall,
For first inventing of the Sea-mans dyall,
Th'vse of the needle turning in the same,
Divine device, O admirable frame!
Whereby thorow th'Ocean in the darkest night
Our hugest Carrackes are conducted right,
Whereby w'are stor'd with trouch-man, guide & Lampe,
To search all corners of the watery Campe.
Whereby a ship that stormy heav'ns have whorld
Neere in one night into another world
Knowes where she is, and in the Card discries
What degrees thence the Æquinoctiall lies,

It may well be then that *Flavius* the *Melvitan* was the first inventor of guiding the ship by the turning of the needle to the *North*: but some *German* afterwards added to the *Compasse* the 32 points of the winde in his owne language, whence other Nations have since borrowed it. But surely a pitty it is that the Authour of such an Invention, is not both more certainely known and honourably esteemed: He better deserving

of

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in my judgement to be inrolled and ranked among the *great benefactours of the world*, then many who for their ſuppoſed merits, of *mankinde* were *deified* among the *Heathen*.

Another excellent and ſecret concluſion upon this ſtone, pretended to be found out in theſe latter times, is, that by touching two needles with the ſame ſtone, they being ſeverally ſet ſo as they may turne upon two round tables, having on their borders the *Alphabet* written circle-wiſe, if two friends agreeing upon the time, the one in *Paris*, the other in *London*, (having each of them their table thus equally fitted) bee diſpoſed upon certaine dayes and at certaine times to conferre, it is to bee done by turning the needle in one of the tables to the *Alphabet*, and the other by *Sympathie* will turne it ſelfe in the ſame manner in the other table, though never ſo farre diſtant: which concluſion if infallibly true, may likewiſe proove of good and great conſequence: howſoever I will ſet it downe as I finde it deſcribed by *Famianus Strada* in imitation of the ſtile and vaine of *Lucretius*.

Magneſi genus eſt lapidis mirabile, cui ſi
Corpora ferri plura ſtyloſve admoveris, inde
Non modo vim motumq; trahent quo ſemper ad urſam
Quæ lucet vicina polo ſe vertere tentent,
Verum etiam mira inter ſe ratione, modoque
Quotquot eum lapidem tetigere ſtyli, ſimul omnes
Conſpirare ſitum motumque videbis in unum.
Vt ſi fortè ex his aliquis Romæ moveatur,
Alter ad hunc motum quamvis ſit diſſitus longè
Arcano ſe naturæ fœdere vertat.
Ergo age ſi quid ſcire voles qui diſtet amicum
Ad quem nulla accedere poſſit epiſtola, ſume
Planum orbem patulumque notis, elementaque primum,
Ordine quo diſcunt pueri, deſcribe per oras
Extremas orbis, medioque repone jacentem
Qui tetigit magnetis ſtylum, at verſatilis inde
Litteralam quamcumque velis contingere poſſit.
Hujus ad exemplum ſimili fabricaveris orbem
Margine deſcriptum, munitumque indice ferri,
Ferri quod motum Magnete accepit ab illo,
Hunc orbem diſceſſurus ſibi portet amicus;
Conveniatque prius quo tempore, queiſve diebus
Exploret ſtylus an trepidet quidve indice ſignes.
His ita compoſitis ſi clam capis alloqui amicum
Quem procul à Te Te terrarum diſtinet ora
Orbi admunge manum, ferrum verſatile tracta,
Hic diſpoſita vides elementa in margine toto.
Quis opus eſt ad verba notis hunc dirige ferrum,
Litterulaſque modo hanc modo & illam cuſpide tange
Dum ferrum per eas iterumque iterumque rotando

Lib. 2. Proluſione. 6.

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Componas ſigillatim ſenſa omnia mentis.
Mira fides! longè qui diſtat cernit amicus
Nullius impulſu trepidare volubile ferrum
Nunc huc, nunc illuc diſcurrere conſcius hæret,
Obſervatque ſtyli ductum, ſequiturque legendo
Hinc atque hinc elementa, quibus in verba coactis
Quid ſit opus ſentit ferroque interprete diſcit.
Quinetiam cum ſtare ſtylum videt, ipſe viciſſim
Si quæ reſpondenda putat, ſimili ratione
Litterulis variè tactis reſcribit amico:
O utinam hæc ratio ſcribendi prodeat uſu,
Cautior & citior properaret epiſtola, nullas
Latronum verita inſidias fluvioſque morantes,
Ipſe ſuis princeps manibus conficeret rem:
Nos ſoboles ſcribarum emerſi ex æquore nigro
Conſecraremus calamum Magnetis ad aras.

The Loade above all other ſtones hath this ſtrange propertie,
If ſundry ſteeles thereto, or needles yee apply,
Such force and motion thence they draw, that they incline
To turne them to the Beare, which neere the Pole doth ſhine.
Nay more, as many ſteeles as touch that vertuous ſtone,
In ſtrange and wondrous ſort conſpiring all in one,
Together move themſelves, and ſituate together:
As if one of thoſe ſteeles at *Rome* be ſtir'd, the other
The ſelfe-ſame way will ſtirre though they farre diſtant be,
And all through Natures force and ſecret Sympathie:
Well then if you of ought would faine adviſe your friend
That dwells farre off, to whom no letter you can ſend,
A large ſmooth round table make, write down the Chriſt croſſe
In order on the verge thereof, and then beſtow (row
The needle in the mid'ſt which toucht the Load, that ſo
What note ſoe're you liſt it ſtraight may turne unto:
Then frame another orbe in all reſpects like this,
Deſcribe the edge, and lay the ſteele thereon likewiſe,
The ſteele which from the ſelfe-ſame *Magnes* motion drew;
This orbe ſend with thy friend what time he bids adieu:
But on the dayes agree firſt, when you meane to prove,
If the ſteele ſtir, and to what letter it doth move.
This done, if with thy friend thou cloſely would'ſt adviſe,
Who in a country off farre diſtant from thee lies,
Take thou the orbe and ſteele which on the orbe was ſet,
The chriſtcroſſe on the edge thou ſeeſt in order writ,
What notes will frame thy words to them direct thy ſteele,
And it ſometimes to this, ſometimes to that note wheele,
Turning it round about ſo often till you finde
You have compounded all the meaning of your minde.

Thy

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Thy friend that dwells far off, ô ſtrange! doth plainely ſee
The ſteele to ſtirre though it by no man ſtirred bee,
Running now heere now there: He conſcious of the plot
As the ſteele guides, purſues, and reades from note to note;
Then gathering into words thoſe notes, he clearely ſees
What's needefull to be done, the needle truchman is.
Now when the ſteele doth ceaſe its motion; if thy friend
Thinke it convenient anſwere backe to ſend,
The ſame courſe he may take, and with his needle write
Touching the ſeverall notes what ſo he liſt indite.
Would God men would be pleas'd to put this courſe in ure,
Their letters would arrive more ſpeedy and more ſure,
Nor Rivers would them ſtoppe, nor theeves them intercept,
Princes with their owne hands their buſineſſe might effect.
We Scribes from blacke ſea ſcaped, at length with harty wils
At th'altar of the Loade would conſecrate our quils.

Of this deviſe, how two abſent friends might confer at great diſtance; *Vigenerius* in his *Annotations* upon *T. Livius*, ſpeaketh ſomewhat in the 1316 colume of his firſt volume; as namely that a letter might be read through a ſtone wall of three foote thicke, by guiding and moving the needle of a *Compaſſe* over the letters of the *Alphabet*, written in the circumference. but the certainty of this concluſion, I leave to the experiment of ſuch as liſt to make tryall of it, and ſo conclude this compariſon touching *Wits* and *Arts* with the words of *Bodin*: *Non minùs peccant qui à veteribus aiunt omnia comprehenſa, quàm qui illos de veteri multarum artium poſſeſsione deturbant, habet Natura ſcientiarum theſauros innumerabiles qui nullis ætatibus exhauriri poſſunt*: They are no leſſe to blame who affirme all things to have bin found out by the *Ancients*, then they who would thruſt them out of the poſſeſſion of many *Artes* found out by them: For the Nature of ſciences includes in it infinite treaſure which can never be exauſted. Or rather with thoſe of *Lactantius* worthy to be written in letters of gold, as being no leſſe true and pertinent, then witty and elegant: *Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione ſapientiam, ut & inaudita inveſtigare poſſent, & audita perpendere; nec quia nos illi temporibus anteceſſerunt, ſapientiâ quoque anteceſſerunt, quæ ſi omnibus æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non poteſt. Illibabilis eſt tanquam lux & claritas Solis, quia ut ſol oculorum, ſic ſapientia lumen eſt cordis humani. Quare cum ſapere, id eſt veritatem quærere omnibus ſit innatum, ſapientiam ſibi adimunt qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit quod Majorum nomine poſito non putant fieri poſſe, ut aut ipſi plus ſapiant quia Minores vocantur, aut illi deſipuerint quia Majores nominantur.* *God* hath given wiſedome unto all according to a competent meaſure, that they might both finde out things unheard of before; and weigh things already found out: Neither becauſe they had the ſtart of us in time, doth it likewiſe follow that they have it alſo in wiſdome, which if it bee indifferently granted to all, it cannot bee foreſtalled by them which went before. It is unimpareable like the

Method. hiſt. cap. 4.

Lib. 2. c. 8. Divin. Inſt.

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light and brightneſſe of the ſunne, it being the light of mans heart as the ſunne is of his eyes. Sithence then to be wiſe, that is, to ſearch the truth, is a diſpoſition imbred in every man, they debarre themſelves of wiſdome, who without any examination approve the inventions of their Anceſtours, and like unreaſonable creatures, are wholy led by others. But this is it which deceives them, the name of *Anceſtours* being once ſet in the front, they thinke it cannot bee, that either themſelves ſhould bee wiſer, becauſe they are called *Punies*, or the others ſhould in any thing bee miſtaken, becauſe they are called their *Anceſtours*. And thus have wee ſeene that there is in *mankinde* no ſuch *univerſall* and *perpetuall decay* in regard of *age* and *life*, of *ſtrength* and *ſtature*, of *arts* and *wits*, as is commonly pretended: is now remaines that in the laſt place we examine their *manners* and *conditions*, *vertues* and *vices*, whether it be ſo that men alwayes grow *worſe* and *worſe*, as it is likewiſe generally and confidently both held and beleeved.

LIB. IV

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LIB. IV.

Of the pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large proofe of the future consummation of the world, from the testimonies of the Gentiles, *and the uses which we are to draw from the consideration thereof.*

CHAP. I.

That there is no such universall and perpetuall decay in the manners of men as is pretended, which is first proved in generall, and then from Religion the ground of manners.

SECT. I.

That there is a vicissitude and revolution in vertues and vices, as there is in Arts and Sciences.

SUch is the neare affinitie and mutuall connexion betwixt these foure, *Age*, *Strength*, *Wit*, & *Manners*, that as the *three* former ordinarily follow the temper & complexion of the body, so for the most part doth the *fourth* too; though I must confesse that by the freedome of the will in *morall* matters, wee are more masters of the *fourth* then of the other *three*, which are more naturall, and consequently lesse in our power to alter or command; as *strength* then is the comfort of *age*, and *wit* the grace of *strength*, and *vertue* the guide of *wit*: so *age* without *strength* is tedious, *strength* without *wit* dangerous, *wit* without *vertue* hurtfull and pernicious. If then having matched men of *latter ages* with those of the *former*, in regard of *age*, *strength*, and *wit*, they should not likewise prove matchable in regard of *vertue*, it were a blemish rather then an ornament, a discommendation then a praise.

Now though it bee true that *vice* at this day so abounds thorow the world as it commonly doth, and well may breed a doubt even in the best, whether these *last times* be not indeed the *worst*, and as it were the lees & dregs of all ages; yet when I consider that in these *latter ages*, (if we compare them with the precedent since the *Creation*) a great part of the knowne world hath beene converted to the *Christian* doctrine, and that the *Authour* of it hath told us, *By their fruites yee shall know them*, mee thinkes I should wrong both him and it, if I should yeeld that the *world* hath not thereby beene bettered, even in regard of *civill vertue* & *morall goodnesse*: *Deus ut parens diligentissimus appropinquante ultimo tempore nuncium misit, qui vetus illud seculum fugatumq; Iustitiam reduceret, ne humanum genus maximis & perpetuis agitaretur erroribus; Rediit ergo species illius aurei temporis*, saith *Lactantius*. God as a most tender father, the *Lib 5. Instit. c. 7*

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end now drawing on, ſent his Meſſenger, who ſhould reduce that old age and baniſhed juſtice, leaſt mankinde alwayes ſhould be toſſed up & downe with infinite & continuall errors, ſo as now we have brought backe againe unto us a repreſentation of thoſe golden times.

But as I cannot eaſily grant, that men alwayes, and in all places waxe worſe and worſe, ſo I do not beleeve that alwayes, & in all places they waxe better and better, or that they ſtand at a ſtay: But as in the *Arts* & *Sciences*, ſo likewiſe in matter of *manners*, there is a *viciſſitude*, an *alternation* & *revolution*, as before hath beene touched in part. The world is ſometimes better & ſometimes worſe, according to the times of warre or peace, the conditions of Princes and Lawes, and the execution of them. Sometimes *vertue* increaſeth in one Kingdome, and decreaſeth in another; and againe in the ſame Kingdome *one vice* growes up, and another withers, at leaſt-wiſe for a time. This *circulation* of *vertue* and *vice* hath beene obſerved, and the obſervation thereof commended to poſterity by the ſoundeſt and ſageſt writers in *Antiquity*: *Niſi fortè in rebus cunctis ineſt quidam velut orbis; & quemadmodum temporum vices ita morum vertantur, nec omnia apud priores meliora, ſed noſtra quoque ætas mul-*
Annal. l. 3. c. 12 *ta laudis & artium imitanda poſteris tulit*, ſaith *Tacitus*. Unleſſe perchance there be in all things a certaine circular change, & as there is by turnes an entercourſe of times, ſo alſo of Cuſtomes and Manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath likewiſe left to poſterity many things worthy praiſe and imitation. And a-
Cerealis apud Tacit. hiſt. l. 4. gaine, *vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur.* Vices there will bee as long as men are, but theſe laſt not alwayes, and they are often recompenſed by the interveining of better times. And with him accords the grave *Seneca*: *Hoc majores noſtri queſti ſunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc poſteri noſtri querentur, everſos eſſe mo-*
De benef. lib. 1. cap. 10. *res, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas & in omne nefas labi: at iſta ſtant loco eodem, ſtabuntque paululum duntaxat ultra aut citra mota, ut fluctus quos æſtus accedens longius extulit, recedens majore littorum veſtigio tenuit, nunc in adulterio magis quam in alio peccabitur, abrumpetque frenos pudicitia, nunc conviviorum vigebit furor, & fœdiſſimum patrimoniorum exitium culina, nunc cultus corporum nimius, & formæ cura, præ ſe ferens animi deformitatem; nunc in petulantiam & audaciam erumpet malè diſpenſata libertas, nunc in crudelitatem privatam ac publicam ibitur, bellorumque civilium inſaniam, qua omne ſanctum aut ſacrum profanetur, habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor, & plurimum meri cepiſſe virtus erit. Non expectant uno loco vitia, ſed mobilia & inter ſe diſſentientia, tumultuantur invicem fuganturque. Cæterum idem ſemper de nobis pronunciare debebimus, malos eſſe nos, malos fuiſſe, invitus adjiciam, & futuros eſſe.* This our Anceſtours complained of, this wee complaine of, this our poſterity will complaine of, that manners are corrupted, that wickedneſſe reignes, that humane affaires grow worſe & worſe, but theſe ſtand where they were, and ſo ſhall remaine, being onely at times a little removed; ſometimes this way, ſometimes that way, as the waves which the tide flowing carries farther in, but ebbing leaves farther off. Sometimes Adultery ſpreads it ſelfe more then any other ſinne, and immodeſty will endure no bridle, and ſometimes

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times againe the madnes of feasting is in a fashion, and the kitching the baseſt kinde of consuming a mans patrimony; And then againe the immoderate decking of our bodies and care of preserving our beautie, which too much discovers the deformitie of the minde, sometimes liberty dispensed with breaketh out into desperate boldnes, sometimes into cruelty publique and private, & the rage of civill warres, whereby all holy things and places come to be profaned, and the time will come when drunkennes shall be had in honour, and it shall be held a vertue to swill downe much wine. Vices rest not in any one state or place, but shifting hither and thither, and fighting one against another, they both assault and put one another to flight: But however it goe, it shall alwayes be truly said of us, that wee are naught, naught wee have beene, (and which I unwillingly adde) we shall still be naught. And the same *Author* having related a storie out of *Asclepiodorus*, how *Phillip* of *Macedon* sent men downe into an old Mine to search what store was left in it, and whether the *Covetousnes* of *former ages* had not drawne it dry, *cum magna hac voluptate legi*, saith he, *intellexi enim saeculum nostrum non novis vitijs sed jam antiquitus traditis laborare, nec nostra aetate primum avaritiam venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris male alustrusa quaesisse: Illi quoque Majores nostri quos celebramus laudibus, quibus dissimiles queremur nos esse, spe ducti montes ceciderunt, & supra lucrum sub ruina steterunt.* This I read with marveilous great content; for thereby I understood that our age was not burdened with new vices, but such as were *anciently* practised, nor that *Avarice* now first searched into the veines of the earth and stones, seeking out those things which Nature hath buried in darkenes. Even those our Ancestours, whom we so highly extoll, to whom wee complaine that our selves are unlike, in hope of lucre cut thorow mountaines, and under danger of ruine stood upon their gaine. *Natural Quaest. l. 5. c. 15.*

It cannot be denyed, but that a wicked Governour hath many times a good successour, and a graceleſse father a godly and vertuous sonne:

Egregia eſt soboles ſcelerato nata parenti:
A worthleſse sire begets a worthy sonne.
Sicut ſpina roſam genuit Godwinus Editham.

Thus *Constantine* succeeded to *Diocletian*, *Iovinian* to *Iulian*, *Alexander Severus* to *Heliogabalus*, *Hezekias* to *Ahaz*, and *Iosias* to *Ammon*. And doubtleſse were the son alwayes worse then the father, the successour then the predecessour, and succeeding ages then the preceeding, villany had long ere this stretched it selfe to the utmost period, & that complaint which the *Satyrist* uttered by way of *Poeticall* aggravation had long before this time beene verified in truth and in deed:

Non habet ulterius quod noſtris moribus addat
Poſteritas.
Nought hath posterity
Which to our manners may yet further added be.

SECT. 2.

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SECT. 2.

The former Section confirmed by the testimonies of Prudentius, Castilio, *and* Machiavell: *to which are added the testimonies of* Canonherius *and* Besoldus.

THat there is such a vicissitude in vertues and vices, as in the foregoing Chapter hath beene touched, and that former ages did not alwayes in matter of manners excell the latter, and these present times, wee have it no lesse copiously then learnedly confirmed unto us by the testimonies of three famous men in their severall kindes, that in the mouth of three such witnesses the truth may stand; of which number *Prudentius* shall first bring in his evidence, who writing against *Symmachus* a *Roman* Senatour, in defence of the *Christian* Religion, and in his second booke answering an objection framed by *Symmachus*, which by the *Romanists* at this day is made against us: *Sequendi sunt nobis parentes qui fœliciter sequuti sunt suos*, wee are to follow our predecessours as they happily followed theirs; shapes this reply thereunto,

Si quicquid rudibus mundi nascentis in annis
Mos habuit, sanctè colere, ac servare necesse est,
Omne revolvamus sua per vestigia seclùm
Vsque ad principium, placeat damnare gradatim
Quicquid posterius successor reperit usus.
Orbe novo nulli subigebant arva coloni,
Quid sibi aratra volunt? quid cura superflua rastri?
Ilignis meliùs saturatur glandibus alvus.
Primi homines cuneis scindebant fissile lignum,
Decoquat in massam fervens strictura secures
Rursus, & ad propriùm restillet vena metallum.
Induvias cæsa pecudes, & frigida parvas
Præbebat spelunca domos; redeamus ad antra,
Pellibus insutis hirtos sumamus amictus.
Immanes quondam populi, feritate subacta
Edomiti jam triste fremant: iterumque ferinos
In mores redeant, atque ad sua prisca recurrant.
Præcipitet Scythica juvenis pietate vietum
Votivo de ponte patrem, sic mos fuit olim.
Cædibus infantum fument Saturnia sacra,
Flebilibusque truces resonent vagitibus aræ.
Ipsa casas fragili texat gens Romula culmo,
Sic tradunt habitasse Rhemum, Regalia fœno
Fulcra supersternant, aut pelle Lybistidis ursæ
Compositam clamydem villoso corpore gestent.
Talia Trinacrius Dictor, vel Tmolius habebat,
Roma antiqua sibi non constat, versa per ævum,
Et mutata sacris, ornatu, legibus, armis,
Multa colit, quæ non coluit sub Rege Quirino,

Instituit

Instituit quædam melius, nonnulla refugit.
Et morem variare suum non destitit, & quæ
Pridem considerat jura, in contraria vertit.
Quid mihi tu ritus solitos Romane Senator
Objectas? quum scita Patrum, populique frequenter
Instabilis placiti sententia flexa novarit?
Nunc etiam quoties solitis decedere prodest,
Præteritosque habitus cultu damnare recenti
Gaudemus compertum aliquid, tandemque retectum
Quod latuit, tardis semper processibus aucta
Crescit vita hominis, & longo proficit usu.
Sic ævi mortalis habet se nobilis ordo,
Sic variat natura vices, infantia repit,
Infirmus titubat pueri gressusque animusque,
Sanguine præcalido fervet nervosa juventa,
Mox stabilita venit maturi roboris ætas.
Vltima consilijs melior, sed viribus ægra
Corpore succumbit mentem purgata senectus.
His genus humanum per dissona tempora duxit
Curriculis ævum mutabile, sic hebes inter
Primitias, mersumque solo titubavit, & instar
Quadrupedis pueri lactantia viscera traxit.
Mox tenerum docili ingenio, jamque artibus aptum
Noscendis, varia rerum novitate politum est.
Inde tumens vitijs, calidos adolevit in annos,
Donec decocto solidaret robore vires.
Tempus adest, ut jam sapiat divina serenæ
Mentis consilia, vivacius edita solers
Quærere, & æterna tandem invigilare saluti.

If we must still embrace, and ne're refuse,
What th'infant world in ruder times did use:
Let us each age then, step by step recall,
And damne in order even to th' originall
What after by succeeding use was found.
In the first world no Rusticks ear'd the ground,
What meane the ploughs then? what the needlesse care
Of harrowes? akornes yeeld sufficient fare.
Peece-meale with wedges men did first wood rend.
Let axes then by th'forge againe descend
Into their masse; backe to their mettall drop.
Slaine beasts cloathing did yeeld, and the coole grotto
A slender lodging: let's to our caves againe,
And of patcht skinnes rough garments entertaine.
People once wilde, then tame (nature subdu'd)
Harshly againe let grumble, and renew'd
In savage manners, to their wont retire.
With Scythicke piety their aged Sier

Let

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Let ſtriplings tumble from the voting bridge:
Such once the cuſtome was.
With ſlaughtered babes let Saturnes fanes abound,
His cruell altars with ſad vagits ſound.
Let Romans thetch them cottages of reed,
For ſo dwelt Rhemus: and let hay be-ſpread
The royall bed, or ſpoyles of Lybian Beare:
Of hairy pelts their caſſocks let them weare:
Sicilian Captaines, Tuſcans, ſuch did beare.
Old Rome is not the ſame, chang'd every age
In habits, rites, lawes, and armes equipage.
Much now ſh'obſerves not knowne in Quirins raign,
Some things reform'd ſhe hath, ſome daſht again,
Nor ever ceaſt her cuſtomes for to vary,
And lawes which earſt ſhe made, turne quite contrary.
Your cuſtomary Rites why preſſe you ſo in plea
O Roman Senatour? ſith that many a day
Decrees of Fathers and th'unſtable Commons
Have chang'd them in their weake opinions.
And now to quit things uſ'd, upon occaſion
Fitly preſented, or for ſome new faſhion
To blame the old; w'are glad that ſomething ſpi'd
And brought to light at laſt, which earſt lay hid.
Mans life by ſlow proceedings growes in ſence,
And profiteth by long experience;
Such is the moving order of mans race,
So varieth Nature in her courſes pace.
Infancie creepes: then childhoods feeble gate,
And reaſon ſtaggers: next the ſynowy ſtate
Of youth boyles in its hot bloud: then an age
Setled in full ſtrength: laſt upon the ſtage
Appeares declining old, for counſell better,
Clearer in judgement, but in body weaker.
Thus humane kinde by differing ſeaſons ranne
His changing courſe throughout: dull firſt beganne
And clogg'd with earth, ſo crawl'd, and like a child
On all foure did his milke-fed bowels weild.
Next tender, docile natur'd, and for arts
Now fit became, adorn'd with various parts.
Thence ſwolne in vice, to fervent yeares increaſed
Till by decocted ſtrength growne firme he ceaſed.
And now with clearer judgement 'tis high time
He know and ſavour things that are divine.
His thoughts in ſearch of ſecrets wiſely bend,
And now at length eternall life attend.

The next evidence ſhall bee that of *Caſtilio* in the very entrance of his ſecond booke of the *Courtier*, elegantly tranſlated by our *Clerke* out of *Italian* into *Latine*. *Non ſine ſumma admiratione altiùs apud me agere ſoleo, unde*

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unde hæc tam crassa senum hallucinatio: quæ quoniam per omnium animos ingravescente jam ætate propagatur: propria & illorum hominum ferè naturalis videri potest. Nam cùm illis ubi primùm sermonem inieris elapsa jam olim tempora summis laudibus prosequuntur, præsentia verò omnibus diris devovent. Nihil nostrarum actionum aut morum, nihil quod ipsi juvenes non egerint, alicujus momenti æstimant: denique omnes omnium consuetudines, omnes vivendi rationes, nunc demùm inclinare & in deterius vergere. Res mehercule non indigna admiratione, provectam jam ætatem quæ reliquis in rebus usu atque experientia animi judicium confirmare solet, hac una in re adeò sibi ludificari, planè ut non perspiciat in pejus homines quotidiè, necnè, labantur. Quod si ea nunc esset rerum conditio, si patres filijs meliores semper extitissent, adeò in extremo jam tandem res sita esset, ut deterius ne cogitari quidem posset. Verùm hoc quasi peculiare quoddam in senio vitium, non nostra solum ætas, sed antiquissimi etiam Authores apud prius sæculum deprehenderunt: Comici præsertim illi, qui humanam vitam cæteris omnibus aptiùs & acutiùs expressérunt. Istius igitur tam inanis sententiæ hanc ego causam existimo: Annos nimirum sensim & pedetentim labentes vitales secum Spiritus, & naturalem sanguinis calorem verisimile est subducere: quod cum universam corporis constitutionem paulatim immutaverit, arteriæ, nervi, reliquaque animi organa, atque instrumenta fatali hoc morbo languent atque debilitantur. Vnde in illis demum temporibus suavissimi delitiarum nostrarum flosculi haud aliter quàm arboribus Autumno folia decidunt: & dulcissimarum cogitationum vice, frontis ruga, ac nubecula, mentis tristitia ac mœrores, vita calamitates & miseriæ subeunt: adeò ut non corpus solùm, verùmetiam animus (qui ferè sequitur dispositionem corporis) malè at molestè se habeat: nec quicquam præteritarum voluptatum retinet, præter unam eamque tenacem juventutis memoriam. Quæ quamdiu superfuit, cœlestia terrenaque omnia juvenilibus oculis arridere videbantur, jucundissimæ quæque affectiones ex animis nostris, tanquam ex hortulo amœnissimo Vere jam tum existente indies excreverunt. Quocirca cùm vitæ nostræ sol atq; lumen versus occasum voluere occæperit, operæ pretium fortassè fuerit, nihil eorum quæ præterita sunt reminisci: quin potiùs (ut inquit Themistocles) oblivionis artem edisscere. Ita enim sensus nostri fallaces sunt, ut animi quoque judicium nonnunquam fallant. Seves itaque illis hominibus persimiles mihi videri solent, qui cùm è portu in altum solverint, retro in terram oculos contorquent: quam dum seriò intuentur, littus illis secedere, navis verò consistere videtur: cum reipsa nec portus nec terra, sedum anteriores nostræ delitiæ aut voluptates moveantur, sed nos huic mortalitatis puppi insidentes alij alios per mare turbulentum eousque insequimur, dum vel scopulis ijsdem illisi naufragium patiamur, vel undarũ gurgitibus oppressi ad portum denuò redire frustrà & incassùm contendamus. Animus proindè senilis, cum nulla subjecti proportione, nulla apta harmonia voluptates haurire ac percipere possit, febricitantium similis fit, quibus cum palatum gustandique organa crassissimis vaporibus obstipentur; suavissima quæque acerba, atque insipida existimare solent: Ita hominibus senio confectis, cum voluptatũ desiderio aliquo teneantur ad easdem tamen malè dispositi & penitùs inepti sint, omnes jucunditates superiorũ temporum delitijs pejores multò & frigidiores putant: cum istæ tamen eadem sint, ipsi verò à seipsis longè alienissimi. Quibus oblectamentis, cum jam sese orbatos intelligant: præsentia tempora tanquam omnium iniquissima detestantur,

tur, nullam in ſeipſis rerum viciſſitudinem agnoſcentes. Cum verò præteritas jampridem voluptates in memoriam revocent, illius quoque ætatis meminerunt, in qua illæ contigerant: eamque propterea ſummis laudibus afficiunt, quia illarum delectationum quaſi quendam odorem illius recordatio una adferre ſolet. Denique, ſic ſunt affectiones noſtræ, ut illa omnia quæ dolores noſtros comitantur, cum odio quodam repetamus: quæ verò ſimul cum voluptatibus noſtris communicata ſunt, eadem ſumma benevolentia complectamur. Vnde illud evenire ſolet, ut amantium oculis feneſtra ſæpenumerò aliqua (etiamſi occluſa fuerit) mirum in modum grata ſit, quoniam in illa amatam mulierculam jam antea conſpexerint. Nonnunquam etiam annulum, epiſtolam, hortos, cæteroſque locos, tanquam amæniſſimarum delectationum conſcios amplexamur. Contrà verò cubiculum omnibus ornamentis refertiſſimum, exoſum ſemper eſſe ſolet, ſicubi in eo vel vincti & religati fuerimus, vel cujuſvis præterea doloris acerbitatem perpeſſi. Noſtrâ certè memoriâ, nonnullos ipſi vidimus, qui non ſolum ab iis ſcyphis, ſed eorum etiam ſimilibus abhorrebant in quibus ægroti medicamentum imbiberant. Quemadmodum enim ſuperioribus illis, feneſtra, annulus, atque literæ, grata quadam recordatione in voluptatis parte habebantur: ita omninò iſtis poſterioribus cubiculum altera cuſtodia, cyathus verò novus morbus videbatur. Idem eſt in hominibus ætate provectis dum elapſa vel laudant, vel inſtantia vituperant. Not without the greateſt admiration, am I wont to reaſon the matter with my ſelfe, from whence ſhould ſpring that groſſe miſtake of old men, which becauſe it ſpreads it ſelfe through the mindes of all as they grow in yeares, may ſeeme in a manner to bee to them proper and naturall: for no ſooner ſhall you enter conference with them, but inſtantly they extoll to the skies, the times paſt, damning the preſent downe to hell, they eſteeme not worth a ruſh any of our actions or manners, or any thing which themſelves in their youth did not; alwayes complaining that all cuſtomes and faſhions of all kinde of men decline and grow worſe and worſe: a matter truly not undeſervedly to be wondred at, that old age, which in other things by long uſe and experience is wont to confirme the judgement, ſhould in this one thing ſo gull it ſelfe, as not to perceive whether mankinde daily grow worſe or no. But if ſuch were indeed the ſtate of things, if Fathers had alwayes beene better then their Sonnes, the World long ere this had doubtleſſe beene ſo naught, as worſe could not have beene imagined: yet this errour peculiar in a manner to old men, not our age alone, but the moſt ancient authours in former times have obſerved, ſpecially the Comicall Poets, who have expreſſed the ſeverall humours of men more wittily then any others. Now of this ſo vaine an opinion, this doe I conceive to be the cauſe, for that age inſenſibly and by degrees ſteales away the vitall Spirits, and the native heat of the bloud, and ſo by little and little changes the whole conſtitution of the body till the arteries, the nerves, and the other inſtruments of the ſoule, by this fatall diſeaſe, are weakened and languiſh, from whence it comes to paſſe that thoſe ſweet flowers of our delights fall from us, like leaves from the trees in Autumne, and inſteed of our pleaſant conceits, wrinkles in the forehead, cloudy & ſad thoughts in the minde, calamities and miſeries in the courſe of our life

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preſent themſelves, ſo that not the body only but the minde to, (which commonly followes the temper of the body) is ſickiſh and indiſpoſ'd, nor retains any thing of pleaſures paſt, but only a firme and faſt memorie of youth, which whiles it laſted, heaven and earth with favourable aſpect ſeeemed to ſmile upon us, and delightfull thoughts to ariſe from our mindes as from the pleaſant garden in the ſpring, wherefore when the Sunne and light of our light once begins to decline to the Weſt, it were not amiſſe to forget all that is paſt, and with *Themiſtocles* to learne the art of oblivion. So deceitful are our ſenſes that they often betray the diſcourſe of reaſon, in which regard old men to me ſeeme like to thoſe who having lanched forth into the deepe, caſt their eyes backe to the land, which whiles they earneſtly behold, the ſhoare to them ſeemes to goe backward, and the ſhippe to ſtand ſtill, when as in truth neither the haven, nor the land, nor yet our former delights are at all moved, but wee our ſelves ſitting in the veſſell of mortalitie, ſo farre follow one another through the ſtormie Sea of this world, untill either by ſuffering ſhipwracke upon the rockes, or by being overwhelmed in the ſurges, at length in vaine we ſtrive to recover the port from whence wee ſet ſayle: The minde of old men in this caſe being not by any equall proportion or harmonie inabled to receive the ſweetneſſe of pleaſure, becomes like thoſe that are ſicke of an ague, to whom, their palate and inſtruments of taſting being much diſtempered with clammie humors, the moſt ſweet things ſeeme to be ſharpe or altogether unſavory; ſo to men farre ſtricken in age, who are ſtill poſſeſſed with a longing deſire of ſenſuall pleaſures, & yet are indiſpoſed for the uſe thereof, all kindes of delight which the preſent times can poſſibly affoord, appeare more flat and dull then thoſe of former ages, whereas notwithſtanding the delights ſtill remaine the ſame, but the men are changed and become moſt unlike themſelves; yet finding themſelves deprived of all ſenſe and reliſh of pleaſure, they blame the times as of all other the worſt, either not obſerving, or not acknowledging in themſelves any kinde of alteration; as on the other ſide when they call to minde the pleaſures they long ſince injoyed, at the ſame inſtant they likewiſe recall thoſe times in which they enjoyed them, and therefore ſet forth their commendations in the higheſt ſtraine, becauſe the very remembrance of them together with themſelves, preſent a freſh ſent of thoſe delights which moſt affected them: to conclude, all thoſe things which waite upon our grief, we recount with deteſtation, but thoſe which are mixed with our pleaſures we chearefully imbrace; from whence it comes to paſſe, that the light of a windowe is many times acceptable to us, though ſhut, becauſe from thence wee formerly beheld our beloved Miſtreſſe; many times alſo we willingly entertaine a ring, a letter, a garden, or other places as being witneſſes of our pleaſing delight; and contrarywiſe wee extreamely hate a chamber, though apparelled with all kinde of rich furniture, in caſe wee have beene bound or ſuffered any kinde of ſharpe paine in it: we our ſelves in our memorie have knowne ſome who abhorred the ſight not onely of thoſe cups, but of the like to them, out of which being ſicke they dranke ſome loathſome potion: for

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as to thoſe former the window, the ring, the letter, by reaſon of their acceptable remembrance, were a part of their pleaſure; ſo to theſe latter the chamber ſeemes another priſon, and the cup a new diſeaſe. And truly even ſuch is the condition of old men, whiles they either praiſe the times paſt, or diſpraiſe the preſent. My third and laſt evidence ſhall be that of *Machiavell*, who in his diſputations or diſcourſes *de Republica*, thus begins his preface to his ſecond booke: *Laudant homines antiquitatem ſemper: præſentia tempora accuſant: at non ubique juſtis de cauſis, uti mihi quidem videtur. Vſque adeò enim rerum antiquarum ſtudioſi ſunt, ut non ſolùm, eas res, quæ literarum monumentis celebrantur, ſed illas quoque laudibus efferant, quas ipſi jam ſenes, olim in juventute viderunt. Ego verò hanc illorum opinionem perſæpè falſum eſſe exiſtimo: varijſque de cauſis adduci eos, ut ita ſentiant. Primùm enim abſolutam rerum vetuſtarum cognitionem aſſequi nequimus. Nam plerùmque fit in rebus enarrandis, ut quæ turpitudinis quicquam continent, ſilentio prætereantur: quæ cum virtute conjuncta ſunt & laudem merentur, ea & diligenter enarrantur & amplificantur. Vſque adeò enim multum attribuere ſolent fortunæ Victorum Hiſtorici, ut augendæ illorum laudis gratia, non ſolùm res ab ipſis præclarè geſtas amplificent, ſed hoſtium quoque facta tantoperè illuſtrent, ut poſteri deinde ea è longinquo intuentes, cauſam habeant antiqua illa tempora, & hominum, qui tunc vixerunt, virtutem admirandi atque amandi. Hiſce accedit quòd cum timore aut invidia alienam virtutem odio proſequi ſoleamus: & neutrum horum in rebus antiquitàs geſtis officere quicquam poſſit: duæ ſummæ cauſæ deeſſe videntur, in vetuſtate quicquam reprehendendi: cum neque amplius nocere poſſint: neque invidiæ cujuſquam obnoxiæ ſint. Contrario modo ſe habent res præſentes: nam hæ quales ſint univerſæ, cognoſcuntur: nec quicquam habent ſive boni ſive mali quod latere poſſit. Itaque accidit, ut quoniam una cum virtute præſtantiaque rerum quæ nunc geruntur, vitia etiam videmus: cogimur quodammodo eas antiquis illis quarum ſola virtus apparet, vitia latent, poſtponere; quamvis perſæpè præſtantiores ſint.* Men alwayes commend the ancient and condemne the preſent times, but (as to me it ſeemes) not alwayes upon juſt and warrantable grounds: for ſo ſtudious they are of antiquitie, that not only things anciently committed to writing, but even thoſe which themſelves in their younger yeares have ſeene, they mightily extoll; but for mine owne part I beleeve this their opinion to be often erroneous, and theſe to be the cauſes of their miſtake: firſt for that we cannot attaine unto an abſolute knowledge of ancient affaires, in as much as for the moſt part in the narration of thoſe paſſages, ſhamefull and diſhoneſt acts are paſſed over in ſilence, whereas the vertuous and praiſeworthy are diligently deſcribed and amplified: for ſo much doe Hiſtoriographers commonly attribute to the good fortune of Conquerours, that they doe not onely amplifie noble atchivements of them performed, but ſet forth to the utmoſt, the facts of their enemies: from whence it comes to paſſe, that poſteritie taking a view of thoſe affaires at ſo great a diſtance, finde cauſe of admiring and loving thoſe things and thoſe men that then lived; whereunto we may adde, that ſithence our ordinary wont is to proſecute the vertue wee ſee in others, either with feare or envy, and neither of theſe can take hold upon things anciently

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ciently done, two of the weightiest motives for the blaming of antiquity seeme to bee wanting, considering it is now not able to hurt nor can bee liable to the stroke of envy. But the condition of things present is quite contrary, for these are throughly knowne and lay open in every part, neither can any thing that is either good or bad in them be well concealed, the consequence whereof must needes be this, that because together with the vertue and excellencie of things now done, their defects and blemishes are likewise discerned, wee are in a manner forced to preferre the Ancient before them, whose vertues wee onely discerne and not their defects, though the latter bee in themselves more commendable then the former.

And though exceptions bee taken at *Machiavell* in other cases, yet I know no sufficient reason but wee may well enough admit of his testimonie in this, being a matter of civill wisedome & observation, wherein without doubt few of his age were matchable with him; for other matters I will not, I may not, endeavour to Apologize him, yet I hope I may heere without offence set downe what in *Boissardus* part. 3. *Iconum virorum illustrium*, I finde reported of him which I must professe when I read I thought very strange. *Sunt vero* (saith hee) describing the life and conditions of *Machiavell*) *etiamnum superstites viri boni, graves & fide digni, qui cum ejus notitiam in Italia familiariter habuerint, de eadem ingenuè testimonium perhibere non verentur, quod fuerit nimirum vir stupendæ eruditionis & prudentiæ, quin & vitæ integerrimæ moruntque innocentia, insignis & pietate summa.* And truely though it cannot be denied but that hee deserveth sharpe censure in speaking so slightly of religion in generall, and of the Christian so basely, yet I have heard some wise men affirme that hee thereby rather shewed what Princes commonly in those parts were, then what they should bee, and truely I beleeve that the free expression of himselfe against the tyrannie, ambition, and usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome*, was it that first opened the mouthes and sharpened the pennes of so many Church-men against him.

Now though it bee said that a threefold cord is hardly broken, yet to the testimonie of these three, I will adde two others; *Canonherius* an *Italian*, and *Besoldus* a *German*, the first of which writes himselfe a *Roman* Doctour of Philosophie, Physicke and Divinitie, and in his Politicall dissertations upon the *Annals* of *Tacitus* proposeth this question. *Vtrum sæcula nostra antiquis sint pejora*, and thus presently resolves it. *Non solum est quorundam astrologorum opinio sed & vetus, quotidiana & popularis querimonia, quod mores depraventur & quotidiè in pejus ruunt. Si hoc esset, homines non solum bipedum sed & quadrupedum imperitissimi jam essent, quod quidem profectò verùm non est, sed aliquam vicissitudinem hac in re fieri oportet.* And to this purpose hee voucheth those words of *Seneca* in his 58. Epistle to *Lucilius*. *Erras mi Lucili si existimes nostri sæculi esse vitium, luxuriam, & negligentiam boni moris & alia quæ objicit suis quisq; temporibus, hominum sunt ista, non temporum, nulla ætas vacavit à culpa:* and after a long discourse in the end concludes. *Hæ de causis mundum in pejus ruere, ac sæcula nostra antiquis corruptiora esse, affirmare maximum mendacium est.* And for manners, so for age he maintaines, *Eandem ætatem*

attingunt homines, quam antea antiqui attigerunt, & vitam ultra 110 *annos possunt homines protrahere, ut affirmat* Thom. Philolog. *de vita hominis ultra* 110 *annos protrahenda.*

Besoldus likewise a Civill Lawyer of *Germany* in his *Politicall dissertations de Repub. Curanda.* Sect. 6. proposeth the same question in somewhat different tearmes. *Commodè hic quæritur an mundus decrescat ac ratione naturalium & moralium indies deterior evadat:* and thereupon (as his fashion is) musters up a multitude of Authors on both sides, but for himselfe concludes. *Mundus non solvetur fatigatione, non enim instrumenti consumptione, vel diminutione, vel depravatione, multo minus finē habebit in justa proportione quæ intercedere potest inter motum & motorem.* In particular he argues the question about the pretended bones of Gyants, and tells us: *Memini me apud Mercurium Gallicum Tom. 3. Fol.* 195. *legisse ante paucos annos de ossibus gigantum controversiam inter rerum naturalium doctores enatam proditum, ea terra lusus esse, cum non habeant vestigia alicujus civitatis cui inesse potuisset medulla fabularum: de gigantibus Wormatiensibus mentionem facit in itinere suo Grasserus. Fol.* 10.

SECT. 3.

The extreame folly of the ancients, in adoring and invocating images.

IN this comparison of *manners*, I will first begin with the *Religion* of the *Ancients*, which over-spread almost the whole world, because from their foule errours in matters of the *first Table* wee shall easily guesse at their grosse irregularities in those of the *second*; the duties of the latter, depending upon the observation of the former: And besides in the very choice & exercise of their *Religion* will appeare much *inhumanitie* and *brutish stupiditie*; Their *Idols* of gold, and silver, and stone, & wood, were to the inspired pen-men of *holy writ* so ridiculous, that every where they inveigh against them as most *sottish vanities*, and the worshippers of them, as men voide of *common Reason*, shewing themselves more blockish then the very blockes they adored, in that being themselves made according to *Gods image*, they worshipped *images* made with their owne hands, and bestowed upon their owne workes the *Deitie* of him, from whom they received *breath* and *beeing*. *Their Idols are silver and gold*, saith the Prophet *David*, *even the workes of mens hands, they have a mouth and speake not, eyes have they and see not, they have eares and heare not, noses have they and smell not, they have hands and touch not, feete have they and walke not, they that make them are like unto them,* Psal. 115. 4. *and so are all they that put their trust in them.* And the *Prophet Esay* having Cap. 44. 9. &c. 'shewed how a man plants a tree, & when it is growne up cuts it down, 'with part thereof he baketh his bread, with part hee rosteth his meate 'and warmeth himselfe, and with the residue thereof he maketh his *God* 'even his *Idoll*: The Carpenter stretcheth out a line, he fashioneth it 'with a red thread, he planeth and he pourtraieth it with the compasse, 'and maketh it after the figure of a man, and according to the beauty 'of a man, that it may remaine in an house; then boweth he and wor-'shippeth,

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ſhippeth, and prayeth unto it; and ſaith, Deliver me for thou art my
'God: And thereupon inferres, they have not knowne nor underſtood,
'for God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee, and their hearts, that
'they cannot underſtand. And the *Prophet Ieremy* much to like purpoſe; Ier. 10. 3. &c.
'one cutteth a tree out of the Forreſt with an axe, and another decketh
'it with ſilver and with gold, they faſten it with nayles and hammers,
'that it fall not, the Idoles ſtand up as a palme tree, but they ſpeake
'not: They are borne becauſe they cannot goe: and then concludes,
'They dote and are fooliſh, for the ſtock is a doctrine of vanity. But
moſt lively and elegantly, yet with ſcorne and deriſion have wee this
'blockiſh vanity deſcribed in the booke of *Wiſedome*. Miſerable are Cap. 13. 10. &c.
'they, and among the dead is their hope, that call them Gods which
'are the workes of mens hands, gold and ſilver, and the thing that is in-
'vented by Art, & the ſimilitude of beaſts, or any vaine ſtone that hath
'beene made by the hand of antiquity. Or as when a Carpenter cutteth
'downe a tree meete for the worke, and pareth off all the barke thereof
'cunningly, & by Art maketh a veſſell profitable for the uſe of life, and
'the things that are cut off from his worke hee beſtoweth to dreſſe his
'meate to fill himſelfe, & that which is left of theſe things which is pro-
'fitable for nothing, (for it is a crooked peece of wood, & full of knobs)
'he carueth it diligently at his leiſure, and according as hee is expert in
'cunning, he giveth it a proportion, & faſhioneth it after the ſimilitude
'of a man, or maketh it like ſome vile beaſt, and ſtraketh it over with
'vermilion, & painteth and covereth every ſpot that is in it; And when
'he hath made a convenient Tabernacle for it, he ſetteth it in a wall, &
'maketh it faſt with iron, providing ſo for it leſt it fall: for hee know-
'eth that it cannot helpe it ſelfe, becauſe it is an image that hath neede
'of helpe: Then he prayeth for his goods, and for his marriage, and for
'his children, hee is not aſhamed to ſpeake unto it that hath no life, hee
'calleth on him that is weake, for health, hee prayeth unto him that is
'dead for life, he requireth helpe of him that hath no experience at all,
'and for his journey him that is not able to goe, and for gaine and ſuc-
'ceſſe in his affaires, asketh ability to doe of him that is moſt unable to
'doe any thing.

This childiſh foppery the *Primitive Chriſtians* alſo ſcoffed & laughed at, *Quæ amentia eſt, aut ea fingere quæ ipſi poſtmodum timeant, aut timere quæ finxerunt?* ſaith *Lactantius*: What a madneſſe is it either to make things which themſelves feare, or to feare thoſe things which themſelves have made? *Nec intelligunt homines ineptiſſimi quod ſi ſentire ſimulacra & movere poſſent, ultrò adoratura homines fuiſſent à quibus ſunt expolita.* Neither do theſe fooliſh men underſtand that the images they adore, had they but ſenſe & motion, would adore them who framed and formed them. *Sed hæc nemo conſiderat, ac mentes eorum penitus ſuccum ſtultitiæ perbiberunt: adorant ergo inſenſibilia qui ſentiunt, irrationalia qui ſapiunt, examina qui vivunt, terrena qui oriuntur è cælo. Iuvat ergo velut in aliqua ſublimi ſpecula conſtitutum unde univerſi exaudire poſſint* Perſianum *illud proclamare,*

O curas hominum! ô quantum eſt in rebus inane!
O curvæ in terris animæ & cœleſtium inanes!

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But theſe things none conſidereth, their minds being thoroughly drenched with the liquor of fooliſhnes: They which have ſenſe adore things without ſenſe, which have life things without life, which are from heaven things earthly. It were good then from ſome high tower that all might heare it, to proclaime alowd that of *Perſius*:

O cares men! O world all fraught
With vanities! O mindes inclined
Towards earth, all voide of heau'nly thought!

And *Sedulius* an ancient *Chriſtian* Poet, by Nation a *Scot*, hath excellently deſcribed this palpable folly,

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro
Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulacra, ſuumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur,
Quis furor eſt quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt Volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,
Semihominemq; canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker God on high deſpiſe,
And feare the workes of their owne hands and Art!
What fury, what great madneſſe doth beguile
Mens mindes? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore
Of birds, or buls, or dragons; or the vile
Halfe dog halfe man on knees for aid implore.

To theſe ugly ſhapes doth *Seneca* allude. *Numina vocant, quæ ſi accepto ſpiritu occurrerent, monſtra haberentur.* Divine powers they call thoſe, which if they ſhould meete having life put into them, would be held monſters. And one of their owne Poets ſeemes to jeſt at their groſſeneſſe herein.

Horatius.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus inutile lignum,
Quem Faber incertus ſcamnum faceretne, Priapum
Maluit eſſe Deum.

Even now I was the ſtocke of an old figge tree,
The workeman doubting what I then ſhould bee,
A bench, or God, at laſt a God made mee.

It is indeed true, that the *Romanes* for a time were altogether without Images for any religious uſe, but afterward they received into their City thoſe of all other Nations by them conquered, ſo as they who were *Lords* of the whole world, became *ſlaves* to the *Idols* of all the World: Which *babies*, as witneſſeth S. *Auguſtine*, that learned *Varro* both bewailed and utterly condemned in expreſſe words: *Qui primi ſimulacra Deorum populis poſuerunt, ij & civitatibus ſuis timorem ademerunt, & errorem addiderunt*: They who firſt erected *Idols* for the peoples uſe, thereby both aboliſhed all feare of the *Deity* and introduced *errour*. But the wiſe *Seneca* thus derides them, *Simulacra Deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant genu poſito, illa adorant, & cum hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros qui illa fecêre contemnunt.* The Images of the Gods they worſhippe, thoſe they pray unto with bended knees, thoſe they adore, and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemne the Artificers that made them.

De Civit. Dei. l. 4. c. 31.

SECT. 6.

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SECT. 6.

Their grosse and ridiculous blockishnesse in the infinite multitude of their Gods.

THeir strange *infatuation* will yet appeare farther unto us if wee rise a little higher, from the *Images* to the *Gods* which they represented, & surely whether their *practice* about their *images*, or their *opinion* touching their *Gods* were more grosse and ridiculous, it is hard to define: Whether wee regard their *number* or their *condition*, os their *manner of service*. For their *number* he that reades *Boccace* his books *de Genealogia Deorum*, will easily finde them almost numberlesse; so as the *Apostle* might well say, *There be Gods many, and Lords many*. *Crinitus* out of *Hesiodus* makes them *thirthy thousand* strong: & the *Iupiters* alone out of *Varro* no lesse then *three hundred*. There were *Dij majorum gentium*, which were worshipped generally throughout the greatest part of the world; and *Dij Tutelares*, gods of severall Nations and provinces, chosen to be their patrons and guardians, which may bee gathered by those *high places* which *Solomon* built for his *Idolatrous wives*, wherein they worshipped the severall Gods of their severall Nations, *Ashtoreth* the Goddesse of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the God of the *Ammorites*, *Chemosh* the God of the *Moabites*, and *Molech* the God of the *Ammonites*: so likewise for all the rest of his outlandish wives, which burnt incense and offered unto their Gods, whereby it appeareth, that every Nation had a God of his owne, and yet farther may it be seene by the practice of those Nations which *Salmanezer* transplanted into the *Samaritan* Cities of whom it is recorded, that though *they feared the Lord*, yet they worshipped every one his owne *peculiar God*, of whom there is a Catalogue in the same place set downe, The *Babylonians*, *Succoth Benoth*, the *Cuthites Nergall*, the *Hammathites Ashima*, the *Avites Nibhaz*, and *Tartak*, the *Sepharvites Adramelech*, & *Anamelek*. And as severall Nations & Provinces chose to themselves their Gods, so did likewise the Cities, as we may partly see by that rabble of them mustered up by *Rabshaketh* in his Oration to King *Hezekiah*, where is the God of *Hamah* and *Arpad*, where is the God of *Sepher-vaim*, *Hevah*, & *Iuah*: and in imitation of the *Gentiles* did the men of *Iudah* multiply their Gods according to the number of their cities. Neither did *Nations*, *Provinces*, and *Cities* onely affect to have every one unto themselves their owne peculiar and severall *Gods*, as their Patrons and defenders; but the same was likewise followed by all their severall *families*, who still had their *Lares* & *Deos Penates*, that is, their houshold Gods, as the Protectours of their families, whom because they adored in the secret and inward parts of their houses, the *Poets* use to call *Deos Penetrales*: yea and as *Pliny* reporteth, not onely severall *families* had their severall Gods, but also every severall *person* would adopt a severall God of his owne; insomuch that hee thought the number of *Gods* to bee multiplied above the number of men. *Major Cœlitum populus etiam quam hominum intelligi potest, cùm singuli*

1. Cor. 8. 5.

De honesta disciplina. 3. 14.

1. Kings. 11.

2. Kings 17.

Cap. 18.

Ier. 2. 28. 11. 13

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singuli quoque ex semetipsis singulos Deos faciant, Iunones Genioſque adoptando ſibi. Wee may well conceive greater multitudes of Gods then of men, ſeeing every man adopteth as hee pleaſeth both greater and ſmaller gods to himſelfe. All which conſidered, *otioſum eſt per omnia Deorum nomina percurrere qui colerentur à veteribus*, ſaith *Tertullian*. It were an idle thing to attempt to runne through the names of all the Gods which the Ancients worſhipped, they had ſo many *old Gods* and *new Gods*, *hee Gods* and *ſhee Gods*, *citty Gods* and *countrey Gods*, *common Gods*, and *proper Gods*, *land Gods* and *ſea Gods*. And with *Tertullian* herein accords S. *Auguſtine*, *Quando autem poſsint uno loco libri hujus commemorari omnia nomina Deorum aut Dearum, quæ illi grandibus voluminibus vix comprehendere potuerunt ſingulis rebus propria diſpertientes officia Numinum?* How can all the names of their Gods and Goddeſſes bee recounted in one chapter of this booke, which themſelves could not range within the compaſſe of many great volumes, appointing a particular God to waite on every particular thing? nay for ſome thing, ſaith hee, they had many Gods, as namely for *corne* they had *Segetia* for the ſowing of it, while it lay under the earth *Tutelina*, when it ſprang up *Proſerpina*, *Nodotus* when it ſhut into a blade, when it ſpired *Volutina*, when the eare opened *Patilena*, when it brake forth *Hoſtelina*, when it bloſſomed *Flora*, when it kerned *Lacturtia*, when it grew ripe *Matuta*, when it was reaped *Runcina*. His concluſion is, which alſo ſhall be mine for this point, *Nec omnia commemoro, quia me piget quod illos non pudet*: neither doe I name all, for that it griveth mee to write what they were not aſhamed to act.

De Civ. Dei l. 4. c. 8.

SECT. 5.

The moſt ſhamefull and baſe condition of their gods.

Vide Nazianzenum orat. 1. in Iulianum & Cyrillum. 25. 12.

THe *quality* & condition of their *Gods* was doubtleſſe much more ſhamefull then their multitude. The common opinion touching their great god *Iupiter* was, that he was intombed in *Crete*, and his monument was there to be ſeene. Whereupon *Lactantius* wittily demaunds, *Quomodo poteſt Deus eſſe alibi vivus, alibi mortuus, alibi habere templum, alibi ſepulchrum?* Tell me I beſeech you, how can the ſame god be alive in one place, and dead in another, have a temple dedicated to him in one place, and a tombe erected in another. Nay *Callimachus* himſelfe in his hymne on *Jupiter*, calleth the *Cretians* lyars in this very reſpect, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται &c. which part of his hymne is thus tranſlated into Latine by *Bonaventura Vulcanius*.

Lib. 1. c. 11.

At certè mendax eſt Creta, ſepulchrum
Quæ poſuit tibi qui haud moreris, nam ſemper es idem.

The *Cretians* alwayes lyars are, who rais'd unto thy name
A *ſepulcher*, that never dyeſt, but ever art the ſame.

Lactantius l. 1. c. 20.

Moreover, they gave divine honour to notorious common ſtrumpets, as unto *Goddeſſes*, to *Venus*, or *Faula*, to *Lupa* the nurſe of *Romulus*, ſo called among the ſheepheardes for the common proſtitution of her body, and to *Flora*, who having gained much by her meretricious trade;

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trade, she made by her will the people of *Rome* her heire, & left a summe of money, by the use whereof, her birth-day was yearely to bee celebrated, with the setting forth of games, which in memory of her they called *Floralia*. Nay, their great Goddesse *Iuno*, they make both the wife and the sister of *Iupiter*, and *Iupiter* himselfe with the other Gods, no better then *Adulterers, Sodomites, murtherers, theeves*: Neither were these things concealed or whispered in private, but published to the world; they were lively described by their *Painters* in their tables, by their *Poets* in their verses, and acted by their *Players* upon their stages. *Quanta majestas putanda est, quæ adoratur in templis, illuditur in theatris?* what great majesty call yee me that, which is adored in the temples, and prophaned in the *Theaters*? And so farre were the worshippers of these goodly gods from punishing or censuring them therein, that they were highly applauded and approved by the people, and rewarded by the state: Neither were these things written or spoken by *Lucian*, or such as scoffed at *Religion*, but by those who professedly undertooke the praise of their *Gods*, *Non enim ista Lucilius narrat aut Lucianus qui Dijs & hominibus non pepercit, sed potissimum qui Deorum laudes canebant; & quibus credimus si fidem laudantibus non habemus?* These things are not reported by *Lucilius* or *Lucianus*, who neither spared God nor man, but specially by them who sung the praises of the Gods; and to whom I pray you in such cases should wee give credit, if not to them, who purposely seeke to commend?

Lactant. l. 5. c. 21.

Cap. 9.

Besides they worshipped *ridiculous gods*, as *Fortunam, Fornacem, Mutam*, the *passions of the minde*, and the *diseases of the body*, *Timorem, Pallorem, Febrem*, nay *Vices, Priapum, Cupidinem, non nomina colendorum sed crimina colentium*, not names fit for Divine powers to bee worshipped, being nothing but the vices of the worshippers; Hereunto may bee added their *filthy gods, Crepitus ventris, Cloacina, Sterquilinium*, well deserving that reproach which is cast upon them by *Aristophanes*, that they were *Dij Merdivori*, and so *Muses* calleth them in expresse tearmes, *dirty dung-hill gods*, as the originall is rendred by *Iunius* and *Tremelius*. Foure whole dayes, saith *Tacitus*, *Crimona* ministred matter to sacke and to burne, and all things beside both holy & prophane being consumed into ashes, the temple of *Mephitis* without the wals remained untouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some divine vertue of the *goddesse*: Now would you know what this goodly Lady was, surely none other then the *Goddesse* of ill savours: and these kinde of *Gods* and *Goddesses Lactantius* deservedly wisheth to bee ever present with their worshippers: Yet not content with this, they worshipped the *Devils* themselves, *they sacrificed unto devils not unto God*, saith *Moses*: And I say saith the *Apostle*, *that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice unto devils and not unto God*.

De Cloacina vel Cluacina vide Lud. Viven. de civit. dei lib. 4. c. 8. & Plin. lib. 15 cap. 29.

Deos stercoreos, Deut. 29. 17.

Hist. l. 3. c. 6.

Sir H. Savill in his marginall notes on that place.

Deut. 32. 17.

1. Cor. 10. 20.

To which purpose it is worth our observing that *Beelzebub* who in the 2d booke of *Kings* and first chapter is called the God of *Ekron*, in the 11th of Saint *Lukes* gospell is termed the chiefe of *Divels*.

v. 2.

v. 15.

What should I speake of the *Thebans* worshipping a *weazell*, the *Trojans* a *mouse*, the *Egyptians* an *onion* or a *leeke*, and such like contemptible things?

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things? which notorious folly *Iuvenall*, who lived a while amongst them, thus wittily derides,

Porrum & cœpe nefas violare & frangere morsu:
Satyr. 15. *O sanctas Gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis*
Numina!

A leeke, an onyon ô'tis wickednesse,
These once to violate and to eate no lesse,
Sweete Saints they are, and holy ones I trow,
To whom their gods do in their gardens grow.

And diverse such absurd Gods they worshipped, which would make a modest man even to blush to name, as *Sybilla* hath truly noted.

---Hæc adoratis
Et multa alia vana quæ sanè turpe fuerit prædicare,
Sunt enim Dij hominum deceptores stultorum:
These fooliſh Gods and many more
Like vaine, they worship and adore:
Which filthy were to name in Schooles,
Such filthy gods deceive but fooles.

SECT. 6.

Their barbarous and most unnaturall cruelty, in sacrificing their children to their Gods.

NOw if from the *multitude* and *quality* of their *Gods* we proceede yet a little farther, to search into the *manner of their service*, wee shall easily finde that more *frantike* and *unreasonable*, then either of the two former. Which madnesse of theirs is well set forth by *Seneca*, In fragmentis. *Si intueri vacet quæ faciunt, quæque patiuntur superstitiosi, inveniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus, furere eos si cum paucioribus furerent, nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba*: If a man had but the leasure to looke into those things, which men led with superstition both do and suffer, he shall find them so unbefitting honest, so unworthy of ingenuous, so unlike sound & sober mindes, as no man would doubt but they were starke madde, were but the number of them fewer that thus goe a madding, whereas now the only plea for themselves that they are in their right wits, is the number of madde men.

Alexander ab Alexandro hath of set purpose composed an intire chapter touching this point, where the maine matter hee insists upon, Dierum Geniallium. l. 6. c. 26. that made the sacrifices of the *Heathen* most odious, was the effusion of humane blood in the service of their Gods; yet had this barbarous unnaturall practice spread it selfe well neere over the knowne world: It was in use among the *Trojans*, as it should seeme by that of *Virgill*, touching *Æneas*:

Vinxerat & post terga manus quos mitteret umbris
Æneid. 11. *Inferias, cæso sparsurus sanguine flammas.*

Their

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Their hands behind their backes he bound whom hee had destined
A sacrifice unto the ghosts, and on whose flames to shed
Their blood he purposed.

And againe in another place,

---Sulmone creatos
Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem quos educat Vfens Ænead. 10.
Viventes rapit, infernis quos immolet umbris
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammas.

Sulmos foure sonnes alive he tooke, *Vfens* foure sonnes likewise;
Whom to the ghosts he purposed eftsoones to sacrifice,
And in those burning piles of wood to spill their captive blood.

Whereupon *Lactantius* cries out, *quid potest esse hac pietate dementius* Lib. 1. c. 10.
quàm mortuis humanas victimas immolare, & ignem cruore hominum tanquam oleo pascere? What can be more franticke then this kinde of piety, which sacrificeth living men for the ease of the dead, and feedes the fire of the Altar with humane blood, as it were with oyle? The Grecians in like manner were infected with this bloody and deadly disease.

Ænead. l. 2.

Sanguine placastis Divos & Virgine cæsa,
Cum primum Iliacas Danai venistis ad oras,
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica.

With blood and offring of a maid the Gods were pacified,
When first to Troy-ward yee were bound, with blood yee must a-
Seeke your returne, with Grecian soule they must be satisfide. (gaine
The *Virgine* hee meanes was *Iphigenia*, who was sacrificed in the sight of her father *Agamemnon*, which gave occasion to that of *Lucretius*,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum?

Such, so much wickednesse Religion could perswade?

This wicked custome was likewise taken up by the *Carthaginians*, as appeares by *Silius Italicus*:

Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido Lib. 4.
Poscere cæde Deos veniam; ac flagrantibus aris
(Infandum dictu) parvos imponere natos,
Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus.

The ancient custome of that state, Queene *Dido* stablished,
Was this, with humane sacrifice the Gods they worshipped;
On burning Altars (out alas) their children young they slew,
An yearely lot these cruelties did solemnely renew. Lib. 1. c. 21.

And *Lactantius* reports out of *Pescenius Festus*, that the *Carthaginians* having for a time intermitted that kind of sacrifice, and being overthrown in a battle by *Agathocles* King of *Sicill*, for the pacifying of their God *Saturne*, whom by their losse they conceived to be displeased with them; they sacrificed at once unto him *two hundred children*, sons to the chiefe *Nobility* of the city; wherby perchance, saith he, they gave themselves a greater blow, then *Agathocles* their professed enemy had done. The *Gaules* also our next neighbours were guilty of this *deviliſh* kinde of worship, if we may credit *Lucan*:

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Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Teutates, horrenſque feris altaribus Hæſus
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

And they that uſe with curſed blood their *Idoll God* to pleaſe
Teutates fierce, & *Hæſus* grimme whom nought elſe may appeaſe,
But ſacrifice of humane fleſh; and *Taranis* likewiſe
Worſhipt as curſt *Diana* is juſt after *Scythike* wiſe,

With which accords that of *Solinus*, *Galli deteſtabili Sacrorum ritu, non ad honorem ſed potius injuriam Religionis humanis litabant ſacris.*

And from the *Gaules* perchance the *Brittanes* learned it, for *Tacitus* ſpeaking of the *Ile of man*, tels us that there woods were Cut downe by the *Romans* *Sævis Superſtitionibus Sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, & hominum fibris conſulere deos fas habebant.* Annal. 14.

Neither were the *Moabites* free from this horrible ſinne, as may bee ſeene in the 2 of *Kings* and the 3, where the King of *Moab* tooke his owne ſonne, as ſome thinke, or as others the King of *Edomes* ſonne, & offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And generally it was practiſed by the Inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, *Their ſons and their daughters they burnt in the fire to their Gods. The parents killed with their owne hands ſoules deſtitute of helpe. Good God!* that the candle of reaſon ſhould bee ſo farre dimmed, and the image of God defaced in man, as to thinke that an acceptable ſacrifice, which was in truth an horrible and ſacrilegious impiety, as if religion did extinguiſh naturall affection, or that were lawfull at the *Altar* or in the *Temple*, which in the *Market place* was moſt unlawfull, and puniſhable in an high degree: *Nonne ſatius eſſet pecudum more vivere*, ſaith *Lactantius*? Were it not better to live as beaſts without all ſenſe of religion, then to exerciſe it in ſuch ſavage manner? Yet was not this ſo ſtrange in the barbarous nations, their religion being herein ſutable to their manners, as in the *Romans*, the profeſſed *Maſters* forſooth of *Morality* and *Civility*: Yet came this damnable practice to bee long in uſe among them too, untill it was to bee aboliſht by decree of *Senate*, during the Conſulſhip of *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Licinius Craſſus*: Which makes mee the more to wonder that *Virgill* held among them, as the world then went, an honeſt underſtanding man, ſhould after the publiſhing of this decree, commend it in *Æneas* as an act of piety, and not rather cenſure it as a moſt abominable impiety. V. 17. Deut. 12. 31. Wiſdome 12. 6

Hac culpa non illius fuit qui literas fortaſſe non didicerat, ſed tua qui cum eſſes eruditus, ignoraſti tamen quid eſſet pietas, & illud ipſum quod nefariè, quod deteſtabiliter fecit, pietatis eſſe officium credidiſti ſaith *Lactantius*. This was not ſo much *Æneas* his fault, who was perchance altogether unlearned, as thine, who being endued with knowledge, yet waſt ignorant what was piety, and beleeveſt that to be a pious act, which he moſt wickedly and deteſtably committed. Lib. 5. c. 10.

But that which I moſt admire, is, that it ſhould creepe in among the *Iewes*, the peculiar people of the *true God*, as himſelfe complaines by the Prophet *Ieremy*: *And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in* Ier. 7. 31.

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the valley of the ſonne of Hinnon, to burne their ſons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart; By the Prophet *Ezekiell, when they had ſlaine their children to their Idolls, then they came the ſame day into my ſanctuary to prophane it*; And by the Prophet *David, They were mingled among the Heathen, and learned their workes, and they ſerved their Idols which were a ſnare unto them*; *yea they ſacrificed their ſons and their daughters unto Devils, and ſhed innocent blood, even the blood of their ſons and of their daughters, whom they ſacrificed unto the Idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood.* Thus *Ahaz* made *molten images* for *Baalim*, and burnt his children for ſacrifice before the *Idoll Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was repreſented by a man like a braſen body bearing the head of a calfe, ſet up not farre from *Hieruſalem*, in a valley ſhadowed with wood, called *Gehinnon* or *Tophet*, from whence is the word *Gehenna* uſed for *hell*. The children offered were incloſed within the carkaſſe of this *Idoll*, and as the fire increaſed ſo the ſacrificers with a noiſe of Cymbals and other inſtruments filled the aire, to the end, the horrible cries of the children might not be heard; and hence the place borrowed the name of *Tophet*, from *Top*, which ſignifies a *timbrell*; of which moſt deteſtable impiety, able to make a mans haire ſtand an end, and his heart tremble even at the relation thereof: *Paulus Fagius* hath written at large in his Commentary upon the *Chalde Paraphraſe*, and before him S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of S. *Mathew*, and ſince him *Wolphius* in his *expoſitions* on the ſecond booke of *Kings*, added for ſupplement of *Peters Martyrs*, thus ſharpely but juſtly cenſures it, *Fuit autem hæc pluſquam belluina immanitas; quæ enim feræ ſuos catulos non potius ament, amplectantur, foveant, nutriant, quàm occidant, ne dum crudeliter excruciatos necent?* This monſtrous inhumanity was more then brutiſh: for what wilde beaſts do not rather love, imbrace, nouriſh, and cheriſh their yong ones, then kill them and cruelly torment them to death?

Ezek. 23. 39. Pſal. 106. 35. 36. 37. 38.

1. Kings 16. 3. 2. Chron. 28. 3. *Selden de dis Syris.*

In Leviticum.

SECT. 7.

Their monſtrous beaſtlineſſe in their worſhip of Priapus and Berecynthia; as alſo of their doting follie in their divinations, together with a touch upon the childiſh fables of the Iewiſh Rabbines; the abſurd opinions and horrible practiſes of ancient Heretickes in the Primitive Chriſtian Church; and the incredible ignorance and ſuperſtition of the Romiſh.

I Cannot tell whether their *cruelty* were greater in the worſhip of *Moloch*, or their *beaſtlineſſe* in the worſhip of *Priapus*, deſcribed by *Gyraldus* at large, in his *hiſtory of the Gods*: And *Toſtatus* in his 50 *queſtion* upon the 20 of *Exodus*. It was ſo obſcene, as the very mention of it, cannot but offend chaſt eares; *Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa ſacra profeſſionem, quod in vitioſis hominum moribus vix habet inter tormenta confeſſionem.* They *profeſſe* in the holding of thoſe ſacrifices, that beaſtly crime, which the moſt vitious men will hardly *confeſſe* upon the racke. I will therefore skip over it as cleanely as I may, as men commonly do over bogs and quagmires. The ſhape in which this

Syntagm. 8.

Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. cap. 8.

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God was repreſented, was ſuch as nature hath taught us to hide: The geſtures of the Prieſts in ſerving him, ſuch as I wonder their Matrones and *Virgines*, in whom were any ſparke of modeſty, could behold it with patience: and for the people who came to worſhippe, the ſacrifice being ended, they all ſtepped aſide into a thicket, which was alwayes planted neere the *Altar* of this God, and there like bruite beaſts promiſcuouſly ſatisfied their luſt, thereby as they conceived beſt pleaſing their God; which was the cauſe, as it ſeemes, that the true God commanded, that no *Groves* ſhould be planted neere the place of his worſhip, and if any were, they ſhould be cut downe. This *Priapus*, as S. *Hierome* and *Iſidore* are of opinion, was the ſame with that *Baal-peor*, or *Beelphegor*, whom the *Moabites* & *Madianites* adored, and the *Iſraelites* themſelves for the love of the *Madianitiſh* women: and the ſame S. *Hierome* makes *Maacha* the mother of *Aſa*, guilty of the ſame villany, in his commentaries upon the fourth of *Hoſea*, where he thus tranſlates part of the fifteenth chapter of the firſt booke of *Kings*: *Inſuper & Maacham matrem ſuam amovit, ne eſſet princeps in ſacris Priapi, & in luco ejus.* Moreover hee depoſed *Maacha* his mother, that ſhee might not be chiefe in the ſacrifices of *Priapus* and his groues.

Nos pudore pulſo ſtamus ſub Iove Coleus apertus.

Lib. 1. contra Iovinianum, c. 12. Origenum, c. 8.

Numb. 25. 5.

Of much like condition to this worſhip of *Priapus*, was that of *Berecynthia*, the mother of the gods, as we it finde deſcribed by S. *Auguſtine*, out of his owne experience; his words are theſe: *Ante ejus Lecticam die ſolenni lavationis ejus, talia per publicum cantitabantur, à nequiſſimis ſcenicis qualia non dico matrem Deorum, ſed matrem qualiumcumque Senatorum vel quorumlibet honeſtorum virorum, imò verò qualia nec matrem ipſorum Scenicorum deceret audire*: Such filthy ſtuffe was by looſe lewd varlets ſung before her charet on the ſolemne day of her *lavation*, as was utterly unfit, I will not ſay for the mother of the Gods, but of any Senatour, nay of any honeſt man, nay of the ſingers themſelves to heare: and perchance, ſaith hee, they would have bluſhed to have ſpoken that before their owne mothers at home, which before the mother of the gods in the ſight and hearing of innumerable multitudes of both ſexes, they boldly ſang, and thereupon breakes out into this exclamation, *Quæ ſunt ſacrilegia, ſi illa erant ſacra? quæ inquinatio, ſi illa lavatio?* what ſhould we call ſacriledge, if this were ſacrificing? what pollution, if this lavation? and if this be ſacriledge, then ſurely the worſhiping of God by blaſphemies and curſings, as did the *Lyndians*, is a degree beyond ſacriledge; who notwithſtanding proceeded ſo farre in this devilliſh mad cuſtome, *ut ea ſacra pro violatis haberentur, ſi quando inter ſolennes ritus vel imprudenti alicui excideret bonum verbum*, as witneſſeth *Lactantius*, that they held it a violation of their ſacrifice, if during their ſolemne Ceremonies, but a good word chanced to ſlippe from any man though unawares. Now what a lamentable caſe is this, to conſider that the *common enemy* of *mankinde* ſhould ſo far prevaile in blinding their underſtandings, as to conceive that the *Author* of life ſhould be worſhipped with the effuſion of humane and innocent blood, the *fountaine* of holineſſe with brutiſh impurity, the *father* of bleſſings with execrable curſings?

De Civit. Dei, lib. 2. cap. 4.

Lib. 1. cap. 21.

Hereunto may bee added the *vaine divinations* which the *Romans* made

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made upon the entralls of *Beasts*, upon the flying, the feeding, the singing, the chirping of *birds*: but the sage *Cato* and those of the wiser sort well saw the doting folly of these *lying vanities*, *Potest Augur Augurem videre & non ridere?* Can one *Diviner* looke upon another & not smile? *Cicero de divinatione, l. 2.*

And the same *Cato*, as S. *Augustine* reports it, when one asked counsell of him in sober earnest, what harme hee thought aboded him because Rats had gnawne his hose, hee answered with a jest, *that it was a strange thing to see that, but it had beene much more strange if his hose had devoured the Rats.* *De Doctr. Christiano. l. 2. c. 21.*

Tully likewise in his disputations touching such arguments, when one to inforce the verity of *divination* had said, that a victory, which fell to the *Thebanes*, was foreshewed by an extraordinary *crowing of cockes*, he could reply upon that with a very smooth & quicke put off, that *it was no miracle cockes should crow, but if fishes had so done, that had bin wonderfull indeede.* *De divinatione, lib. 2.*

I will conclude this point, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* doth his last booke: *Quantum debemus Christo Domino Regi & Doctori nostro, quem verum Deum veneramur & scimus, quo præmonstrante explosa monstrosa ferarum Gentium doctrinâ rituque immani & barbaro, veram religionem edocti, humanitatem & verum Deum colimus, evictisque erroribus & infandis ineptijs quas Prisci coluere, quid quemq; deceat & quibus sacris, quaq; mente, Deum colere oporteat noscitamus?* How much do wee owe to Christ our King & Master, whom wee acknowledge and worship as true God, by whose guidance and direction, the monstrous doctrine and barbarous rites of those savage nations being chased away, and wee being taught true Religion, imbrace civility and the true God; and the errours & unspeakeable follies which the Ancients had in honour and reverence, being brought to light, we know what our duty is, with what ceremonies, & with what minde God is to be worshipped; which is in effect the same with that of the Apostle, *Thankes bee to God who hath delivered us from the power of darknesse, and translated us into the kingdome of his deere sonne.* *Dierum Genialium.* *Coloss. 1. 13.*

If I were disposed to inlarge this discourse, heere might easily be remembred the unsavory tales, the *childish fancies*, and fables of the *Iewish Rabbins* in their *Talmud* and *Caball*, the most *absurd opinions* and *horrible practises* of *Ancient Heretiques* in the *Primitive Church*, the *incredible ignorance* and *superstition* among those who for the space of many ages were commonly accounted the *best*, nay the *onely Christians*? but each of these would require a large volume, and are already fully discovered by others. The first by *Galatinus de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis*, and *Buxdorfius* in his *Synagoga Iudaica*, the second by *Irenæus*, *Philastrius*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Prateolus*, *Alphonsus à Castro* and others; the third by the writers of the *reformed Churches*, who have set themselves to oppose the corruptions and abuses of the *Church*, or rather the *court of Rome*: And howbeit the *Romanists* in requitall hereof would prove their Adversaries doctrine, to open a gappe to disobedience and licentiousnesse, yet I doubt not but the more sober minded among them, finde that to proceede, rather out of eagernesse and heat of disputation, then from any solide reason or setled judgement; since it is certaine, that since *Luther* awakened the world, the manners even of the *Romish Clergy* themselves are not a little reformed.

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CHAP. 2.

Touching the Lawes of the Ancient Grecians and Saxons, whereof some were wicked and impious, others most absurd and ridiculous,

SECT. 1.

The unjust and absurd Lawes of Solon *the Athenian Lawgiver.*

AS *Religion* is the hinge upon which the goverment of the *Politicall* state depends and moves, so next after it, good and wholesome *Lawes* serve much for the bettering of a *Commonwealth* in matter of *manners*. *Law* being therefore defined by *Plato* to be a *reasonable Rule leading and directing men to their due end for a publique good, ordaining penalties for them that transgresse, & rewards for them that obey.* And by *Cicero* to be the *highest and chiefe reason grafted in nature, commanding those things which are to be done, & forbidding the contrary.* But by the *Civilians* more briefely and properly, *Lex est sanctio sancta, jubens honesta, prohibens contraria*, Law is an holy decree, (that is, a decree not to be violated) commanding honest things and forbidding the contrary. Now as the ancient *Paynims* were defective in points of true *Religion*: so were they likewise in making *just Lawes*, sometimes commanding where they should forbidde, and againe, forbidding where they should command, rewarding where they should punish, and punishing where they should reward. I will instance only in some particular Lawes of the *Grecians*, and of our Predecessours the *Saxons*.

De Legibus.

Lib. 1 de Legibus.

See *Fitz Herbert* in his Treatise of Policie and Religion part. 1. c. 7

Among the *Grecians* foure Law-makers were most renowned, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, two of which actually founded Commonweales, the one the *Athenians*, the other the *Lacedemonians*. The other two onely framed them in *Idea* or speculation, yet all provided Lawes for them, such as they were. I will begin with *Solon*, accounted one of the seaven *Sages* in *Greece*, highly commended for his great wisdome in making lawes both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, who proposeth him and *Lycurgus* as patternes for all such as shall institute *Commonwealths*, and devise *Lawes* for them. *Solon* then resolving for the releeving of the poore to make a *Law* for the abolishing and cancelling all contracts and obligations of debts past, & imparting his minde therein to some of his intire friends, they seing his resolution, borrowed great store of money, and imployed it in the purchase of land, whereupon it followed that when *Solon* published his *new Lawe*, they remained exceedingly inriched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much suspected for deceipt, as to have had secret intelligence with them, and part of their gaine. And although it seemed that therein he had wrong, for hee lost by his owne *Law*, as some write, 15 *talents* which were owing him, yet in *two things* he cannot be excused, the one in that hee caused not his friends to restore the money which they had guilefully borrowed, and the other that without examination of the particular causes and reasons of every

Plutarch. in Solone.

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mans debt, he ordained a generall abolition of all debts both good and bad, whereby as well those which were able to pay, as the unable were discharged, and all Creditors without difference defrauded, contrary to all equity and justice, which as *Cicero* saith, speaking of the like case, requireth above all things that every man have his owne; & that equall regard be had to the rich as well as to the poore; (which saith he) is no way observed, *cùm locupletes suum perdunt, & debitores lucrentur alienum*, when rich men loose their owne, and debters gaine that which belongeth to other men. *offic. lib. 2.*

Another of *Solons* absurd Lawes was, that whosoever in any publique sedition should bee *neutrall*, and take neither part, should remaine ever after infamous: his reason was for that hee thought it not convenient that any man should so much love his owne ease, as not to participate of the trouble of the *Common-wealth*, whereof hee was a member, which reason of his, together with the *Law* it selfe, *Plutarch* wisely and worthily rejecteth, for that it would bee an assured meanes to put (as it were) fire to gun-powder, and to set all the Common-wealth on a flame without helpe of any internall remedy. For (saith he) as in a sicke body all the hope of helpe within it selfe is to be expected from the parts that are sound, and therefore when the body is wholly corrupted, there is no helpe of remedy but from abroad, even so in a *politique body* sicke with sedition, all the internall remedy is to come from the whole sound parts thereof, that is to say, such as are *Neutralls*, who may labour with the one side, and with the other to compound the quarrell: for otherwise where all is in tumult, no remedie can bee expected, except it come from abroad, and therefore *Plutarch* holdeth it for the highest & principall point of *Politique Science* in any Governour, to know how either to prevent seditions that they never grow, or else quickly to appease them when they are growne, be they never so little. For as the least sparke that is, may fall into such matter, that it may set an whole house on fire: so the least civill sedition may fall among such persons and in such times, that it may put a whole *Common-wealth* in combustion, and utterly ruine it.

SECT. 2.

The unreasonable and irreligious Lawes of Lycurgus *the Lacedemonian Law-giver.*

NOw for *Lycurgus*, if wee examine his *Common-wealth* and the *Lawes* thereof, we shall finde that he likewise failed both in *true prudence* and in *morall vertue*. For whereas a good *Law-maker* ought to frame his *Common-wealth* no lesse to *religion*, *justice*, and *temperance*, then to *fortitude*, that it may stand and flourish as well in time of *peace*, as in time of *warre*: his *Lawes* tended principally to make the people *valiant* and *warlike*, whereupon it followed that the *Lacedemonians* flourished so long as they had warres, and when they came to injoy peace, they fell to decay within a while, as *Aristotle* noteth. Whereby *Pol. 2. 7.*

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the weakenes of the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* evidently appeared. For as *peace* is not ordained for *warre*, but *warre* for *peace*, as motion and labour is ordained for reſt: ſo in like manner a *Common-wealth* is rather to be framed and ordained for *peace* then for *warre*: and yet ſo for both, that it may ſtand by both: But in the *Common-wealth* of the *Lacedemonians* this was no way performed. For the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* tending onely to make them ſtrong, laborious & valiant, could not make them religious, juſt and truly temperate. Which for *civill diſcipline* and peaceable government is moſt requiſite. For as for *Lawes* tending to religion, wee finde none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his but only one, more ridiculous then religious, as that hee dedicated an *Image* to *laughter*, which he made a *God*, or at leaſt would have to be worſhipped for a *God*, to make the people merry at their publique feaſts and meetings; & beſides he opened a great gappe to *injuſtice*, and to all cozenage and deceit: for hee ordained that it ſhould bee lawfull for any man to ſteale any kinde of meate, ſo that he were not taken or diſcovered in the doing of it, and that boyes & children ſhould have ſo little allowed them to eate, as they ſhould bee forced to ſharke and prole for their better proviſion to make them thereby more induſtrious, nimble and quick of ſpirit, and others more wary and watchfull to keepe well that which they had. Inſomuch that who could ſteale moſt cunningly, was moſt commended; But who ſeeth not that this was the next way to fill the Common-wealth with *Theeves*. For is it likely that thoſe who from their infancy are brought up in pilfering trifles, will afterwards, when they have got the habit and ability thereof, forbeare to ſteale things of great importance? Or can Theeves practiſe their occupation with more ſafety any way to become in the end moſt expert, and thereby pernicious to the Common-wealth, then with the warrant and under the protection of the law? ſeeing the penalty which was ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the injuſtice of the fact, but for their lacke of skill and dexterity in the performance, which muſt needes make every man labour to excell in the art of theevery. Finally, when the *Law* not onely permitteth, but induceth men to deceive ſometimes, and in ſome things, doth it not alſo diſpoſe, and as it were direct them to deceive as oft, and howſoever they may. Therefore good and wiſe *Law-makers* ſeeke to prevent evils, & to cut off occaſions of vice, and not to miniſter matter thereunto, which in our corrupt natures needeth a bridle to reſtraine it, and not a ſpurre to pricke it forward.

Gell. noct. Att. lib. 11. cap. 18.

This may alſo bee ſaid in reſpect of another Law of *Lycurgus*, inducing to *intemperancie* and all kinde of *incontinencie*. For although hee ordained ſome things notably for the education of youth, tending as it ſeemed to the repreſſion of concupiſcence and diſſolute life, as a very ſpare and homely diet, hard bedding of reedes, or (as ſome write) no bedding at all, continuall labour and exerciſe, one onely garment for the whole yeare, and ſuch like; yet it appeareth that his meaning was none other therein, but only the better to inable them to indure the labour and the toyle of warre. For he ordained other lawes ſo much in

Iuſtin. lib. 3.

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favour & furtherance of *luſt* & all carnality, yea in the worſt kinde, that it might juſtly be ſaid, he made his whole common-wealth worſe then a *Burdell*. For he inſtituted certaine wreſtlings, & dances, & other exerciſes of boyes & wenches naked, to be done in publique at divers times of the yeare, in the preſence both of young and old men, which what effect it might worke in the mindes and manners of their Citizens, any man may eaſily judge, eſpecially ſeeing that both their lawes and cuſtomes, permitted that men ſhould be *inamored of boyes*, which was held for laudable, and neceſſary for their good education, it being preſumed that their lovers would carefully inſtruct them in vertue.

Furthermore *adultery* which was puniſhed with death, not onely by the law of *Moſes*, but alſo by the lawes of other nations, as a thing pernicious to the Common-wealth, was not onely permitted, but alſo approved by *Lycurgus* his law, ordaining, that if an old man married a young wife, ſhe might with her husbands licence, make choice of any young man that ſhe liked, to have a childe by him, which her husband brought up as his owne: And if a valiant or vertuous man, as good ſouldiers were there termed, liked well of another mans wife, he might demaund leave of her husband to have iſſue by her: which was not denyed, but thought convenient for their common-wealth, to maintaine a good race and breed of valiant men; as *Plutarch* ſignifieth in defence of the law of *Lycurgus*.

This then being ſo, what marvell is it that all ſinne of the fleſh, and beaſtlineſſe, reigned more in *Lacedemonia*, then any where elſe in *Greece*, as *Ariſtotle* witneſſeth? Nay, what wonder is it that *Almighty God* of his juſt judgement plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable overthrow in the plaine of *Leuctra*? where they loſt the dominion of *Greece*, by the occaſion, and for the puniſhment of an *horrible rape* committed by two of their Citizens. *Polit. l. 2. c. 7.* *Diodor. Siculus lib. 15. cap. 14.*

SECT. 3.

The impious and diſhoneſt Lawes of Plato.

TO *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, wee may adde *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who though they founded no Common-weales, as did the other two, yet they framed in writing either of them one, in which they laboured to ſhew both the excellencie of their owne wits, & perfection of humane policie; wherein nevertheleſſe they evidently ſhewed the imbecillity and imperfection of both: For what can be more *abſurd* or more *impious*, then the *community* which *Plato* ordained in his common-wealth, not only of goods & poſſeſſions, but alſo of women? to the end that no man ſhould have any thing proper or peculiar to himſelfe: in ſo much, that Fathers & Mothers ſhould not know their owne children, neither yet any childe know his owne parents; whereby he thought to eſtabliſh in the commonwealth ſuch a perfect unity, that no man ſhould be able to ſay, that is thine, or this is mine: But every one have a generall care of all, whereas if that law were in practiſe, the utter overthrow of

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of the Common-wealth, and of all humane ſociety muſt needes follow thereon. For matrimony being taken away, and ſuch a promiſcuous and beaſtly procreation introduced, the naturall love betwixt parents and their children, brethren, kinsfolke, and allyes, & all conſanguinity, kinred, and affinity would be quite aboliſhed: horrible inceſt betweene kinsfolke, brethren and ſiſters, father & daughter, mother & ſon, which all nations abhorre, would ordinarily be committed: And by occaſion of quarrells, which ſometimes could not bee avoyded, one brother would kill another, the father the ſonne, and the ſonne the father, for lacke of knowledge one of another: Beſides many other great inconveniences, declared very particularly and at large by *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond booke of his *Politiques*; And *Lactantius* in the third of his *Divine Inſtitutions*, where hee proveth this imaginary *community* of *Plato*, to take away frugality, abſtinence, ſhamefaſtnes, modeſty, and juſtice it ſelfe, the mother of all other vertues. *Sic honeſta & legitima eſſe incipiunt quæ ſolent flagitioſa & turpia judicari*, in as much as thereby thoſe things are held honeſt and lawfull, which are commonly accounted foule and wicked. *Sic virtutem dum vult omnibus dare, omnibus ademit*, & by this meanes, while hee pretended to make all vertuous, hee made all vitious. *Nam rerum proprietas & vitiorum & virtutum materiam continet, communitas autem nihil aliud quam vitiorum licentiam*: For a propriety in things, containes in it the ſubject matter as well for vertue as for vice to worke upon, but community hath nothing in it beſides the liberty of vice. *Qui ergo vult homines adæquare, non matrimonia, non opes ſubtrahere debet, ſed arrogantiam, ſuperbiam, tumorem, ut illi potentes & elati pares ſe eſſe mendiciſſimis ſciant; detracta enim divitibus inſolentia & iniquitate, nihil intererit utrumne alij divites alij pauperes ſint, cum animi pares ſint, quod efficere nulla res alia præter religionem Dei poteſt. Putavit ergo ſe juſtitiam inveniſſe cum eam prorſus everterit, quia non rerum fragilium ſed mentium debet eſſe communitas.* Hee then that would bring in an equality among men, muſt not take away weddings and wealth, but arrogancy, pride, and ſwelling, that thoſe who by reaſon of their great power, are puffed up, may know themſelves to be peeres to the pooreſt beggars. For remove inſolencie, injuſtice, and uncharitablenes from the rich, and there will no inconvenience follow from having ſome poore, and others rich; their mindes being equall, which nothing but true religion can poſſibly effect. *Plato* thought then he had found juſtice, when indeed he overthrew it, in as much as there ought not to be a community of things, but of mindes. And farther, both *Ariſtotle* and *Lactantius*, though upon different reaſons, ſhew, that the unity which *Plato* ſought by this meanes to eſtabliſh in his Common-wealth, would not follow thereupon: *Non invenit concordiam quam quærebat, quia non videbat unde oriatur*, hee found not that concord he ſought for, becauſe hee ſaw not from whence it ſprang. Whereby appeareth his double errour, the one that he found not that vertue he ſought to plant, the other that he found that vice hee ſought to prevent; And ſo I paſſe to another moſt diſhoneſt and unreaſonable law of his, which was this.

Having ordained that young men ſhould for increaſe of their ſtrength

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& agility of body, exercise themselves naked at certaine times & in certaine places appointed for that purpose, called *Gymnasia*; commanded also not as *Lycurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young girles and wenches should dance naked amongst boyes; but farre more absurdly, that women in the flower of their youth should dance, runne, wrastle, ride and doe all exercises with young men naked as well as they, which, saith he, whosoever misliketh, understandeth not how profitable it is for the *Common-wealth*. But who could imagine that the *Prince of Philosophers*, (for so was *Plato* esteemed) could so farre forget himselfe, as having instituted and framed his Common-wealth to all kinde of vertue, as the onely meanes to arrive to perfect felicity, who, I say, considering this, could imagine, that this great Professour, Master, & Teacher of vertue, would not only permit, but also ordaine a thing so contrary to his owne profession, to the end of his *Common-wealth*, and to his owne lawes, precepts, and counsels, as the lascivious aspect of naked women, whereby the fire of concupiscence being kindled in men, and the bridle of naturall modesty taken from women, what else could follow thereon, but all beastly dissolutenes & carnality of life, as well in the one as in the other? For precepts are given, and lawes ordained in vaine against incontinencie, when the occasions, provocations, & nourishments thereof are permitted, which whosoever useth to admit, plaieth with the flame, as doth the fly, and commonly is burned thereby.

SECT. 4.

The unnaturall and unchast lawes of Aristotle.

BUt perhaps some may thinke that *Aristotle*, *Platoes* scholler, who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and undertooke to censure and syndicate both his Master, and all other *Law-makers* before him, saw clearer in matter of *lawes* for the reformation of manners and the good of the Common-wealth, then he. Let us then examine him a little, and we shall finde that he erred more absurdly then any of them: This may appeare by two of his *lawes*; whereof the one was, that if a man had any deformed or lame child, he should *cast it out* like a whelpe, and expose it to perish: And the other was, that if a man had above a certaine number of children, which number hee would have to bee determined according to every mans ability, his wife should destroy the fruit in her wombe, when shee found that she had conceived; wherein he shewed himselfe more *unnaturall* and *inhumane* then the very bruite beasts. For, as *Cicero* saith very well, these two things cannot agree together, to wit, that nature should have procreation; and that it would not have the creature when it is borne to be beloved and conserved; the which appeareth, saith he, evidently in bruite beasts, whose labour and care in the conservation of that which is borne of them is such, that we acknowledge the force and voice of *Nature* therein. What then can be more dissonant from *Reason* and *Nature*, then that a man who is borne and naturally inclined to clemency, humanity and piety, should shew himselfe

Polit. 7. c. 16.

Vide Lypsi epist. select. 39.

Lib. 3. de Finibus.

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himselfe unkinde and inhumane not towards beasts, but towards men, not towards strangers or servants, but towards his owne off-spring, and that not for any fault of theirs, but for some defect or deformity of body, which they could not either prevent or remedy, and ought rather to move a man to compassion and pitty, then to cruelty? *Expectet aliquis ut alieno sanguini parcant, qui non parcunt suo? non possunt innocentes existimari, qui viscera sua in prædam canibus objiciunt, & quantum in ipsis est crudelius necant, quàm si strangulassent*, saith *Lactantius*. Can any man expect they should spare other mens bloud, that spare not their owne? innocent they cannot be held, who expose their owne bowels for a prey to dogges, and as much as in them is, kill more cruelly then if they had strangled them.

Lib. 6. cap. 20.

Besides, such corporall defects doe not alwayes, nor often hinder the operation of the minde and understanding, and therefore it may very well happen by the execution of this inhumane Law of *Aristotle*, not onely that a father shall be deprived of a sonne, but also the Common-wealth of a serviceable and notable member. For as *Seneca* saith, *ex casa vir magnus exire potest, & ex deformi humilique corpusculo formosus animus & magnus*; A worthy man may come out of a base cottage, and a beautifull high spirit out of a low deformed body.

The like may be said of the other law of *Aristotle*, concerning *abortion* or the destruction of a Childe in the mothers wombe, being a thing punished severely by all good Lawes, as injurious not onely to nature, but also to the Common-wealth, which thereby is deprived of a *designed Citizen*, as *Cicero* tearmes it, speaking of a woman of *Miletum* in *Asia*, who having procured *abortion* of her childe a little before her time of travell was condemned to death: *neque injuria*, saith he, *quia designatum reipub. civem sustulisset*, and very justly for that shee had made away one that was designed to be a Citizen of the Common-wealth: In which respect, the *Civill* and *Common Law* doe grievously punish all wilfull abortion after conception, and the *Canonists* teach it to bee a *mortall* sinne.

Cic. pro A. Cluentio.

And heere I cannot forbeare to say somewhat of another *Constitution* of *Aristotles*, which I know not whether it were more absurd or ridiculous: for whereas hee forbad in his Common-wealth the use of lascivious pictures and images, lest young men, and specially children might be corrupted by the sight thereof, nevertheless in the same Law he excepteth the *Images* and *pictures* of *certaine Gods*, *in whom*, saith hee, *the custome alloweth lasciviousnesse*, meaning no doubt the painted tables and graven stories of the adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and other *Gods* and *Goddesses*, set forth every where among the *Paynims*, as well in private houses as in their Temples and other publique places. Wherein may bee observed the *ridiculous absurdity* of this great *Philosopher*, for what could it availe to take away all other wanton pictures and representations that might corrupt the mindes of youth, when hee expresly alloweth the use of the lascivious pictures of the Gods, which must needs corrupt them much more? and as it were instill into them vitious affections & desires together with their religion, yea by the example of their

Pol. 7. 17.

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their Gods; by the imitation of whom they could not but hope to attaine as well to perfection of vertue, as to eternall felicity, beleeving as they did, that they were *true Gods*. For how could any man bee perswaded that adultery deserved punishment, or was not a great, yea a divine vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* stealing away *Europa* in the shape of a Bull, violating *Leda* in the forme of a Swanne, and entring into the house of *Danaë* by the love of like a golden showre, would not any man that should be religiously devoted to these Gods, be animated by the sight thereof to doe the like? yea and childen learning their religion, and not onely hearing, but seeing every where by pictures and images that such acts were committed by their *Gods*, could they imagine that the same were evill and not to bee imitated? This is very well declared by *Lucian* of his owne experience, 'who in his Dialogues maketh *Menippus* say thus, when I was yet but 'a boy, saith hee, and heard out of *Homer* and *Hesiod* of the Adulteries, 'fornications, rapes and seditions of the Gods, truely I thought that 'those things were very excellent, and began even then to bee greatly 'affected towards them: for I could not imagine that the Gods them-'selves would ever have committed adultery, if they had not esteemed 'the same lawfull and good. And the like signifieth also *Chærea* in *Terence*, who beholding a table wherein it was painted, how *Iupiter* deceived *Danaë* when he came in at the top of the house, saith, that hee was greatly incouraged to defloure a young maide by the example of so great a God: *at quem Deum?* saith he, *qui templa cæli summa sonitu concutit; ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego verò illud ita feci & lubens.* But what God was this trow you? marry he who shakes the highest Temples of Heaven with thunder; and therefore might not I who am but a silly wretch doe the like? yes truely I did it, and that with all my heart. And it is doubtlesse most true which S. *Augustine* hath observed to this purpose, *magis intuentur quid fecerit Iupiter, quàm quid docuerit Plato vel censuerit Cato*: they rather considered what *Iupiter* did, then what *Plato* taught, or *Cato* thought: Yet were these villanies of of their Gods and Goddesses every where so rife, that the names almost of all rivers, countreys, cities, woods, nay of the very lights and constellations of heaven, served as so many characters & ensignes thereof, in which regard, it was truely a pious worke begun by *Bayerus*, and since finished by *Schillerus*, wherein he endeavours to deface those ancient names of the asterismes imposed by the *Paynims*, and to substitute insteed thereof *Christian* appellations, thereby the better to minde us of the vertues and duties implyed in them, which worke of his hee therefore intitles: *Cælum stellatum Christianum.*

In Eunuch.

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SECT. 5.

The barbarous and uncivill lawes of the Gaules *and the* Saxons *our Predeceſſours.*

NOw theſe Lawes of the *Grecians* were not more diſhoneſt and unmorall, then were thoſe of the *Gaules* and *Saxons*, our Predeceſſours, uncivill and barbarous; I meane their *Ordeall Lawes* which they uſed in doubtfull caſes, when cleere and manifeſt proofes wanted to try and finde out whether the accurſed were guilty or guiltleſſe. Theſe are of foure ſorts, as *Æneas Sylvius*, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Iohannes Pomarius*, *Cornelius Killianus*, and others in their Hiſtories and Chronicles report. The firſt was by *Camp-fight* or *Combate*, the ſecond by *yron* made red hot, the third was by *hote water*, and the fourth by *cold water*.

Verſteg. cap. 3. Paſq. 4. l. 2.

For the tryall by *Camp-fight*, the Accuſer was with the perill of his owne body to prove the accuſed guilty, and by offering him his glove or gantlet to challenge him to this tryall: which the other muſt either accept of, or acknowledge himſelfe culpable of the crime whereof hee was accuſed. If it were a crime deſerving death, then was the *Campe-fight* for life and death, and that either on horſe-backe or on foote: if the offence deſerved impriſonment and not death, then was the *Camp-fight* accompliſhed when the one had ſubdued the other by making him to yeeld, or unable to defend himſelfe, and ſo be taken priſoner: the accuſed had the liberty to chooſe another in his ſteed, but the accuſer muſt performe it in his owne perſon, and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted to behold it, nor men children under the age of thirteene yeares; the Prieſts and people did ſilently pray, that the victory might fall to the guiltleſſe. And if the fight were for life & death, a Beere ſtood ready to carry away the body of him that ſhould bee ſlaine. None of the people might crie, ſhreeke, make any noiſe, or give any ſigne whatſoever. And hereunto at *Hall* in *Suevia* (a place appointed for *Camp-fights*) was ſo great regard taken, that the Executioner ſtood beſide the Judges with an axe ready to cut off the right hand and left foot of the partie ſo offending. He that being wounded did yeeld himſelfe, was at the mercy of the other to be killed or let to live: if he were ſlaine, then was he carried away and honourably buried, and hee that ſlew him reputed more *honourable* then before: But if being overcome he were left alive, then was he by ſentence of the Iudges declared utterly voide of all honeſt reputation, and never to ride on horſe-back, nor to carry armes.

Munſter. lib. 3.

The tryall by *red hot yron*, called *Fire-Ordeall* was uſed upon accuſations without manifeſt proofe, though not without ſuſpition, that the accuſed might be faulty; the party accuſed and denying the offence, was adjudged to take red hot iron, and to hold it in his bare hand, which after many prayers and invocations that the truth might be manifeſt, hee muſt either adventure to doe, or yeeld himſelfe guilty, and ſo receive

Aventin. l. 4.

the

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the punishment that the Law according to the offence committed should award him. Some were adjudged to goe blinde-folded with their bare feete over certaine plow shares, which were made red hot, and laid a little distance one from another, and if the party in passing thorow them did chance not to tread upon them, or treading upon them received no harme, then by the Judge he was declared innocent: And this kinde of *tryall* was also practised heere in *England*, (as was likewise the *Camp-fight* for a while) upon *Emma* the mother of King *Edward* the Confessour, who was accused of dishonesty of her body with *Allwin* Bishop of *Winchester*, and being led blinde-folded to the place where nine hot *Culters* were laid, went forward with her bare feet, and so passed over them, and being past them all and not knowing it, good Lord, saith shee, when shall I come to the place of my purgation, then having her eyes uncovered, and seeing her selfe to have passed them, shee kneeling downe gave God thankes for manifesting her innocencie in her preservation, and in memoriall thereof gave *nine Lordships* to the *Church* of *Winchester*, and King *Edward* her sonne repenting he had so wrongfully brought his Mothers name into question, bestowed likewise upon the same *Church* the *Ile* of *Portland* with other revenewes. A much like *tryall* unto this is recorded of *Kunigund*, wife to the Emperour *Henry* the second, who being falsely accused of adultery, to show her innocency did in a great and honourable assembly take *seaven glowen irons* one after another in her bare hands, and had thereby no harme. *Camden* in Dorcet.

The tryall called *Hot water Ordeall*, was in cases of accusation as is afore said, the party accused being appointed by the Judge to thrust his armes up to his elbowes in seething hot water, which after sundry prayers and invocations hee did, and was by the effect that followed judged faulty or faultles.

Lastly, *cold water Ordeall* was the tryall, which was ordinarily used for the common sort of people, who having a cord tied about them under their armes, were cast into some river, & if they sunke downe to the bottome thereof untill they were drawne up, (which was within a very short limited space) then were they held guiltlesse, but such as did remaine upon the water were held culpable, being, as they said, of the water rejected and cast up. These kindes of *impious* and *unjust lawes*, the *Saxons* for a while after their *Christianity* continued, but were at last by a decree of *Pope Stephen* the second utterly abolished, as being a presumptuous tempting of *God* without any grounded reason or sufficient warrant, and an exposing many times of the innocent to manifest hazard.

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CHAP. 3.

Touching the insufficiencie of the precepts of the Ancient Philosophers for the planting of vertue, or the rooting out of vice, as also of the common errour touching the golden age.

SECT. 1.

Touching the insufficiencie of the Ancient Philosophers for the planting of vertue, and the rooting out of vice; as also of the mangers of the Ancients, observed by Cælius secundus Curio, *out of* Juvenall *and* Tacitus.

TO these lawes of the *Grecians* and *Germans*, may bee added the *opinion* & *precepts* of the *Ancient Philosophers*, touching vertue & vice, finall happinesse, and the state of the soule after this life; which were as diverse one to another as they were all erronious and opposite to the truth, the growth of vertue, or suppressing of vice. What could possibly more hinder the course of vertue, then the doctrine of the *Epicureans*, that soveraigne happinesse consisted in pleasure? or more strengthen the current of vice, then that of the *Stoicks*, that all sins were equall? The *Epicureans* though they granted a God, yet they denyed his *providence*, which should serve as a spurre to vertue, and a bridle to vice. The *Stoickes*, though they granted a divine providence, yet withall they stiffely maintained such a fatall *Necessity*, not only in the events of humane actions, but in the actions themselves, as thereby they blunted the edge of all vertuous endeavours, and made an excuse for vicious courses. Againe, the *Epicurean* gave too much way to irregular affections; and on the other side, the *Stoicke* was too professed an enemy to them, though regulated by reason; but both of them doubted, if not denyed the *immortality of the soule*, whereby they opened a wide gappe to all licentiousnesse, not censurable by the lawes of man, or which the executioners thereof either thorow ignorance could not, or thorow feare or favour would not take notice of. Which hath often made me wonder that the common-wealth of the *Iewes* would suffer such a pestilent sect in the bowels of it, as the *Sadduces*, who flatly denyed, not only the resurrection of the body, but the immortality of the soule. Since then the *Christian* religion, and that alone teacheth both, as fundamentall articles of our beleife, and withall a *particular providence of God*, extending to the very thoughts, and a particular judgement after this life, rewarding every man according to that he hath done in the flesh, whether it be good or evill, and besides requires, a *reformation of the heart* & inward man, the fountaine and source of all outward actions & speeches; it is most evident, that howsoever our *lives* bee, yet our *rules* tend more to vertue and honesty then did those, either of the *Gentiles*, or of the *Iewes*; who although they were not all infected with the foule leprosie of the *Sadduces*, yet it is certaine, that these doctrines and rules were

Act. 23. 8.

not

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not in the law of *Moſes* and the *Prophets* ſo clearely delivered, as now they are by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* in the *Goſpell*; nay the *Law* it ſelfe permitted unto thē ſuch a divorce, though for the hardnes of their hearts, as is not now allowed. And though the Law allowed not *Poligamie*, yet in regard of their frequent practice, we have great reaſon to conceive, that they ſcarce held it to be a ſinne. And the *Phariſes*, though of all other ſects they pretended, and ſeemed to bee the moſt zealous & ſtrict obſervers of the *Law*; yet teaching others and themſelves practiſing, the obſervation thereof as they did, onely in regard of *outward conformity*, thereby perhaps made their Diſciples *formall Iuſticiaries*, but withall *damnable hypocrites*, boyling in malice, & luſt, & covetouſnes while they ſet a faire face on it, and made a goodly ſemblance of holines, piety, and devotion. And if it ſo fared with the *Iewes*, no marvell that the *Gentiles*, (their naturall inclination carrying them headlong to wickednes, and withall, their religion, their lawes, the doctrine and examples of their Teachers, being as ſo many provocations to draw them onward) proved ſuch indeed as the *Apoſtle* deſcribes them to be, in the firſt of the *Romanes*, *full of all unrighteouſneſſe, fornication, wickedneſſe, covetouſneſſe, malitiouſneſſe, full of envy, of murther, of debate, of deceit, taking all things in evill part, whiſperers, backbiters, haters of God, doers of wrong, proud, boaſters, inventours of evill things, diſobedient to Parents, without underſtanding, covenant breakers, without naturall affection, ſuch as never can be appeaſed, mercileſſe, which men though they know the Law of God, how that they which commit ſuch things are worthy of death, yet not only doe the ſame, but favour them that doe them.* And ſo I paſſe from the roote to the fruit, from the cauſes to the effects, from their *lawes* and *precepts* touching *manners*, to their *practiſe*, & *cuſtomes*, & *manners* themſelves. And heere I muſt freely profeſſe my ſelfe to accord with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Veneror antiquos, non ita tamen ut æquævorum meorum virtutes & merita poſtponam*: I have the Ancients in ſuch due reſpect and veneration as they deſerve, yet ſo as I would not willingly diſeſteeme or undervalue the vertues and merites of thoſe who have lived ſince, or now live in the ſame age with me. The *Ancients* I know well, had many great vertues, and we no leſſe vices, yet let no man be ſo unwiſe or unjuſt, to ſurmiſe that either the former ages were free from *notorious vices*, or the latter voide of ſingular vertues. And ſurely, he that ſhall reade *Bohemus* of the manners of the *Gentiles*, or the booke of *Iudges*, the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, the *Prophets*, & *Ioſephus* of the *manners* of the *Iewes*, will eaſily acknowledge the former: Whereunto wee may adde the teſtimony of *Cælius Secundus Curio*, a witty and learned man of this age, in his Epiſtle prefixed to his commentary upon *Iuvenall*, where hee tels us, that meeting with thoſe verſes of *Horace*.

Mat. 19. 8.

Mat. 5.

Lib. 3. Ep. 8.

Damnoſa quid non imminuit dies?
Ætas parentum pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitioſiorem.

Lib. 3. carm. Od. 6.

What doth not waſtfull time impaire?
Our Fathers worſe then Granſires are,

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Wee worse then they, our progenie
More vitious then our selves will be.

Hee began to doubt of the truth of them, and thereupon fell to a serious inquirie thereinto, & for his better proceeding in that search, made speciall choyce of two Authours, *Tacitus* and *Iuvenall*, the one held as unpartiall in *History* as the other in *Satyres*, to make report what they found in matter of *manners* in their times, and having thorowly consulted with them both, but chiefly with the latter; from them he makes this relation, *Quibus auditis*, saith he, *& nostri seculi cum illa facta contentione, deprehendi longè ab illa nostram ætatem vitijs, illam à nostra multis & magnis virtutibus superari*: Upon the hearing of them, and the comparing of this present age with that, I found that ours was much surpassed by that in vice, and that againe by ours in many and great vertues. Yet long before *Horace*, did *Aratus* in *Phænomenis* take up the same complaint.

Aurea degenerem pepererunt sæcula prolem,
Vos pejorem illis sobolem generabitis.---
Those golden sires a baser race begat:
Your race shall be yet more degenerate.

But *Hesiod* in his ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, is more advised and moderate, hoping, it seemes for better times then himselfe saw.

O utinam quinto hoc minimè mihi vivere sæclo,
Sed fas vel post nasci, aut ante perire fuisset.
Would God this fifth age I had never seene
But or had died before, or after beene.

For with *Ovid* I can scarce hope that any should accord and professe,

Prisca juvent alios, ego nunc me denique natum
Gratulor.
Let others like old times, but I am glad
That in this latter age my birth I had.

SECT. 2.

Touching the idle tale of the golden age, first forged by Poets, and since taken up by Historians.

THat which hath deceived many in this point, is that *idle tale* and *vaine fancie* forged by *Poets*, and taken up by some *Historians*, & beleeved by the *vulgar* of the *foure ages of the world*. The first of *gold*, the second of *silver*, the third of *brasse*, & the fourth of *yron*. Thus elegantly described by the wittiest of Poets.

Macrob. lib. 2. de somn Scip. c. 18. Fabius Pictor de aureo sæculo.

Ovid. Met.

Ætas ferrea enim adventu fa cta est aurea. Possevin. Bibl. select. l. 2. c. 26.

Aurea prima sata est ætas, quæ vindice nullo
Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat,
Pœna metusque aberant, nec vincla minantia collo
Æra ligabantur, nec supplex turba timebat
Iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine judice tuti, &c.
Postea Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso
Sub Iove mundus erat, subijtque argentea proles,

Auro

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Auro deterior fulvo, pretiosior ære, &c.
Tertia post illam successit ahenea proles,
Sævior ingenijs, & ad horrida promptior arma,
Non scelerata tamen. De duro est ultima ferro,
Protinus erupit venæ pejoris in ævum
Omne nefas, fugère pudor, verumque fidesque
In quorum subiere locum fraudesque, doliqué,
Insidiæque, & vis, & amor sceleratus habendi.

The golden age was first, which uncompell'd,
And without rule in faith and truth excell'd:
As then there was no punishment nor feare,
Nor threatning Lawes in brasse prescribed were,
Nor suppliant crouching prisoners shooke to see
Their angry Iudge, but all was safe and free, &c.
But after *Saturne* was throwne downe to Hell,
Jove rul'd, and then the silver age befell,
More base then gold, and yet then brasse more pure, &c.
Next unto this succeedes the brazen age,
Worse natur'd, prompt to horride warre and rage,
But yet not wicked stubborne. Yr'n the last,
Then blushlesse crimes which all degrees surpast
The world surround, shame, faith and truth depart,
Fraud enters, ignorant in no bad Art,
Force, treason, and the wicked love of gaine, &c.

And from hence it seemes was that of *Boetius* borrowed

Felix nimium prior ætas *Lib. 2. Metr. 5.*
Contenta fidelibus arvis.
Nec inerti perdita luxu,
Facili quæ sera solebat
Jejunia solvere glande,
Nec Bacchica munera norat
Liquido confundere melle,
Nec lucida vellera serum
Tyrio miscere veneno.
Tunc classica sæva tacebant,
Odijs neque fusus acerbis
Cruor horrida tinxerat arma.
Vtinam modo nostra redirent
In mores tempora priscos.

Thrice happy former age, well pleas'd
With faithfull fields, from riot free,
Whose hunger readily was eas'd
With akornes gathered from the tree,
They skill'd not with *Lyæus* juyce,
The liquid honey to compound,
Nor knew that twice the *Serian* fleece
In *Tyrian* die was to bee drown'd.
Alarmes of warre were silent then,

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And horrid armes all ſmear'd with blood
Through malice ſhed of cruell men
Were yet unſeene. O would to God
Theſe times ſo much degenerate
Might turne againe to th'ancient ſtate.

The *Satyriſt* alluding to this golden age, and the degenerating of the world by degrees from it, tells us, that even in his time the *Iron* age was and that nature it ſelfe could not finde out any kinde of mettall, for the height of villanie in all kindes, matchable thereunto:

Iuvenal. Sat. 13

Nunc ætas agitur, peioraque ſæcula ferri
Temporibus: quorum ſceleri non invenit ipſa
Nomen, & à nullo poſuit natura metallo.

And if humane affaires have ſtill ſince that time (as is pretended) growne worſe and worſe, ſurely at this preſent, the world ſhould bee much more to ſeeke of any mettall, anſwerable to the manners thereof. But that all this adoe about the golden age is but an empty rattle & *frivolous conceipt*, like *Apuleius* his tale of a *golden aſſe*, *Bodin* is ſo confident, that he breakes forth into this aſſertion, *Ætas illa quam auream vocant, ſi ad hanc noſtram conferatur, ferrea videri poſsit.* That which they call the *Golden age* being compared with ours, may well ſeeme but *iron*. And in truth hee may boldly affirme it, if that bee true which *Cicero* writes of: *Fuit quoddam tempus cùm in agris homines paſſim beſtiarum more vagabantur, & ſibi victu ferino vitam propagabant, nec ratione animi quicquam, ſed pleraque viribus corporis adminiſtrabant. Nondum divinæ religionis, non humani officij ratio colebatur, nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quiſquam inſpexerat liberos, non jus æquabile quid utilitatis haberet, acceperant.* Time was when men like beaſts wandered in the fields, and maintained their life by the food of beaſts, neither did they adminiſter their affaires by juſtice, but by bodily ſtrength: There was no heed given either to Religion or *Reaſon*, no man enjoyed lawfull marriage, nor with aſſurance beheld his owne iſſue, neither were they acquainted with the commodity which upright Lawes bring with them.

Method. Hiſt. c. 7.

Cicero de inventione Rhetor. l. 1

Iupit Sat. 3.

---Cum frigida parvas
Præberet Spelunca domos, ignemque Laremque
Et pecus & dominos communis clauderet umbra.

During this golden age, flouriſhed *Cameſis* and *Saturne*, and there is no doubt but by *Cameſis* is underſtood *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, & by *Saturne Nimrod*, whoſe ſon *Iupiter Belus* (famous for the depoſition of his father, inceſt with his ſiſter, and many other villaines) ſaw the laſt of this age. Now how vertuous theſe men and times were, appeares by the ſtory of *Moſes*. *Cham* like a moſt ungratious *childe* diſcovers and derides the nakedneſſe of his aged and worthy Father, and was therefore deſervedly accurſed to be a *ſervant of ſervants*. *Nimrod* grandchilde to *Cham*, as his name ſignifies, was a notorious Rebell, *Robuſtus venator coram Domino*, a great *Oppreſſour*, a Robber, as *Ariſtotle* numbers *robberie* among the ſeverall kindes of hunting: And beſides hee is thought to have beene the ring leader in that out-ragious attempt of building the *towre of Babel*. And ſuch kinde of men are thoſe *Gyants* ſuppoſed to have beene, who before

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before this are called *Mighty men, men of renowne*; In as much as *Moses* presently addes. *And God saw that the wickednesse of man was great in the earth*, and that *every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was onely evill continually: And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. Quibus verbis intelligit*, saith *Cassanion*, *tantas ea tempestate fuisse morum corruptelas, at omne vitiositatis, nequitiæque genus ubique regnaret. Cùm autem ex robore & potentia quâ isti pollebant, nominis celebritatem adepti sint, in eo animadvertere licet qualis fuerit prima mundi nobilitas æstimata, non quæ pietatis, justitiæ, aliusve cujusdam virtutis specie, & pulchritudine illustris appareret, sed quæ solius potentiæ, fortitudinisve titulo lese venditabat: Nam qui tum cæteris valentiores, robustioresque erant, & vim alijs audacter inferentes, nobiliores, præstantioresque censebantur. Unde fortassis illud invaluit, ut gentilitia quorundam insignia non nisi crudelium belluarum, rapaciumque ferarum & volucrium habeant imaginem.* By which words hee understands, that such and so great was the universall corruption of manners in those times, as all kinde of vice and wickednesse every-where raigned. And in that the men of that age are said to have gotten renowne by meanes of their exceeding great might, from thence wee may gather how the first Nobility of the world was valued, not such as was conspicuous by the beauty and lustre of piety, justice, or any other vertue, but such onely as gloried and contented it selfe with the title of strength & power. For those who then were more mighty and powerfull then others, and were thereby imboldned to oppresse others, were commonly held the most noble and worthy. And happily from hence it was that some families carry in their Scutchions the representation of wilde beasts or birds of prey. Which the Poet hath well expressed of these first times in termes not much different,

Gen. 6.4. V. 5, 6. *De Gigant.* 2. 1

...Sed & illa propago
Contemptrix superum, Sævaque avidissima cædis
Et violenta fuit.
That lawlesse race contemn'd the powers divine,
Swilling downe blood as greedily as wine.

Ovid met. 1.

Howsoever we are sure that upon this universall inundation of sin, followed the universall deluge of water, washing and cleansing the earth from that abominable filthinesse which had generally infected and polluted it. And as about this time sin was ripened, for in the very infancy of the world it grew up so fast, that the second man in the world wilfully murthered the third, being then his onely brother. And another of the same race soone after was the founder of *Polygamy*, and a while after it is added, *Then men began to call upon the name of the Lord*, as if till then they had not done it, at least-wise in publique assemblies. And in that *Enoch* not long after this, is said to have *walked with God*, *Junius* gives this note upon it, *id est, non est secutus malitiam sui seculi*, that is, hee followed not the wicked courses of the age wherein he lived, and therefore was hee *translated, lest wickednesse should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his minde. Hæc est illa aurea ætas quæ talia monstra nobis educavit*; This is forsooth that goodly golden age, which hath brought into the world and bred such foule monsters. Wee all make complaint of the iniquity of our

Gen. 4.8. Gen. 4. 26. Gen. 5. 22. Wisedome 4. 11. *Bodin, loco cit.*

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Eccleſ. pol. lib. 1. cap. 10. our times not unjuſtly, for the dayes are evill (ſaith learned *Hooker*) But compare them with thoſe times wherein therewere no civill ſocieties, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no manner of publique regiment eſtabliſhed, with thoſe wherein there were not above 8 perſons righteous living upon the face of the earth: and wee have ſurely good cauſe to thinke that God hath bleſſed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold moſt happy dayes.

Bib. ſel. 2 26. *Ætas ferrea domini adventu facta eſt aurea* (ſaith *Poſſevin* and truly) the *Iron* age by the Lords comming is become golden, whereunto thoſe verſes of *Virgill* may not unfitly bee applied, though by him perchance otherwiſe intended.

Eclog. 4.

Vltima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas,
Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo,
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
Jam nova progenies Cœlo demittitur alto.
Et paulo poſt,
Tu modo naſcenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Deſinet, & toto ſurget gens aurea mundo
Caſta fave Lucina.

History of the World *lib. 1. c. 9. Sect. 3.* And Sr *Walter Rawleigh* to a purpoſe not much unlike: if we underſtand by that age (which was called *Golden*) the ancient ſimplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name (ſayth hee) may then truly bee caſt upon thoſe elder times: but if it bee taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may bee attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted, for good and *golden* Kings make good and *golden* ages: and all times have brought forth of both ſorts. After this the world was peſtered with anumber of intollerable *Tyrants*, whom *Hercules* ſubdued, and yet was himſelfe accounted by many but a Captaine of *Pyrates*. And certaine it is, he was moſt foule, and yet I know not whether more foule, or ſtrong in matter of luſt, and both *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* (whom hee admitted into his ſociety) were of a ſtraine much alike. But becauſe theſe things happily may ſeene fabulous, let us liſten to *Thucydides*, one of the ancienteſt and trueſt fathers of *hiſtory*. Hee then hath left upon record, that a little before his time, in *Greece* it ſelfe ſo great was the wildneſſe & barbarouſnes thereof, that both by ſea and land, robberies were commonly practiſed, and that without any touch of diſgrace; it was uſually demanded of paſſengers, whether they were *Theeves* or *Pyrates*. And *Cæſar* in a manner reports the ſame of the *Germans*, *Latrocinia nullam habent apud Germanos infamiã quæ extra fines cujuſq; civitatis fiunt, atq; ea juvẽtutis exercenda atq; deſidiæ minuendæ cauſa fieri prædicant.* It is no diſcredit among the *Germans* to robbe, ſo it bee without the bounds of the cities, and this they allow for the exerciſe of their youth and the ſhunning of idleneſſe. But particulars are infinite, wherefore I will content my ſelfe with one *Nation*, and with a few *notorious vices* of that *Nation*. The *Nation* ſhall be that of the *ancient Romanes*, I meane before their receiving of *Chriſtianity*, becauſe they were commonly reputed the moſt civill and beſt diſciplined of the *whole world*. The *ſpeciall vices* I will inſtance in, ſhall be

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be their *cruelty*, their *covetousnesse*, their *luxury*, their *vaine-glory* and *ambition*; their *flattery* and *ingratitude*: and in these will I shew their wonderfull excesse beyond latter ages, concluding with a demonstration, that the most eminent and renowned vertues of the *Romanes*, as their *Iustice*, *wisdome* and *courage*, have likewise beene at least matched by some of latter ages, and that in some other vertues, as namely in *modesty* and *humility*, they have beene much exceeded.

CHAP. 4.

Of the excessive cruelty of the Romans towards the Iewes, the Christians, other Nations, one another and upon themselves.

SECT. 1.

Of the Romans cruelty towards the Iewes.

THE savage and barbarous inhumanity of the *Romans* appeares, partly in their cruell handling of the *Iewes* and *Christians*, and partly of other *Nations*: But chiefely in their *unnaturall dispositon* one towards another and upon themselves: First then for the *Iewes*, it is indeede true, that by putting to death the *Lord of life*, and crying alowd, *His blood be upon us and upon our children*, they wilfully drew upon themselves the *Divine vengeance* and that dreadfull threate: *Loe the dayes shall come when they shall say, happy are the barren and the wombes that have not borne children, and the paps that have not given sucke.* Yet were the *Romanes*, though greater enemies to *Christian Religion* then the *Iewes*, appointed by *divine providence*, as the Executioners of that vengeance, which they performed in a most unmercifull manner: and in regard of themselves; an undue and unjust measure. For to let passe all other bloody massacrees of them in diverse townes and cities thorow the *Romane Empire*, after the passion of our *Saviour*, and before the destruction of *Ierusalem*; surely their cruelty acted in the siedge of that city, recorded by *Iosephus*, was such as were able even to resolue an heart of steele into teares of bloud. It was on every side so strongly begirt, that the besieged by extremitie of famine, were forced to eate, not onely horses, asses, dogs, rats, and mice, and the leather that covered their shields and bucklers, but also the very dung out of their stables; yea and a Noble woman was knowne to eate her owne child that suckt upon her breast, wherein no doubt was fullfilled the prophesie of our Saviour, *happy are the barren*. Such as were taken by the *Romanes*, were by the commandement of *Titus*, crucified before the wals of the city, to the number of five hundred every day, untill at length (as *Iosephus* reporteth) *there wanted both crosses for the bodyes and places for the crosses*. Also great numbers of them, who being forced with famine, sought to save their lives, by yeelding themselves to their enemies, were nevertheless killed by the mercileese souldiers, & their bowels ripped up, in hope to finde gold therein, upon a report, or at least a conceite, that the *Iewes* did swallow their gold

De bello Iudaico. l. 6, & 7.

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gold to convey it out of the citty by that meanes. Finally, the number of those which were slaine and died during the siege, was, as witnesseth *Iosephus*, *a million and an hundred thousand*, and of the *Captives* nine hundred and seaventy thousand, whereof *Iosepus* himselfe was one, and of those, some were condemned to the publique workes, others of the stronger and handsomer sort carried in triumph, & such as were under the age of seventeene yeares, were sold for little or nothing, and those which remained in their countrey, were loaden with such grievous impositions and tributes, that they lived in a continuall misery and slavery worse then death. Yet the cruelty of the *Romans* towards these miserable *Jewes* ceased not here, but in the next age, in the time of *Traiane* the *Emperour*, within lesse then fifty yeares after the subversion of *Ierusalem*, *infinita eorum millia*, saith *Eusebius*, infinite thousands of them were killed in *Egypt*, and *Mesopotamia*, in *Macedonia* they were utterly extinguished, and in *Cyprus* they were all either put to the sword or banished; and a law made, that it should be death for any *Iewe* to arrive there, though he were driven thither by tempest against his will. And in a few yeares after *Iulius Severus*, being called out of *Brittaine* by the *Emperour Adrian*, and sent into *Iudea*, destroyed almost all the countrey. For as *Dion* writeth, hee dismantled fifty strong forts, and razed or burnt nine hundred eighty five townes or villages, and killed above fifty thousand *Iewes* in battle, besides an infinite number of others that dyed either by fire, famine, or pestilence, or were sold for slaves. Shortly after *Adrians* time, they were also miserably afflicted by the *Emperour Antoninus Pius*, and after him by *Marcus Aurelius*, and againe some yeares after that by the *Emperour Severus*, who renewed the decrees of *Adrian* for their exclusion from the sight of their countrey, and triumphed for his great victories against them. Now though it be true, that the wickednesse of the *Iewish* Nation was such, as they well deserved to bee thus severely punished, yet cannot the *Romans* bee excused from unreasonable cruelty in dealing thus unmercifully with them, as if they had beene beasts rather then men.

Lib.7.c.17.

Lib.4.c.2.

SECT. 2.

Their cruelty towards the Christians, first in regard of the insatiable malice of their persecutors.

THeir dealing with the *Christians*, (whom they likewise named *Iewes*, because our *Saviours Apostles* and first Disciples, were all of that nation) was yet more mercilesse, because more unjust; They pretended the frequent rebellions of the *Iewes*, to be the reason of their great severity towards them: but the *Christians* they deadly hated and most cruelly persecuted onely for their religion, whereas they suffered all religions save the *Christian*, to be quietly exercised thorow their dominions. *Nomen in nobis tantummodo damnatur non aliquod crimen*, sayth *Tertullian*, it is the name onely that is condemned in us, not any crime: which was indeed verified by the example of *Attalus* the martyr, who being

Tacitus Annal. 15.10.

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being led about the Amphitheater at *Lions*, there was carried before him a table with this inscription *Hic est Attalus Christianus*, this is *Attalus* the Christian: and *Polycarpus* being brought forth to suffer in *Asia*, the cryer by command from the governour proclaimed: *Polycarpus se Christianum esse confessus est*, *Polycarpus* hath confessed himselfe to bee a Christian. Now the custome of those times was (as *Franciscus Balduinus* in his booke *de Edictis contra Christianos* hath well observed) to make knowne to the people the cause why any man was condemned, either by the voice of the cryer, or in the table which was carried before the condemned person, from whence it clearely appeares, that the *Christians* indeed suffered at the hands of the *Romans* for none other cause, but because they were *Christians*. *Euseb. 4. 15.* *Lib. 4. cap. 7.*

Now their cruelty towards the poore *Christians* appeared in the *insatiable malice of their persecutors, the incredible number of those that suffered as Martyrs or Confessors, and the exquisite variety of their tortures.* S. *Augustine* and his scholler *Orosius* compare the *tenne persecutions* of the *Primitive Christians*, (which as so many raging waves came tumbling one upon the necke of another, to the *tenne plagues* of *Egypt*; the first of which was under *Nero*, whose cruelty or luxurie was of the two more monstrous & unnaturall, cannot easily be determined. He caused *Rome* to be set on fire, that hee might the better conceive the flames of *Troy*, singing unto it *Homers* verses. His father and brother he poysoned, murthered his master, wife, & mother, taking an exact view of her dead bodie, commending the proportion of some parts & discommending others. Besides, hee made away whosoever was valiant or vertuous in Senate, in city, in Province without any difference of sexe or age. No marvell then that, being of a disposition so bloody, he fell as a bitter storme upon the *Christians*, and his cruelty be by S. *Paul* compared to the *mouth* of a *Lyon*. Nay by reason of that violent persecution; which under him the *Christians* endured; hee was, as witnesseth S. *Augustine* commonly reputed *Anti-Christ*: but certaine it is, that *Rome* being by his command set on fire, he falsely accused and punished most greevously the innocent *Christians* for it. The second persecution was under *Domitian*, whom *Tertullian* calls *Neronis portionem*, *Eusebius*, *haeredem*, the one, a part, the other the heire of *Nero*. And *Tacitus* puts onely this difference betweene them, that *Nero* indeed commanded cruell murthers, but *Domitian* not onely commanded them, but beheld them himselfe. What the world was to expect from him, appeared in his very entrance to the *Empire*, retyring himselfe every day into a private closet, where he passed his time in killing of flies with a sharpe bodkin, insomuch that one demanding, who was within with the *Emperour*; *Vibius Crispus* made answer, *ne musca quidem*, not so much as a flye: But from the blood of flies hee proceeded on to the shedding of the blood of men, so farre, and in so fierce a manner, *De Civ. Dei lib. 18. c. 52.* *Sueton. c. 37.* *2. Tim. 4. 17.* *De Civit. Dei, l. 20. c. 19.* *Tac. Annal.* *In vita Iuliæ Agricolæ.* *Sueton. c. 3.*

---Vt timeas ne
Vomer deficiat, ne marra & sarcula desint.
Well might yee doubt
Least culters, mattockes, spades, yee soone should be without. *Iuvenal. Satyr. 3.*

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The Authour of the laſt and moſt grievous *perſecution*, was *Diocletian*,
Lib. 5. c. 11. whoſe raging cruelty towards the *Chriſtians*, *Lactantius* ſets forth in lively colours. *Nemo hujus tantæ belluæ immanitatem poteſt pro merito deſcribere, quæ uno loco recubans, tamen per totum orbem dentibus ferreis ſævit, & non tantum artus hominum diſſipat, ſed & oſſa ipſa comminuit, & in cineres furit, ne quis extet ſepulturæ locus. Quænam illa feritas, quæ rabies, quæ inſania eſt, lucem vivis, terram mortuis denegaſſe?* No man can ſufficiently deſcribe the cruelty of this ſo unreaſonable a beaſt, which lying in one place, yet rageth with his iron teeth thorow the world, and doth not only ſcatter the members, but breake the bones of men; yea ſhewes his fury upon their very aſhes, leaſt there ſhould be found any place for their buriall: what rage what madneſſe, what barbarous cruelty is this, to deny both the light to the living, and the earth to the dead? Where
Daniel. 7.7. *Lactantius* ſeemes to allude to that fourth nameleſſe beaſt of *Daniell*, which was *fearefull and terrible, and very ſtrong, it had great yron teeth, it devoured, and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue under his feete.* And though I have inſtanced onely in theſe three, yet it is certaine, that the Authours and Inſtruments of theſe perſecutions were all of a diſpoſition much a like: Of whom the ſame *Lactantius* affirmes, that they have borrowed the ſhapes of beaſts, and yet were more cruell then they, pleaſing themſelves in this, that they were borne men, and yet had they nothing but the outward figure and lineaments of men. For what
Lib. 5. c. 11. *Caucaſus*, what *India*, what *Hircania*, ſaith he, ever bred or brought forth ſo cruell and bloody beaſts? the rage of other beaſts ceaſeth when their appetite is ſatisfied, & their hunger being ſlaked, they grew more mild & tame, but the rage of theſe never ceaſeth, their appetite is never ſatiated with blood; the truth whereof will eaſily appeare, if in the ſecond place we doe but caſt our eyes upon the infinite multitude of innocent Chriſtians that every where ſuffered death, and for none other cauſe, but only the profeſſion of their religion.

SECT. 3.

Secondly, in regard of the incredible number of thoſe that ſuffered.

Sacr. Hiſtor. l. 2. *Homilia 27. in* *Evangelia.* OMnis ferè ſacro Martyrum cruore orbis infectus eſt, neq; ullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhauſtus eſt, ſaith *Sulpitius*: well nigh the whole world is ſtayned with the blood of the Martyrs; neither was it ever in the like ſort emptied by any warres. And *Gregory* the *Great* almoſt in the ſame words, *Totum mundũ fratres aſpicite, Martyribus plenus eſt, jam penè tot qui videamus non ſumus, quot veritatis teſtes habemus: Deo ergo numerabiles, nobis ſuper arenam multiplicati ſunt, quia quanti ſunt à nobis comprehendi non poſſunt.* Brethren, looke abroad upon the whole world, it is filled with Martyrs, wee are hardly ſo many in number to behold them, as wee have witneſſes of the truth, who have ſealed it with their blood: In regard of God they are numerable, but in regard of us they are multiplied above the ſand of the ſea ſhore, in as much as wee cannot comprehend their number. And happily thoſe latter words of *Gregorie* had

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had reference to that of *Cyprian*, himselfe a glorious *Martyr*, in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*. *Exuberante postmodum copia virtutis & fidei numerari non possunt Martyres Christiani, teste Apocalypsi & dicente, post hæc vidi*, &c. The strength of courage and faith afterwards increasing, the Christian Martyrs could not bee numbred, according to that testimony in the *Apocalyps*. *After these things I beheld, and lo a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations, & kinreds, and people, & tongues, stood before the Throne & before the Lambe, cloathed with long white robes, and palmes in their hands:* Whereunto might bee added, that other *Propheticall* passage of the same booke; *The winepresse was troden without the citty, and blood came out of the wine-presse unto the horse bridles by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs*. Which *Propheſie* we may well conceive to have beene accomplished to the full, when the very axes, and swords of the Executioners were blunted with executions, & themselves were forced to give over and sit downe, being utterly wearied therewith, when theday fayling, the bodies of the executed, were burnt in the night, to give light to passengers, and thirty three *Romane* Bishops succeſſively from S. *Peter* to *Sylvester*, were all martyred; when hundreds, thousands, yea ten or twenty thousand were slaughtered at once: Lastly, when by the testimony of S. *Hierome* in his *Epistle* to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, (if it be his) there was not a day in the yeare to which above five thousand might not justly be assigned, the *Kalends* of *January* onely excepted.

Apocal. 7. 9.

Cap. 14. 20.

Tac. Annal. 15. 10.

Funditur ater ubique cruor, crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique Pavor & plurima mortis imago.

Lactantius, 5. 1.

Piteous lamenting, dreadfull feare, and blood-shed every where,
And many a ghastly shape of death did every where appeare.

In una Ægypto (quantula Romani imperij particula?) si Domino Ignatio Patriarchæ Antiocheno apud Scaligerum fides, mactata sunt centena & quadraginta quatuor hominum millia; Septingenta autem in exilium acta; unde Æra Diocletiana apud Ægyptios nomen invenerit, ut hodieque Æra Martyrum nuncuparetur. In Ægypt alone, but a small portion of the *Roman Empire* in comparison, if wee may beleeve *Ignatius Patriarch* of *Antioch*, as *Scaliger* reports it, there were massacred one hundred forty foure thousand men; and seven hundred thousand sent into banishment; from whence the *Æra* of *Diocletian* had his name among the *Ægyptians*, and at this day is called *Æra Martyrum*, that, is their computation of yeares from the time of the *Martyrs*.

De emendatione temporum. l. 5. de 10 Anno Dioclet:

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SECT. 4.

Thirdly in regard of the various and diveliſh meanes and inſtruments which they deviſed, and practiſed for the execution or torture of the poore Chriſtians.

Now though the *Romane cruelty* ſufficiently appeare in the malice of the principall perſecutors of the *Chriſtians*, & the infinite number of *Martyrs* that ſuffered, yet doubtleſſe the various and diveliſh meanes and *inſtruments*, which they deviſed and practiſed for their diſpatch or torture doth more evidently prove it. *Quæ autem per totum orbem ſinguli geſſerint, enarrare impoſſibile eſt; Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita tam varia genera crudelitatis?* ſaith *Lactantius*. Lib. 5. c. 11. Thoſe things which in this kinde thorow the world were every where acted, to recount were impoſſible. For what number of volumes can containe ſo infinite and diverſe kindes of cruelty? And againe, *dici non poteſt hujuſmodi judices quanta & quam gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint, ut ad effectum propoſiti ſui pervenirent.* It cannot bee expreſſed how many and how grievous kindes of torments thoſe Iudges deviſed, that they might obtaine the end of their purpoſe. And *Gregory* to like purpoſe, *Quæ pœnarum genera novimus quæ non tum vires Martyrum exercuiſſe gaudemus?* Moral. 31. 12. What kinde of puniſhment can wee conceive which wee rejoyce not then to have exerciſed the ſtrength of the Martyrs? They were burned in furnaces, they were put into veſſels of boyling oyle, they were pricked under the nales with ſharpe needles, their breaſts were ſeared, their eyes bored, their tongues cut out, they were roſted at a ſoft fire with vineger and ſalt powred upon them, they were throwne headlong downe the mountaines & rockes upon ſharpe ſtakes, their braines were beaten out with malles, their bodies were ſcraped with ſharpe ſhells and the talents of wild beaſts, they were fryed in iron chaires, and upon grid-irons, their entrals were torne out and caſt before their faces, they were crucified with their heads downeward, they were hanged by the middles, by the haire, by the feete, their bones were broken with bats, they were torne aſunder with the boughs of trees, and drawne in pieces with wilde horſes, they were toſſed upon buls hornes, and throwne to Libards and Lyons, they were covered under hogſ-meate, and ſo caſt to ſwine, they were ſtabbed with penknifes, they were dragged thorow the ſtreets, they were fleyd a live, they were covered in the skins of wild beaſts and torne in peeces with dogges, as witneſſeth *Tacitus*, Annal. 15. 10. they were ſet to combate with wild beaſts, as witneſſeth the *Apoſtle* of himſelfe, 1. Cor. 15. 32.

Non mihi ſi centum linguæ ſint, oraque centum
Ferrea vox, omnes ſcelerum comprêndere formas,
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina poſſem. Virg. Æn. l. 6.

An hundred tongues, an hundred mouths, an yron voice had I,
I could not all thoſe torments name, nor villany diſcry.

SECT. 5.

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SECT. 5.

Of their extreame cruelty towards others, their very Religion leading them thereunto, as witnesseth, Lactantius.

AND lest wee should thinke that this cruelty of the *Romans* towards the *Iewes* and *Christians* was onely in regard of their Religion, their owne Histories informe us of the like upon *other Nations*, nay their owne very Religion was (it seemes) their strongest motive and greatest inducement to cruelty: *Nec ullam aliam ad immortalitatem viam arbitrantur, quam exercitus ducere, aliena vastare, delere urbes, oppida exscindere, liberos populos aut trucidare, aut subjicere servituti*, saith *Lactantius*, They conceive there is no other way to immortality but by leading Armies, laying waste other mens Dominions, razing cities, sacking townes, rooting out or bringing under the yoke of slavery free-borne people. *Si quis unum hominem jugulaverit, pro contaminato & nefario habetur, nec ad terrenum hoc domicilium Deorum admitti eum fas putant, ille autem qui infinita hominum millia trucidaverit, cruore campos inundaverit, flumina infecerit, non modò in templum, sed etiam in cœlum admittitur; apud* Ennium *sic loquitur* Africanus; *Lib. 1, c. 18.*

Si fas cadendo cœlestia scandere cuiquam est,
Mi soli cœli maxima porta patet.

Scilicet quia magnam partem generis humani extinxit ac perdidit. O quantis in tenebris Africane *versatus es, vel potius ô Poeta, qui per cædes & sanguinem patere hominibus ascensum in cœlum putaveris! Cui vanitati &* Cicero *assensit; Est vero inquit* Africane, *nam &* Herculi *eadem ipsa porta patuit, tanquam ipse planè cum id fieret, janitor fuerit in cœlo. Equidem statuere non possum dolendumne an ridendum putem, cum videam & graves & doctos, & (ut sibi videntur) sapientes viros in tam miserandis errorum fluctibus voluta-ri. Si hæc est virtus quæ nos immortales facit, mori equidem malim quàm exitio esse quamplurimis.* If a man kill but one hee is held for a villaine, neither is it thought fit to admit him to the houses of the Gods here upon earth, but he who murthers infinite thousands, waters the fields, and dyes the rivers with blood, is not onely admitted into the Temple, but into Heaven; Thus in *Ennius* speakes *Africanus*.

If man by murdering may climbe Heaven, assuredly,
The widest gate of Heaven is open laid for me.

Forsooth, because hee had extinguished and made away a great part of mankinde. O with how great darkenesse art thou compassed *Africanus*, or rather thou Poet, who thoughtest that by slaughter and blood an entrance was opened for men into Heaven! yet to this vanity even *Cicero* himselfe assents; It is even so *Africanus*, saith hee, for the same gate was open unto *Hercules*; as if himselfe had then beene a Porter in Heaven when that was done. Truly I cannot well determine whether I should rather grieve or laugh when I see grave and learned, and (as to themselves it seemes) wise men, so miserably tossed up & downe in the waves of Errour: if this be the vertue which makes us immortall; for

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mine owne part I profeſſe I had rather die, then bee the death of ſo many. Yet had this doctrine (as it ſeemes) generally taken ſuch deepe roote in the mindes of the *Romans*, that hee who ſhed moſt bloud was held the worthieſt and the holieſt man, that is, moſt like the *Gods*, and fitteſt for their habitation, which is the chiefe reaſon, as I conceive, that wee reade of ſuch wonderfull ſlaughters committed by them, even to the aſtoniſhment of ſuch as have beene acquainted but with the Principles of *Chriſtian Religion*. Within the ſpace of ſeaventeene yeares, their warres onely in *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *Sicily*, conſumed above fifteene hundred thouſand men, *Quæſivi enim curiosè*, ſaith *Lypſius*, I have diligently ſearched into it. One *Caius Cæſar*, *ô peſtem, perniciemque generis humani!* O plague and miſchiefe of mankinde! profeſſeth of himſelfe, and boaſteth in it, that he had ſlaine in the wars eleven hundred ninety two thouſand, yet ſo as the ſlaughter of his Civill warres came not into that account, but onely during his commaund a few yeares in *Spaine* and *France*. *Quintus Fabius* ſlew of the *French* one hundred & ten thouſand. *Caius Marius* of the *Cimbri* two hundred thouſand. *Ætius* one hundred ſixty two thouſand of the *Hunnes*. *Polybius* writeth that *Scipio* at the taking of *Carthage*, gave charge, that all ſhould be put to the ſword without ſparing any; And then addes, that this was a common faſhion of the *Romans*, *Videntur enim*, ſaith he, *terroris gratia hoc illi facere, itaque frequenter videre eſt quando Romani civitates capiunt, non homines modò occidi, ſed canes etiam diſſecari, & aliorum animalium membra truncari.* It ſeemes they did it to terrifie others, and therefore it hath beene often ſeene that the *Romans* upon the taking of the Citie, not onely ſlew the men, but alſo cut in ſunder the dogges, and mangled other living Creatures. *Servius Galba* at his being in *Spaine* having aſſembled the Inhabitants of three Cities under the pretence of conſulting with them about their welfare, on a ſudden ſlew ſeaven thouſand of them, among whom were the very flower of their youth. Likewiſe *Licinius Lucullus* Conſull in the ſame Countrey, put to the ſword twenty thouſand of the *Caucæi*, by the hands of his ſouldiers ſent into the Citie againſt the expreſſe covenants of their rendring. *Octavianus Auguſtus* having taken *Peruſia*, ſacrificed 300 of the principall Townſ-men, which yeelded themſelves (as it had beene beaſts) before an Altar erected to *Divus Iulius*. *Antoninus Caracalla* being incenſed againſt the citizens of *Alexandria* for ſome petty jeaſts broken upon him, entring into the Citie in a peaceable manner, & calling before him all their youth, he ſurrounded them with armed men, who at the ſigne given, fell inſtantly upon them, and ſlew every mothers ſon of them, & then uſing the like cruelty upon the reſidue of the Inhabitants, hee utterly emptied a ſpacious and populous Citie. *Voleſus Meſſalla* Proconſull of *Aſia*, tooke off with the axe the heads of three hundred in one day, and then walking in and out among the dead bodies with his hands behind him, as if hee had performed ſome noble act, hee cryes out, *ô rem verè regiam!* an exploit worthy a Prince! But mee thinkes that of *Sulpitius Galba* exceedes them all, who entring into *Portugall* in an hoſtile manner, laid waſte the Countrey, the Inhabitants wondring thereat, and not knowing the reaſon, neither being

De Conſt. lib. 2. cap. 22.

Valerius, l. 9. c. 6 Paul. Diac. l. 4. cap 9.

Appianus in Ibericis.

Suetonius. c. 15.

Xiphilinus & Herodianus.

Seneca. de Ira. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Lipſij admiranda. l. 4. c. 6.

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being guilty to themselves of any offence, they send Ambassadours to renew their former league, he entertaineth them and seemes to take pity on them that they were thus afflicted, but it may bee, saith he, it was your wants that caused you to make some spoyles and shew of warre, I will remedy the matter, I will range you into three parts, and will seat you in a good and fat soyle where you may lead the rest of your life more happily and securely: Come with your wives and children into such a valley, and there will I assigne you your portions. They miserable people come on joyfully, being ranged into three bands; to the first of which when he came he bids them lay aside their weapons, as being now friends and fellowes, which being laid aside, hee sets his souldiers upon them, and kills them all upon the place, in vaine calling upon the *Gods* and his faith given them. The same course hee tooke with the second and third band, before the report of the first bloudy act could come unto them.

Neither did their cruelty extend onely to *men*, but to *townes & cities*. *Sempronius Gracchus*, if we may credit *Polybius*, razing and laying waste three hundred towns in *Spaine*. *Nec habet omne aevum opinor quod adstruat his exemplis praeter nostrum, sed in orbe alio*, saith *Lypsius*. I suppose no age can afford examples matchable to these, except ours, but that in another World, where he instances in the *Spanish* cruelties upon the naked *Indians*. It is true indeed that *Theodosius* a *Christian Emperour* for a small matter in comparison, caused seaven thousand Innocents of *Thessalonica*, being called together into the *Theater*, as for the beholding of some playes, to be slaine by souldiers upon the place, and though hee might well for the present purpose bee numbred among the ancient *Romane Emperours*, yet as a *Christian* I rather chose to excuse him, and that justly, in as much as being admonished by S. *Ambrose*, he heartily repented of that bloudy fact: and thereupon at the instance of that worthy *Prelate* made a Law that frō thenceforth thirty dayes should passe betwixt the sentence of death and the execution thereof, in as much as the guilty, though spared for a time, might notwithstanding afterwards be executed; but the guiltlesse being once executed, could never againe be restored. *Paul. Diacon. hist. misc. l. 13. c. 4.*

SECT. 6.

Of their cruelty one towards another by the testimony of Tacitus *and* Seneca, *and first in their civill warres.*

NOw that which yet much more aggravates the *Roman* cruelty is this, that they were not onely thus hard-hearted towards strangers, but *without naturall affection, implacable, mercilesse*, one towards another, as appeareth partly in their *factions* and *civill warres*, partly in the *tyranny of their Emperours & inferiour Governours*, & partly in their *bloudy games* and *pastimes*. What a miserable complaint is that which is made by *Tacitus*? *Legimus cum Arulena Rustico Petus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, nec in* Rom. 1. 30.

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ipsos modo Authores, sed in libros eorum sævitum, delegato Triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur, scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, & libertatem Senatus, & conscientiam generis humani abolere arbitrabantur. Expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, & omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profectò grande patientiæ documentum, & sicut vetus Respub. videt quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute: adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi, audiendique commercio, memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in potestate nostra esset oblivisci quàm tacere. We read that when *Petus Thrasea* was praised by *Arulenus Rusticus*, and *Priscus Helvidius* by *Herennius Senecio*, it was made a capitall crime; neither did their rage extend onely to the Authours, but to their bookes. Commaund being given from the *Triumviri*, that the monuments of those rare wits should be burnt in the pleading and market places. Forsooth in that flame they made account at one blaze, to extinguish the voyce of the people of *Rome*, and the liberty of the *Senate*, and the conscience of mankinde. Besides the Professours of wisedome & all ingenuous arts were banished, that nothing carrying the face of honesty might any where appeare. Then did we shew a singular example of Patience, and as former ages saw the utmost of liberty, so we of servitude. Moreover the mutuall commerce of speaking and hearing being by inquisition abridged, wee had surely lost our memory together with our voyce, had it beene as well in our power to forget, as to be silent. Yet more pittifull is that sad complaint of *Seneca* touching his time: *Adeo in publicum missa nequitia est; & in omnium pectoribus evaluit, ut innocentia non rara sed nulla sit. Numquid enim singuli, aut pauci rupêre fidem? undique velut signo dato ad fasque nefasque miscendum coorti sunt.*

De Ira. l. 2. c. 8.

---Non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non socer à genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara est:
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita Novercæ,
Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti,
Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.

Sed quota pars ista scelerum est? Wickednesse is become so common, and hath taken in all breasts such deepe rooting, that innocencie is not only rare, but no where to be found: Neither have single persons, or some few onely transgressed the Law, but as it were at the giving of a signe, men are on all sides every where risen up to the blending, and confounding of right and wrong.

---The host his guest betrayes,
Sonnes father in lawes, 'twixt brethren love decayes,
Wives husbands, husbands wives attempt to kill,
And cruell step-mothers pale poysons fill,
The sonne his fathers hasty death desires.

And yet how small a part is this of the present villanies?

But the *Civill warres* was it which chiefly discovered the bloudy and vindictive disposition of this *Nation*. Before which, as testifieth Saint *Augustine*, their dogges, their horses, their asses, their oxen, and all such beasts as lived under the service and for the use of men, of tame became

De Civit. Dei. l. 3. cap. 23.

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so wilde, that they forsooke their mansions & masters, & got them into mountaines and woods, not without the danger of such as offered to reduce them to their former condition. And surely this wildnesse of the beasts served as a fore-runner of that fiercenesse and inhumanity, which afterwards appeared in their Masters. The sedition of the *Gracchi* being appeased, *Lucius Opimius* Consull executed 3000, as being guilty of that conspiracie by judiciall processe, *ex quo intelligi debet,* saith *Augustine, quantam multitudinem mortuorum habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum, quando tantam habuit judiciorum velut examinata cognitio.* From whence we may probably gather what multitudes died in the confused conflict of Armies, since so great a number was made away by a legall tryall. But *Sylla* was hee, who under pretence of chastising the outrages of *Marius*, filled the Citie with bloud. *Illo bello Mariano atque Syllano, exceptis his qui foris in Asia ceciderunt, in ipsa quoque urbe cadaveribus vici, platea, fora, theatra, templa completa sunt, ut difficilè judicaretur quando victores plus funerum ediderunt, utrum prius ut vincerent, an postea quia vicissent.* In the warres of *Marius* and *Sylla*, besides those which were slaine in the fields abroad, in the citie it selfe, their streets, their market places, their theaters, their temples were all strewed over with carkases, so as it was hard to judge when the Conquerours slaughtered more, either first that they might conquer, or afterwards having conquered. *Sylla* alone, *quem neque laudare, neque vituperare quisquam satis digne potest, quia dum quærit victorias Scipionem se populo Romano, dum exercet, Hannibalem repræsentavit,* whom no man can sufficiently either commend, or dispraise, for that in pursuing his victories hee shewed himselfe as another *Scipio* to the *Roman* state, in making use of them another *Hannibal*: hee alone I say, by his infamous proscription, bereaved the Citie of foure thousand & seaven hundred Citizens, whose names he commanded to be registred in the publique Records, *videlicet ne memoria tam præclara rei diluceretur,* forsooth least the memory of so notable a fact should bee extinguished; neither were they of the baser ranke of the people, there being among them no lesse thē one hundred & forty Senatours, besides infinite slaughters committed either by his command or permission; neither did hee thus rage against those onely who bore Armes against him, but to the number of the proscribed he added the most peaceable Citizens if they were rich, he also drew out his sword against women, as not being satisfied with the slaughter of men; *Id quoque inexplebilis feritatis indicium est,* saith *Valerius*, that was likewise a signe of most unsatiable cruelty, that hee commanded the heads of such as he had slaughtered to be cut off and brought into his presence, though retaining neither life nor visage, *ut oculis illa, quæ ore nefas erat manderet,* that he might feed upon them with his eyes, because with his mouth he could not: the eyes of *Marius* he plucked out before he deprived him of life, & then brake in peeces all the parts of his body: & *Marcus Pleterius,* because he fell into a sound at the sight of that execution, he cōmanded presently to be slain upon the place, *novus punitor misericordiæ, apud quem iniquo animo scelus intueri, scelus admittere fuit,* a rare punisher of mercy, with whom unwillingly to behold a wicked act, was to commit wickednesse;

Cap. 24.

Cap. 27.

Valerius, lib. 9. cap. 2.

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kedneſſe; but perchance though he thus tyrannized upon the living, he ſpared the dead: no ſuch matter, for digging up the aſhes of *C. Marius*, who was ſometimes *Queſtor*, though afterward his enemy, hee threw them into the river *Anien*, *En quibus actis fœlicitatis nomen ſibi aſſerendum putavit!* Behold with what goodly acts hee purchaſed to himſelfe the name of happineſſe! *Vix mihi veriſimilia narrare videor*, I ſcarce ſeeme to my ſelfe to report likelyhoods, ſaith *Valerius*: And S. *Auguſtine* tells us, that ſome counſelled him (which counſell *Florus* ſcribes to *Furfidius*) *ſinendos eſſe aliquos vivere, ut eſſent quibus poſſit imperare*: that hee ſhould doe well to ſuffer ſome to live, leaſt there ſhould be none whom hee might command. And from *Quintus Catulus* he deſervedly wreſted that bitter ſpeech, *Cum quibus tandem victuri ſumus, ſi in bello armatos, in pace inermes occidimus?* with what forces are we likely to vanquiſh our owne enemies, if we thus kill our owne men, both armed in warre, and unarmed in peace? And from *Lucan* it drew thoſe excellent verſes,

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 3. c. 28.
Florus l. 3. c. 21.
Lib. 2.

Sylla quoque immenſis acceſſit cladibus ultor,
Ille quod exiguum reſtabat ſanguinis urbi
Hauſit, dumque nimis jam putrida membra recidit,
Exceſſit medicina modum, nimiumque ſecuta eſt
Quâ morbi duxêre manus.

After theſe barbarous butcheries revengefull *Sylla* came,
The little bloud that yet remain'd in *Rome*, he ſpilt the ſame;
And whil'ſt he off the rotten parts doth cut, the remedie
Due meaſure too much doth exceed, his hands the maladie
Purſue too farre.

And that herein hee delivered no more then truth, or rather indeed came ſhort of it, may ſufficiently appeare by this one bloudy act; *Sylla* having upon his credit received to favour *foure Legions* (which make up twenty foure thouſand) of the adverſe part, hee cauſed them notwithſtanding in publique to be cut in peeces, calling in vaine for mercy at his treacherous hand. And when the Senate hearing their groanes and ſcritches, ſtood amazed at it; the ſatisfaction he gives them, was none other then this. *Hoc agamus Patres-conſcripti, pauculi ſeditioſi juſſu meo puniuntur*: My Lords let's to the buſineſſe, as for the tumult you heare, it is onely a few mutinous ſouldiers are puniſhed at my command. Upon which *Lypſius* gives this juſt cenſure: *Neſcio quid magis hîc mirer, hominem id facere potuiſſe an dicere*: I know not whether of the two I ſhould more wonder at, that a man could either ſo doe, or ſo ſpeake. Yet me ſeemes we need not much wonder at it, ſince the Senatours themſelves were drawne out of the Senate-houſe, as it had beene a priſon to execution. Nay *Mutius Scevola*, being both a *Prieſt* and a *Senatour*, was ſlaine imbracing the very Altar in the temple of *Veſta*, then which nothing among the *Romans* was held more ſacred, & was like to have quenched with his bloud that fire, which was alwayes kept burning by the care of *Virgins*: *Quæ rabies exterarum gentium, quæ ſævitia barbarorum, huic de civibus victoria civium comparari poſſit?* ſaith S. *Auguſtine*: What rage of forraine nations, what cruelty of barbarians was ever comparable to this

Valerius lib. 9.
De Civit. Dei l. 3. c. 29.

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this victory of fellow Citizens upon each other? Yet was the fire of these broyles scarce quenched before the flames burst out afresh in the civill warres, betwixt *Sertorius* and *Catiline*, *Lepidus* & *Catulus*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; of which *Lucan*.

Lib. 1.

---Alta sedent civilis vulnera dextræ:
Heu quantum terræ potuit pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextræ!
Deepe sticke the wounds which civill armes have made:
What lands, what seas might have beene purchased,
Even with that bloud which civill warres have shed?

And againe,

---Desuntque manus poscentibus arvis:
They wanted hands
For tillage of their lands.

And in another place,

---Generis quo turba reducta est
Humani?
Hard it was to finde
What was become of mankinde.

Yet after all this, againe upon the death of *Cæsar* in the *Senate*, the *Triumviri*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, under the pretence of revenging his death and reforming his state, like the true schollers of *Sylla*, ordained the like *proscription* as hee had done, proscribing at once the heads of three hundred *Senatours*, and two thousand *Roman Knights*: Reade *Aptian*, and in him a most lively description of the *incredible cruelty* of those times, some making themselves away, some flying, some hiding themselves in wells and draughts; servants, and wives, and children, hanging and howling about their masters, and husbands, and parents, but not able to helpe them: *Heu scelera, quibus nihil acerbius Sol ille vidit visurusque est ab ortu omnia ad occasum! peream ego nisi humanitatem ipsam perijsse dicas fero & ferino illo ævo*, they bee the words of *Lypsius* the great patron of the *Roman vertue*. O horrible cruelty, then which the Sunne never saw, or shall see any thing more greivous from the rising to the falling thereof! Let me not live, if you would not beleeve that humanity it selfe was utterly lost out of the world, in that bloudy and barbarous age.

De bellis civilibus lib. 4.

De Constantia l. 2. *c.* 24.

SECT. 7.

Secondly, of the cruelty of their Emperours towards their subjects, their Captaines towards their souldiers, their Masters towards their slaves; and generally of their whole nation.

YEt within a while after *pax cum bello de crudelitate certabat & vicit*, peace contended with warre which should bee more cruell, and overcame: I will instance only in *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, the third and fourth *Emperours*, and content my selfe only with a part of *Suetonius* his testimony concerning their monstrous cruelties. Touching the first,

Aurel. Victor. in Augustis.

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Suet. in Tiber. cap. 59. first, *ſpecie gravitatis & morum corrigendorum, ſed & magis naturæ obtemperans*, ſaith he: Under a colour of gravity & reformation, but in truth by a powerfull inclination in his nature hee did many ſuch outragious acts, as it gave occaſion among others to the caſting out of theſe verſes on him.

Faſtidit vinum, quia jam ſitit iſte cruorem,
Tam bibit hunc avidè quàm bibit antè merum.

He loatheth wine, and now he after bloud doth thirſt,
Drinkes this as greedily as wine hee dranke at firſt.

Nullus à pœna hominum ceſſavit dies, ne religioſus quidem ac ſacer; no day was priviledged from executions, no not the moſt ſolemne holy dayes.

Cap. 61. Becauſe *Virgins* by a received cuſtome were not to be ſtrangled; he cauſed the hang man firſt to deflowre a *Virgine*, & then to ſtrangle her. He thought death ſo light a puniſhment, that when he heard *Carnulius* had by death prevented his tortures, he cryed out, *Carnulius me evaſit, Carnulius* hath eſcaped me. His thoughts were ſo intent upon nothing elſe but horrible execution, that having by familiar letters invited a Cittizen of *Rhodes* to come to him to *Rome*, and being informed of his comCap. 62. ming, hee commanded him inſtantly to be put to the racke, and his errour being diſcovered, to be put to death, leaſt it ſhould be divulged. Having cauſed men to bee drawne on to fill themſelves with wine, hee would ſuddainely command their privy parts to bee faſt bound with lute-ſtrings, that ſo for want of meanes for avoyding their urine, they might endure miſerable torments.

Suet. Calig. c. 27 *Caligula*, a man of much like temper, ſucceeded him in the *Empire*, but in *cruelty* farre exceeded him. Many of honourable ranke being firſt branded with infamous markes, hee condemned to the mines, or the beaſts, or ſhut them up like beaſts in cages, or ſawed them aſunder in the middeſt. And that not for great matters, but either becauſe they had no good opinion of his *ſhewes*, or had not ſworne by his *Genius*: He forced fathers to be preſent at the execution of their ſons, and to one, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his ſickneſſe, he ſent his litter for him, inviting him to mirth and jollity. Having recalled one home, who in his Predeceſſours dayes was ſent into baniſhment, hee asked him how hee Cap. 28. ſpent the time while he was abroad, who anſwered by way of complement, that he inceſſantly prayed for the ſpeedy death of *Tiberius*, & his ſucceſſion to the *Empire*: whereupon, conceiving that his baniſhed men prayed likewiſe for his death; he preſently diſpatched away meſſengers to the Ilands where they lived in exile, commanding them all to be put to the ſword. When he deſired that a Senatour ſhould be torne in peeces; hee hired one, who entring into the Senate-houſe, ſhould aſſault him as an enemy to the ſtate, and ſtabbing him with ſtillettoes, ſhould leave him to bee torne by others. *Neque ante ſatiatus eſt quam membra, & artus, & viſcera hominis tracta per vicos, atque ante ſe congeſta vidiſſet*: Neither was he ſatiated before, with his eyes he beheld the members & bowels of the man dragged thorow the ſtreets, and caſt before him. He Cap. 30. did not commonly execute any, but with many & ſoft ſtrokes: his command being now generall and commonly knowne, *Ita feri ut ſe mori ſentiat*

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sentiat, so strike him that he may feele himselfe to die; Being offended with the multitude for crossing his desires, he was heard to say, *Vtinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet*, I could wish the people of *Rome* but one necke; meaning to chop them off at one blowe. He was wont openly to complaine of the unhappy condition of his times, that they were not made famous by any publique calamity: That *Augustus* his government was memorable by the *slaughter* at *Varia*; & that of *Tiberius* by the fall of the scaffolds at *Fidenæ*: but his was like to be buried in oblivion, by the calme and prosperous current of all things. And thereupō would he often wish, for the overthrow of his armies, famine, pestilence, fire, earth-quakes, & the like; & when he was sporting or feasting himselfe, he abated nothing of his inbred & wonted cruelty, but shewed the same fierceneſſe both in his words & deedes: Many times while hee was dyning were some examined upon the racke in his presence, and other had their heads stricken off. At *Puteoli* at the dedication of a bridge, having invited many unto him from the shore, on the suddaine he gives order for the tumbling of them down headlong into the sea, & such as took hold of any thing to save their lives, he causes to be beaten off with poles & oares. Being one day very free at a great feast, he suddenly brake forth into a great slaughter: And the *Consuls*, who were next him, demanding the reason thereof, his answer was, *Quid? nisi unò meo nutu jugulari utrumque vestrûm statim posse*, nothing but this, that at a beck from me, both your throats may presently be cut. In the middest of his jeasts, when standing neare the statue of *Iupiter*, he demanded *Apelles* the *Tragedian*, which of the two, himselfe or *Iupiter* seemed the greater; *Apelles* making a pause, he commands him to be sliced in peeces with rods, now and then commending his voyce calling for mercy, as being sweetly tunable in the very groaning: As oft as hee kissed the neck of his wife or mistresse, he would commonly adde, *tam bona cervix simul ac jussero demetur*, so faire a necke may bee taken off the shoulders when I list: And sometimes he boastingly threatned, that hee would wrest it out of the heart of *Cæsonia* his darling with the racke, why he so affectionately loved her, so as it might truly be said of him, that he was indeed none other then *lutum sanguine maceratum*, a lumpe of clay soked in bloud, and of his time might justly be verified, what *Seneca* in his *preface* to his fourth booke of *naturall questions* speakes of *Caius*, *sciebam olim sub illo in eum statum res humanas decidisse, ut inter misericordiæ opera haberetur occidi*: under him things were brought to passe, as it was reckoned amongst the workes of mercy to be slaine.

Cap. 31. Cap. 32. Cap. 33.

And againe in his second booke *de beneficijs*; *Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utemur Gracini Iulij viri egregij, quem Caius Cæsar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret*; If there needed, saith hee, the example of a great spirit, let us make use of that admirable man *Gracinus Iulius*, whom *Caius Cæsar* put to death for this one thing, that hee was a better man then was expedient for a tyrant that any one should bee.

Neither was this the disposition only of their *Emperours*, but of their inferiour governours & officers, happily by imitatiō of their *Emperours*:

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in *maſters* towards their ſlaves, in *Generals* towards their ſouldiers, and generally the whole *multitude* one towards another. *Vedius Pollio* was wont upon every light occaſion, as ſometimes for the breaking of a glaſſe or ſome ſuch trifle, to caſt his ſlaves into his pond of Lampres, to be devoured by them: *Vt in viſceribus earum aliquid de ſervorum ſuorum corporibus & ipſe guſtaret*, ſaith *Tertullian*; that the entralls of his Lampres might relliſh ſomewhat of the fleſh of his ſlaves: But *Pliny* gives this cenſure upon it: *Invenit in hoc animali documenta ſævitiæ, non tanquam ad hoc feris terrarum non ſufficientibus, ſed quia in alio genere totum pariter hominem diſtrahi ſpectare non poterat.* Hee found out in this fiſh a new kinde of cruelty, not but that the wilde beaſts of the earth were ſufficient to effect the ſame, but becauſe hee could in none other kinde behold the whole man to bee torne in peeces. Not much inferiour to this, was the rigorous cruelty of their *Generals* towards the ſouldiers, masked under the vizar of ſtrict diſcipline. It is in this kinde a memorable example, that *Seneca* relates of *Piſo*, who finding a ſouldier to returne from forraging without his companion, as if he had ſlaine him whom he brought not backe with him, condemned him to death; his execution being in readineſſe, and hee ſtretching forth his necke to receive the ſtroke of the axe, behold in the very inſtant his companion appeares in that place; whereupon the Centurion, who had the charge of the Execution, commands the Executioner to ſheath his ſword, and carries backe the condemned ſouldier to *Piſo*, together with his companion, thereby to manifeſt his innocency, and the whole army waited on them with joyfull acclamations: But *Piſo* in a rage gets him up to the *Tribunall*, and condemnes both the ſouldiers, the one for returning without his companion, and the other for not returning with him; and hereunto addes the condemnation of the *Centurion* for ſtaying the execution without warrant, which was given him in charge, & thus *conſtituti ſunt in eodem loco perituri tres ob unius innocentiam*: Three were condemned to die for the innocency of one. In more ancient times, three of the *Albanes* named *Curatij*, combating with three of the *Horatij*, *Romans*, for the Empire, by conſent of both their ſtates; two of the *Romans* were vanquiſhed by the three *Albanes*, and the three *Albanes* againe by one of the *Romans*, whoſe ſiſter having married one of the *Albanes*, becauſe ſhe wept to ſee her brother weare the ſpoyles of her husband, ſhe was inſtantly diſpatched by him. *Humanior hujus unius fœmina quam univerſi populi Romani mihi videtur fuiſſe affectus*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*; the diſpoſition of this one woman ſeemeth to me more humane then that of the whole body of the people of *Rome*. Hereunto may bee added that bloudy ſpeech, caſt forth by the daughter of *Appius Cæcus*, who being crowded by the multitude, as ſhee came from ſeeing ſome publique ſhew, *Vtinam*, *inquit*, *reviviſcat frater, aliamque claſſem in Siciliam ducat, atque iſtam multitudinem perditum eat, quæ me malè nunc miſeram convexavit*: I wiſh, ſaith ſhe, my brother were alive againe, that hee might conduct another fleete againſt *Sicilie*, and ſo make away this multitude which thus troubles mee: Now her brother *Publius Clandius* lately before had loſt many thouſands of the

Tertullian. de Pallio. cap. 5.
Lib. 9. cap. 23.
De Ira, l. 1. c. 16
Seneca Ibid.
Liv. lib. 1.
De Civit. Dei l. 3. c. 14.
Gellius l. 10. c. 6.

Romanes

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Romanes in an expedition by sea against the *Sicilians*, and with them his owne life.

SECT. 8.

Thirdly, of their cruelty one towards another in their sword-fights: In which first is considered the originall and increase of these games, as well in regard of the frequencie, as both the number and quality of the fighters.

AND no marvell this speech should fall from her comming from a publique shew, in as much as the *whole body of this people* made the effusion of humane bloud, and the slaughtering of men their *common sport* and pastime. Some they cast to beasts, some they set to fight with beasts, some to fight with one another. These they called *Gladiatores*, sword-players; & this spectacle, *munus gladiatorium*, a sword-fight; in which, their skill in defence was not so much regarded or praised, as the undaunted giving or receiving of wounds, and life unfearefully parted with: neither mattered it who had the hap to survive, he being reserved but for another dayes slaughter. And here I shall crave pardon, if I descend a little to particulars, and insist somewhat largely upon some of them; The matter in it selfe seemes to require it, being no doubt very strange to such as are not acquainted with the *Romane* History, so strange, that in a people so renowned for their morall vertues, it might happily seeme incredible, but that I make it good by the testimony of grave *Authours*, and which is more, their owne; The testimony of any man against himselfe being in reputation of law, of sufficient validity, without either legall exception, or just suspition. If the *Apostle* judged the testimony of *Epimenides* the *Poet*, forcible against his owne Countrey-men the *Cretians*, why should not wee judge the testimony of the most approved *Romane Historiographers*, *Poets* and *Orators* weighty enough, being alleadged against the *Roman Nation?* First then, I will consider the *cruelty of the act* it selfe, together with some aggravating circumstances. Secondly, the *cruell disposition of the people*, in entertaining it with that heat and fervencie of affection, as is wonderfull. Thirdly, that the *Christian Religion* was it which first cryed out against it by the pennes of her *Divines*, and then cryed it downe by the edicts of her *Emperours*. *Titus* 1. 12.

The beginning of these kinde of shewes originally sprang from a superstitious conceite, (suggested no doubt by the common enemy of mankinde) of sacrificing with the bloud of men, for the *Manes or Ghosts* of their deceased parents or neare friends. *Iunius Brutus* was the first wee reade of that began it in honour of his fathers funeralls, about 500 yeares after the *Cities* foundation. Hee exhibited to this purpose in the market-place, 22 paires of *sword-players*: *Hoc scilicet erat expiare manes patris, vel potiùs placare diabolum*, saith *Peter Martyr*: This forsooth was to appease his fathers *Manes*, or rather to please the Devill. After this, they grew so common, that men by their testaments appointed *Florus.*

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them at their *funeralls*. Some there are, ſaith *Seneca*, who undertake to diſpoſe of matters, even beyond the tearme of their lives, taking order for ſtately monuments, pompous funeralls, *& ad rogum munera*, and at the end of their funeralls, the exhibiting of *ſword-fights*. And whereas it was in uſe onely at the funeralls of great men, within a while private men tooke it up, *privatorum memoryis Legataria editiones parentant*, ſaith *Tertullian* in ſomewhat an harſh *African* phraſe I confeſſe, but doubtleſſe his meaning is, that even private men by legacies in their laſt wils, provided for theſe *ſword-fights*, which by the *Romans* were called *Editiones*. Neither was this uſed at the funeralls of *men* onely, but of *women* too. *Iulius Cæſar* exhibiting it at the death and for the honour of his daughter, which none ever did before him: and ſo from a ſmall brooke, it increaſed to a great and mighty ſea, and from matter of *Religion*, became a matter meerely of *honour* in thoſe that gave it, and of *pleaſure* in thoſe that beheld it. *Tranſiit hoc genus Editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium*: Theſe ſhewes paſſed from the honour of the dead to the honour of the living: The *Ædiles*, the *Pretors*, the *Quæſtors*, the *Conſuls*, the *Prieſts*, the *Emperours* exhibited them at their birth dayes, at the dedication of publique works, & at triumphes: and by degrees they came to *ſet ſolemne dayes*, which they held as feſtivall; and at the laſt, not the *Magiſtrates* alone, but private men exhibited them at all times, without difference of perſons or dayes. *Iuvenall* ſpeaking of ſome, that of baſe fellowes were become rich, addes

De Spectac.

Suetonius, c. 26.

Tertullian.

Satyr. 3.

Munera nunc edunt, & verſo pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occîdunt populariter.

Sword-players they do beſtow, and when they turne the thumbe
They murther whom they liſt.

And *Martiall* tells us of a *Cobler* that exhibited them,

Das gladiatores ſutorum regule Cerdo,
Quodque tibi tribuit Subila, ſica rapit.

Brave king of *Coblers*, thou ſword-players doſt maintaine;
And what thine awle doth get, the ſword ſoone ſpends againe.

The number of *ſword-players* thus exhibited, grew in the end to a *multitude incredible*. *Cæſar* in his *Edile-ſhippe* exhibited three hundred and twenty paire. *Gordianus* ſometimes 500, and never leſſe then an hundred every moneth. *Trajan* by the ſpace of 123 dayes, without intermiſſion tenne thouſand; but that of *Nero* exceedes all, and almoſt beleife it ſelfe: *Exhibuit ad ferrum quadringentos Senatores, ſexcentoſque Equites Romanos*: He brought forth to the ſword-fight foure hundred Senatours, and ſixe hundred *Romane* Knights. So that in regard of that exceſſive number thus wilfully caſt away thorow the *Romane* Empire, we may juſtly complaine with *Lypſius*: *Non temerè à funere ortares, quæ revera funus & peſtis orbis terræ, credo; imò ſcio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vaſtitiemque generi humano intuliſſe, quàm hos ad voluptatem ludos: numerum cum animis veſtris recenſete dierum quos dixi hominumque, mentior, ſi non unus aliquis menſis Europæ ſtetit vicenis capitum millibus, aut tricenis*: It ſeemes upon good reaſon to borrow it's originall from Funeralls, it being in truth the very funerall and plague of the World,

Suetonius, c. 12.

Sermon. Satur. 1. p. 2.

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I thinke, nay I know that no warre ever made ſuch havocke of mankinde as thoſe games of pleaſure: Doe but count the number of dayes and men which I named, and let mee not bee credited, if one moneth ſometimes did not coſt *Europe* twenty thouſand or thirty thouſand heads. Yet was the expence infinite which theſe bloudy games coſt the maſters of them in hiring, in dieting, in diſciplining, in arming, in bringing forth their *ſword-players*, in preparing the *Theater* and the like: And in this regard, as for ſome noble & meritorious act, they had titles and honours beſtowed upon them, and pillars with inſcriptions erected to them, and during their ſhewes, they had the power of publique *Magiſtrates*: And though thoſe whom they exhibited in theſe games at firſt, were ſlaves onely or captives, over whom they had *jus vitæ & necis*, power of life and death; yet afterwards they drew into the ſand freemen, *Knights*, *Senatours*, yea Hiſtories not onely affirme, that *Commodus* the *Emperour* did himſelfe play the *Gladiator* in perſon, but his Statue in that faſhion ſtarke naked with his naked ſword in his hand, is yet to be ſeene at *Rome*, in the pallace of the *Farneſi*. But that which paſſeth all bounds of humanity, moderation and modeſty is, that *Domitian* exhibited women in theſe ſword-fights, of which *Statius*,

Stat ſexus rudis inſciuſque ferri,
Vt pugnas capit improbus viriles,
Credas ad Tanaim ferumque Phaſin,
Thermodontiaces calere turmas. *In Sylvis.*

The unskilfull ſexe not fit for broyles:
In bloudy fights too man-like toyles:
You at Tanais would have thought
Or Phaſis, Amazons had fought.

SECT. 9.

Secondly, for the fervent and eager affection of the people to theſe games, as alſo that they were in uſe in the Provinces, namely among the Iewes, but refuſed by the Grecians, and why.

NOw the *affection of the people* to theſe *bloudy games* was ſuch, that at the death of a great man they would call for them as due, and mutine if they had them not. This market-place being not able to containe the multitude that flockt unto them, they had *Theaters* and *Amphitheaters* built if not purpoſely, yet ſpecially for theſe ſhewes, which places were of incredible, both charge & capacity, ſome one of them being ſufficient to hold above a hundred thouſand perſons, & yet all little enough in regard of the infinite troupes that reſorted thither. *Equidem exiſtimo*, ſaith *Tully*, *nullum tempus eſſe frequentiorũ populi quàm illud Gladiatorium*: Truly I thinke there is at no time a greater concourſe of the people then at the ſword-playes. And againe, *Id autem ſpectaculi genus erat quod omni frequentia atque omni genere hominum celebratur, quo multitudo maximè delectatur*; that kinde of ſhew is it which is moſt fre- *Oratione pro Seſtio.*

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quented with company of all ſorts,& with which the multitude is moſt delighted. They left all other ſports to run to this,

Primo actu placeo, cum interea rumor venit
Datum iri gladiatores, populus convolat,
Tumultuantur, clamant, pugnant de loco.

They be the words of the *Comicall Poet*, My firſt act pleaſed them well, when in the meane while a rumor was raiſ'd that the *ſword-players* were at hand, at which noiſe the people flocke thither: They ſtrive tumultuouſly, they cry out, they fight for their places. When the day was ſet, they thought the time long before it came, as appeares by that of *Seneca*,

De brevit. vita. *Quicquid interjacet grave eſt, tam mehercules, quam quando dies gladiatorij muneris dictus eſt, tranſire medios dies volunt.* Whatſoever fals in between is troubleſome, as are the dayes which come between the publiſhing of the day of the ſword-players,& the comming of it. Being aſſembled,&

De ira. lib. 1. the ſword-players entred the fight, *Iraſcitur populus & injuriam putat quod non libenter pereunt*, ſaith the ſame *Seneca*, the multitude growes angry and hold it a wrong and ſcorne done them, if they die not willingly. With whom *Lactantius* accords in ſenſe, and almoſt in words, *Iraſcuntur etiam pugnantibus niſi celeriter è duobus alter occiſus eſt, & tanquam humanum ſanguinem ſitiant oderunt moras*: They are diſpleaſed with

Lib. 6. c. 29. the ſword-players except one of them bee preſently ſlaine: And as if they thirſted for humane bloud, they are impatient of delayes. Such as were wounded and lay weltring in their bloud, they deſired to bee ſearched; *Ne quis illos ſimulata morte deludat*, leaſt they ſhould deceive them with a faigned death: And this was not done onely by men, but by women, by *Virgines*, by *Virgines* devoted to *Religion*, by the *Veſtall Virgines* themſelves.

Prudentius.

---Conſurgit ad ictus
Et quoties Victor ferrum jugulo inſerit, illa
Delicias putat eſſe ſuas, pectuſque jacentis
Virgo modeſta jubet converſo pollice rumpi.

---Riſe up at every ſtroke ſhee muſt,
And whiles into the throat the Victours knife is thruſt,
That's th'onely ſport, and then the modeſt Veſtall Prieſt
Turning her thumb, commands to ſtab him through the breſt.

Beſides this, ſome of them bathed their hands in the bloud of the ſlaine, as *Lampridius* obſerves in the life of *Commodus*: And which of all is moſt horrible to imagine, they ſucked the reeking bloud out of the

Lib. 28. c. 1. 'freſh wounds. For which wee have the teſtimony of *Pliny*: Now a 'dayes, ſaith he, you ſhall ſee them that are ſubject to the falling evill to 'drinke the very bloud of *Fencers* & *ſword-players* as out of living cups; 'a thing that when we behold within the ſame ſhew-place, Tigers, Ly-'ons, & other wilde beaſts to doe, we have it in horrour as a moſt feare-'full and odious ſpectacle, and theſe monſtrous-minded perſons are of 'opinion, that the ſaid bloud forſooth is moſt effectuall for the curing 'of that diſeaſe, if they may ſucke it breathing warme out of the man 'himſelfe, if they may ſet their mouth cloſe to the veine, to draw there-

'by

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'by the very heart bloud, life and all; How unnaturall soever, otherwise 'it be holden for a man to put his lips so much as to the wounds of wild 'beasts for to drinke their bloud. So as it seemes they still retained the nature of that *wolfe* which *Romulus* their founder sucked; and as their walls were tempered with blood,

Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.
With brothers bloud the walls at first imbrewed were:

So were their mindes, And yet as if in all this they had done marvellous well, they proclaimed these *games*, they set up bills in publique places to signifie the time and the number of the dayes they lasted, together with a list of the names and qualities of the *sword-players*, and sometimes the more to content and provoke the multitude, but too forward of themselves, they set forth and exposed to publique view those *Tragicall* sports in painted tables, artificially done and to the life, which practise was first begun by *Terentius Lucanus*, as witnesseth *Pliny*: All which considered, I have often wondred at two things, the one that *Sathan* should so farre prevaile upon this people in blinding their understanding, being otherwise held a wise Nation, and great Professors of *Morality*, the other, that the *Divine Vengeance* should suffer such *prodigious Cruelty* to passe so long unrevenged: yet *Bodin* rightly and truly obserues, that by *Gods* judgment at *Fidenæ* fifty thousand men beholding a *sword-fight*, were at once slaine by the fall of a *Theater*: which notwithstanding this foule practise infected most of their *Provinces* and *Colonies*, and so farre wrought it upon the *Iewes* themselves, that *Agrippa* exhibited unto them *una commissione paria septingenta*, seaven hundred paires of *Fencers* at one sitting, exceeding therein the *Romanes* themselves. And a kinde of shadow hereof we have resembled in the 2. of *Samuel* and the 2. *Abner* said to *Ioab*, *Let the young men now arise and play before us: and Ioab said, let them arise: Then there arose and went over twelve of Benjamin by number, which pertaineth to Ishbosheth the sonne of Saul, and twelve of the servants of David; and every one caught his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellowes side, so they fell downe together.* In which combate, saith *Peter Martyr*, in his Commentaries on the place, their meaning was not to decide the controversie by the event of the conflict, for the sparing of bloud, as was intended in the duells betwixt *David* and *Goliah*, the *Horatij* and the *Curatij*, *sed nihil aliud hic quæritur quàm ut homines barbarico & belluino more sese mutuò sauciantes & cadentes, spectantium oculos pascerent horrendo spectaculo*: Heere they sought for nothing else, but that men wounding and killing one another in a barbarous and a beastly manner, and so falling downe dead before them, they might feed the eyes of the beholders with an horrible spectacle. And thus, *dum spectaculis indulgent, supplicia quondam hostium artem faciunt*, whiles they glutted themselves with these spectacles, they made that a commendable art, which formerly was held a punishment of the enemy.

Lib. 35. 7.

Methodo Hist. cap. 7. Tacitus Annal. 4. 14.

Iosephus lib. 19.

Florus. l. 3. c. 12.

Now for the *Grecians*, though it bee true that the *Athenians* indeed desired the *sword-players* after the *Romane* manner, yet *Demonax* gave

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them a short and wise answere, *prius evertendam esse Aram misericordiæ, quàm tanta atrocitas publicè reciperetur*, that the Altar erected to Mercy was first to bee demolished, before so outragious cruelty could with reason be admitted.

SECT. 10.

Thirdly, these bloudy spectacles were cryed out against by the tongues and pennes of Christian Divines, and then cryed downe by the Lawes and power of Christian Emperours.

BUt after the bright beames of the glorious *Gospell* of *Iesus Christ* began to shine through the world, these *bloudy games* were cryed out against by the writings of *Christian Divines*, and at last cryed downe and utterly abolished by the power and edicts of *Christian Magistrates*. *Lactantius* is full and round in this point, *Qui hominem, quamvis ob merita damnatum, in conspectu suo jugulari pro voluptate computat, contaminat scientiam suam polluit, tam scilicet, quam si homicidij quod fit occultè, spectator & particeps fiat; hos tamen ludos vocant in quibus humanus sanguis effunditur, adeò longè ab hominibus facessit humanitas, ut cùm animas hominum interficiant, ludere se opinentur, nocentiores ijs omnibus quorum sanguinem voluptati habeant.* Lib. 6. c. 20. Hee that makes it his pastime to behold a man put to death, though justly deserving it, staines his Conscience as much as if hee were guilty of secret murther, yet these they call games, in which the bloud of men is shed, so farre is manhood abandoned from men, that they thinke it but a sport, being in truth themselves more worthy to suffer then they, in the shedding of whose bloud they thus delight. And before him *Cyprian, Paratur gladiatorius ludus, ut libidinem crudelium luminum sanguis oblectet*; Epist. ad. Donatum. The sword-players are prepared, that the bloud gushing out may satiate the wicked longing of their cruell eyes. And before him againe *Tertullian*, *Qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro deroſa & dissipata, & in suo sanguine squalentia corpora patientissimis oculis desuper incumbit.* De spectaculis. Hee that startles at the sight of the Corpes of a man dead by the common course of Nature, most patiently and contentedly beholds them in the *Amphitheater* mangled and all to be-goared with their owne blood.

Now as the pens and tongues of the *Christians* were thus armed against this *Monster*, so were likewise their *Lawes* and *Swords*. *Constantine* the first *Christian Emperour* was he that first gave it a deadly wound. *Vetuit Idolis sacrificari, vetuit gladiatorum cædibus pollui urbes*; Euseb. l. 4. de vita Const. Hee forbad sacrificing to Idolls, & the pollution of cities by the slaughter of sword-players. And the *Law* it selfe wee have inserted into the *Code*, *Cruenta spectacula in otio civili & domestica quiete non placent, quapropter omninò gladiatores esse prohibemus*; Lib. 2. Tit. 43. such bloudy spectacles in these peaceable times wee like not, and therefore straitly forbid all kinde of *sword-playes*. Yet after this, such was the madnesse of the people upon them, that they were vehemently desired & brake out by starts, but it was a resolute & worthy answere of *Theodosius* to them, earnestly solliciting him for the restitution

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reſtitution of theſe games, *Pium Principem oportet non tantum regnare, ſed etiam ſpectare clementer*, it behooves a religious Prince not only to reigne, but to looke mildely and mercifully, that is, not to accuſtome himſelfe to ſuch cruell ſpectacles. And to the ſame purpoſe writes *Prudentius* to *Honorius*. Lib. vlt. contra Symachum.

Jam ſolis contenta feris infamis arena,
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis,
Nullus in urbe cadat cujus ſit pœna voluptas.
Th'infamous ſand is now with beaſts content,
In bloudy armes manſlaughter is not playd,
Nor pleaſure made of death and puniſhment.

SECT. II.

The Romans being thus cruell towards others, likewiſe turned the edge of their cruelty upon themſelves, partly by a voluntary expoſing themſelves to preſent death in thoſe publique ſhewes, either for money, or upon a bravery; or by laying violent hands upon themſelves, which by their graveſt writers was held not onely lawfull and commendable, but in ſome caſes honourable.

THus we ſee how theſe bloudy ſhewes had their birth from *Paganiſme*, but their death from *Chriſtianity*, yet before wee conclude this point touching the *Romane cruelty*, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to conſider how by the juſt judgment of God, they who were thus barbarouſly cruell towards others, turned the edge of their cruelty upon their owne breaſts, and became likewiſe moſt unmercifull and unnaturall towards themſelves; not onely by a voluntary expoſing of themſelves to death in their *Theaters*, by encountring with men & beaſts, but by holding it lawfull, yea in ſome caſes both commendable & honourable, to *lay violent hands upon themſelves*, & to cut off the threed and extinguiſh the lampe of their owne lives. For the firſt, it is certaine that many of them were well content to ſell their lives for money,

---- Quanti ſua funera vendant,
Quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone.
What skils it for how much their death they ſell?
They ſel't, yet them no *Nero* doth compell,

Saith *Juvenal*. And *Manilius* to like purpoſe:

Nunc caput in mortem vendunt & funus arenæ,
Atque hoſtem ſibi quiſque parat cùm bella quieſcunt. Lib. 4.
In th'Amphitheater to death and ſlaughter they their head
Do ſell, and ſeeke out enemies when warres are quieted.

And with this did the *Chriſtians* upbraid them, *Nec vitæ quidem ſuæ parcunt, ſed extinguendas publicè animas vendunt*, ſaith *Lactantius*, Neither Lib. 5. c. 9. do they ſo much as ſpare their owne lives, but ſell their ſoules to bee publiquely extinguiſhed: and ſome times they did it upon a bravery to ſhew their courage, as appeares by that of *Tertullian* in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*, *Quot otioſos affectatio armorum ad gladium vocat, certè ad feras ipſas affectatione deſcendunt, & de morſibus & cicatricibus formoſiores*

ſibi

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ſibi videntur? How many idle companions onely thorow a vaine affectation of applauſe, are drawne into the ſword-fights, nay encounter with wilde beaſts, ſeeming to themſelves more beautifull by the ſcarres and wounds which they there receive?

Neither did they only thus voluntarily expoſe their lives for a *prize* or *vaine-glory* to the rage of men or beaſts, but which was more cruell, their greateſt *Clearkes* held it not lawfull onely, but commendable, and in ſome caſes honourable, *to cut off the threede of their owne lives*. Heereupon he cryes out in the *Tragedie*,

Oedipus apud Senecam. Theb. act. 1. ſcen. 1.

Vbique mors eſt, optimè hoc cavit Deus,
Eripere vitam nemo non homini poteſt,
At nemo mortem; mille ad hanc aditus patent.
Death's every-where, God would it ſo ſhould be,
Life every man from man, death none can take,
A thouſand wayes thereto wide open lye.

And leſt we ſhould thinke this to be but a *Poeticall fiction*, whereby men are made to ſpeake what the *Poet* pleaſeth, let us heare the wiſeſt & worthieſt among them ſpeaking in good earneſt in this matter. *Quintilian* affirmes, that *nemo niſi ſua culpa diu dolet*, no man is long in paine or ſorrow unleſſe it be thorow his owne fault, meaning that killing himſelfe he may be rid of it when he pleaſeth. *In prooemio, l. 6.* Yea even *Seneca* himſelfe approves this ſelfe-homicide in diverſe places, and though himſelfe of a contrary *Sect*, yet hee highly commends that ſpeech of *Epicurus*, *Epiſt. 12.* *Malum eſt in neceſſitate vivere, neceſſitas nulla eſt: Quidni nulla ſit? patent undique ad libertatem viæ multæ, breves, faciles, agamus Deo gratias quod nemo in vita teneri poteſt.* Indeed it is a miſery to live in neceſſity, but there is no neceſſity for a man ſo to live, there are many, and ſhort, and eaſie wayes to free our ſelves, let us give thankes to God that no man can be compelled to live whether hee will or no. And againe, *Epiſt. 70.* *Si me quidem velis audire hoc meditare, exerce te ut mortem & excipias, & ſi ita res ſuadebit, accerſas; intereſt nihil an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos.* If thou wilt follow my counſell, ſo prepare thy ſelfe, that thou maiſt entertaine death, nay if neede bee, thou mayſt ſend for it; For it matters not whether death come to us, or wee goe to death. Yea he mockes and derides thoſe that *Epiſt. 70.* make any ſcruple thereof, *bono loco res humanæ ſunt, quod nemo niſi vitio ſuo miſer eſt; placet? Vive: ſi non placet, licet eo reverti unde veniſti*, the condition of our eſtate in this is happy, that no man is miſerable but by *De Ira. l. 3. c. 16.* his own default: Doth thy life pleaſe thee? live; if it pleaſe thee not, thou maiſt returne when thou wilt from whence thou cameſt. And in another place; *Quocunque reſpexeris ibi malorum finis eſt, vides illam præcipitem locum? illac ad libertatem deſcenditur. Vides illud mare, illud flumen, illum puteum? Libertas illic in imo ſedet; vides illam arborem, brevem, horridam, infelicem? Pendet inde libertas. Vides jugulum tuum, guttur tuum, cor tuum? effugia ſervitutis ſunt. Nimis mihi operoſos exitus monſtras, & multum animi atque roboris exigentes. Quæris quod ſit ad libertatem iter? qualibet in corpore toto vena.* Which way ſoever thou lookeſt, there is an end of all euills to be found. Doſt thou ſee an high and ſteepe place? by falling downe from it, thou ſhalt fall into liberty. Seeſt thou ſuch a ſea, or ſuch a river,

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ver, or such a pit? liberty lies in the bottome of them, if thou have the heart to cast thy selfe into them. Dost thou see a tree whereon others have beene hanged? there hangs liberty if thou wilt hang thy selfe. Dost thou see thine owne necke, throate, heart? they are all places of escape to flie from bondage. Are these too hard and painefull meanes to get out, and wouldest thou yet know the way to liberty? Every veine in thy body is a way to it. To conclude this point, *Pliny* would have us beleeve that our mother earth having pitty on us, doth bring forth poyson to dispatch our selves out of this wretched world with an easie draught, without wounding the body or shedding the bloud, when there shall be due occasion. And to this purpose, the fact of *Cato* and *Pomponius Atticus*, are by their *Historians* highly commended, as is likewise that of *Rasias*, by the Authour of the bookes of *Macchabees*, as a manfull and noble act. But among *Christians*, though it be sometimes practised, yet it is not taught by them; nay by the *Christian* Religion, it is straitly forbidden and condemned, and so farre as punishment may light upon the dead, it is punishable, not onely by the *Common*, but by the *Canon* and *Civill Lawes*. The *Romans* are generally much commended for their *courage*, their *wisedome*, their *justice*. But I would demaund what *courage* it is for a man to runne away from misery, that hee may not grapple with it, or looke it in the face? What *wisedome*, to commend their Citizens for dispatching themselves at their owne pleasure, so robbing the state of a member, and perchance a very serviceable one, such as *Cato* was? What *justice*, that men either thorow weakenesse of minde, or strength of passion not alwayes capable of reason, should bee permitted to give sentence, and doe execution upon themselves.

Plin. l. 2. c. 63.

Macchab. 2. 14.

SECT. 12.

Of the Romans cruelty in strangling or exposing their children to the mercy of wilde beasts.

NOw for their cruelty to their children (who to many men are dearer then their owne persons) I will begin with the law made by *Romulus* himselfe, the founder of their state, as wee finde it reported by *Dionysius Halicarnassaeus*; *Omnem masculam prolem educari, & è femellis primogenitas. Nihil autem quod natum esset occidere ante triennij tempus, nisi aliquid mutilum aut monstrosum statim à partu esset. Hac enim talia non vetuit exponi, sic tamen, ut parentes prius quinque viris è vicinia ostenderent si & ijs ita videretur:* Hee ordained that every male childe should bee brought up, and of females the first borne; but that nothing which was borne should bee put to death within the space of three yeares, except it were maim'd, or monstrous immediately from its birth. That such should bee exposed hee forbad not, yet not before the parents thereof did shew it to five men of their neighbours, if it so seemed good unto them. Which law of *Romulus* seemes indeede to carry with it a shew of mercy, but

but this very ſhew ſeemes to have been forgotten by that father in *Apuleius*, who going to travell, commanded his wife, *ut ſi ſexus ſequioris edidiſſet fœtus, protinùs quod eſſet editum necaretur*: that if ſhee brought forth a female it ſhould preſently bee made away. And the ſame command doth *Chremes* give to *Soſtrata* in *Terence*, which *Muretus* in his argument of that Comedie thus deſervedly cenſures; *Fuit hæc immanitas in veterum moribus, ut cum fera nulla ſit quæ fœtus ſuos non diligat, quos alere vollent liberos, eos recens natos aut interficere, aut exponere fas putarent.* This was the cruelty in the manners of the ancient, that when there is no wilde beaſts which loveth not her owne young ones, they thought it lawfull either to kill, or caſt away thoſe children newly borne, which they were unwilling to bring up. And hereunto doth *Seneca* allude; *Portentoſos fœtus extinguimus, liberos quoque ſi debiles monſtroſique editi ſunt abjicimus.* Wee make away monſtrous births, nay, our very children, if they be weake and deformed we caſt them forth. And this barbarous cuſtome of the *Romans* did the *Chriſtian Doctors* often caſt in their way; as namely S. *Ambroſe*, *Pauperiores abjiciunt parvulos & exponunt, & deprehenſos abnegant*; The poorer ſort caſt away their young ones, and expoſe them, and being found deny them. *Arnobius*; *Vos enim video procreatos filios, nunc feris & avibus exponere, nunc adſtrangulatos miſero mortis genere elidere*; for I ſee you ſometimes expoſe your children to wilde beaſts and birds, and ſometimes by ſtrangling, cruelly to put them to death. *Lactantius*, *Qui natos ex ſe pueros aut ſtrangulant, aut ſi nimium pij fuerint exponunt.* Who either ſtrangle the children borne of their owne bodies, or if they bee very tender hearted expoſe them. Now what is meant by expoſing, *Suidas* tells us. *Exponere liberos pro eo quod eſt feris in cibum, aut aliter in exitium ſolitudine aliqua deponere.* To expoſe their children was to caſt them forth to bee devoured by wilde beaſts, or to lay them in ſome ſolitary place thereby to bee brought to ſome miſchievous end. Which the *Declaimer* in *Quintilian* makes to bee all one, as if they were caſt into the maine ſea. The more I wonder at *Tertullian*, who in his *Apologie* thus mollifies the matter, *Inprimis filios exponitis, ſuſcipiendos ab aliqua prætereunte matre extraneâ.* But chiefly I obſerve that you expoſe your children to be taken up and nouriſhed by ſome ſtranger mother paſſing by; which in truth had beene a kinde of mercy, but *Tertullian* as we ſee herein differs not only from *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, but from *Suidas*, and doubtleſſe from the truth it ſelfe, as may eaſily appeare in an Epiſtle of *Lipſius* written to *Dionyſius Villerius*, which he thus begins: *Novum tibi, immane, incredibile erat, de liberis quos veteres paſſim exponebant vel abjiciebant; & alienum non ſolum à ratione cenſebas ſed à natura; omnia conſentio & cedo, ſed non in fide quia certò res ita fuit, & communis adeo ut dixi; ſi vis homines accuſare, qui hominem, non ſolum parentem exuebant, in tenella & innoxia plantula extinguenda non abnuo, teeum imò accuſavero: ſed de facto non de qualitate quæſtio nobis erat. Ego autem pertendo & vel ſcripto nunc doceo ſic fuiſſe.* It ſeemed unto you a ſtrange thing, barbarous and incredible, touching the expoſing or caſting forth of children, which was uſuall among the Ancients. This you thought a matter repugnant not onely to reaſon but to nature; all which

Heauton: act. 4. ſcen. 2.

De Ira. lib. 1.

Hexam, c. 18. Lib. 8.

Lib. 6. cap. 20.

Cap. 9.

Ep. Select. 39.

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which I yeeld you and freely consent, only for the truth thereof therein I differ from you; for most certaine it is that such a custome there was, and that no lesse universall then I affirmed; if you please to accuse them as putting off not onely the persons of parents, but the nature of mankinde, in destroying those tender and innocent plants, I plead not for them, nay together with you I condemne them; but the question was between us not of the qualitie, but of the fact it selfe, which I still maintaine; and now by writing shew that so it was. Now as this barbarous custome was in use among the *Romans*, held a civill Nation: so could it not get any footing among the *Germans*, even in those times when they were accounted most barbarous. *Numerum liberorum finire, aut quenquam ex agnatis necare, nefas habetur*, saith *Tacitus*, to set a certain number to their children, or to kill any borne of them, they held it a greivous offence. And the Christian *Emperours* well weighing the greivousnes hereof, made it capitall by their lawes: The first of which I thinke were *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian*, whose law is extant touching this point in both the *Codes*, as well of *Theodosius* as *Justinian*. *Si quis necandi infantis piaculum aggressus aggressive sit, erit capitale istud malum.* And with the lawes of the *Empire* did those of the *Church* accord, as may appeare in the ninth *Canon* of the *Vasen Councell*. *Ad leg. Cornel. de sicariis.*

And least wee should thinke that this cruelty so many wayes so barbarous, was the onely vice this Nation (so much renowned for civility and vertue) was subject unto, I will likewise in passing touch their covetousnesse which was in truth insatiable, and then take a larger view of their luxurie spreading it selfe into many branches, but all of them excessive, and were they not recorded by their owne writers almost incredible.

CHAP. 5.

Of the excessive covetousnesse of the Romans, *and their insatiable thirst of having more, though by most unjust and indirect meanes.*

SECT. 1.

Of excessive covetousnesse of the Romans *in generall, by the testimonies of* Petronius Arbiter, Juvenall, Galgacus, *and* Hannibal; *and in particular of* Cæcilius Claudius, Marcus Crassus, *and specially* Seneca *the Philosopher are taxed for this vice.*

THe rapine and covetousnesse of the *Romans* was such, that being Lords in a manner of all the knowne world, yet therewith they rested not content.

Orbem jam totum Victor Romanus habebat,
Quà mare, quà tellus, quà sidus currit utrumque,
Nec satiatus erat. *Petronius Arbiter.*

Now the victorious *Roman* all the world had wonne,

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Sea, land, and all where both the ſtarres their courſe do runne,
Yet was not ſatisfied.

'Theſe are they, whom brave *Galgacus* in the life of *Iulius Agricola*, 'juſtly ſtiles *Raptores orbis*, unjuſt robbers of the world, who having left 'no land, ſaith hee, to bee ſpoyled, ſearch alſo the ſea, whom not the 'Eaſt nor Weſt, have ſatisfied: To take away by maine force, to kill 'and to ſpoyle, falſely they call Empire, and when all is laid waſte as a 'wilderneſſe, that they call peace. And *Caratacus* likewiſe a King of the *Britiſh* Nation, being by the *Romans* taken captive and carried to *Rome*, having taken a full view of the wonderfull magnificence of that Citie; *Itane, inquit, cum hæc & hujuſmodi habeatis, noſtra tuguriola concupiſcitis?* Having ſuch and ſo ſtately buildings, how comes it to paſſe, ſaith he, that you long after our pobre cottages?

Camden in Cardig.

This unquenchable deſire of theirs, *Hannibal* likewiſe both truely and wittily expreſſed; before whom, when *Antiochus* muſtered a great army prepared againſt the *Romans*, richly furniſhed with weapons inamiled, enſignes, ſaddles, bridles, and trappings, imboſſed and imbroydered with gold and ſilver, being demaunded by the King, whether all that gallant ſhew were not ſufficient for the *Romans*, his anſwer was ſhort but ſharpe, taxing as well the Cowardize of *Antiochus* his ſouldiers, as the *covetouſneſſe* of the *Romans*: *Plane ſatis eſſe credo Romanis hæc, etſi avariſſimi ſint*, yes truely I beleeve heere is enough for the *Romans*, though they bee moſt exceſſively covetous. But this humour of theirs afterwards increaſed infinitely, as appeares by that of *Iuvenall*.

Macrobius, l. 2. cap. 2. Ex Gellio, l. 5. cap. 5.

Iuven. Sat. 1.

Vberior nunquam vitiorum copia, nunquam
Major avaritiæ patuit ſinus.
Was never yet more plentious ſtore of vice,
Nor deeper gulfe lay ope of avarice.

And *Manilius*,

Lib. 4.

Nullo votorum fine beati,
Victuros agimus ſemper, nec vivimus unquam.
Never contented with our preſent ſtate,
W'are ſtill about to live, but live not till too late:

Every man, ſaith he, wiſheth for that he hath not, but maketh no reckoning of that he hath.

Nec quod habet numerat, tantum quod non habet optat.

Plin. l. 33. c. 10.

For particulars, *Pliny* tels us, that when *Aſinius Gallus*, and *Martius Cenſorinus* were Conſuls, died *Cecilius Claudius*, who ſignified his laſt will and teſtament, that albeit he had ſuſtained exceeding great loſſe during the troubles of the civill warres, yet he ſhould leave behind him at the houre of his death, of ſlaves belonging to his retinew, foure thouſand one hundred and ſixteene, in oxen, three thouſand & ſix hundred yoke, of other cattell, two hundred fifty ſeaven thouſand, & in ready coyne, h *three ſcore millions of ſeſterces*, beſides a very great ſumme hee ſet out for defraying his funerall charges. And for *Marcus Craſſus*, the ſame Authour in the ſame chapter affirmes, that he was wont to ſay, that no man was to be accounted rich and worthy of that title, unleſſe he were able to diſpend by the yeare as much in revenew, as would maintaine

h According to Doctour *Holland*, whoſe tranſlation of *Pliny* I commonly follow, as alſo his computation of the *Roman* coynes, mentioned by that Authour.

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a *legion* of souldiers. And verily, saith *Pliny*, his owne landes were esteemed worth *two hundred millions of Sesterces*; and yet such was his *avarice*, that hee could not content himselfe with that wealthy estate, but upon an hungry desire to have all the gold of the *Parthians*, would needes undertake a voyage against them; in which expedition hee was taken prisoner by *Surinas*, Lieutenant Generall for the King of *Parthia*, who stroke of his head, and powred gold melted into his mouth to satisfie his hunger after it. But I most wonder at *Seneca* the Philosopher, who every where in his writings bitterly inveighs against these covetous desires, and yet within foure yeares space, gathered hee three thousand times three hundred thousand *Sesterces*, which amounts in our coyne to 2343750 pounds, and in casting up this summe, both the Translatour of *Tacitus* his *Annals*, and Master *Brerewood* precisely accorde. And whatsoever faire pretence he make in his bookes of mortification and contempt of the world, yet certaine it is, that besides this masse of treasure, he had goodly *farmes* in the country, as appeares by his owne *Epistles*, and in the city spacious *gardens*, & princely sumptuous *palaces*, the one mentioned by *Juvenall. Sat.* 10.

Tacitus Annal. l. 13. c. 10.
De ponderibus, c. 19.

Senecæ pradivitis hortos:
The gardens of *Seneca* the rich:

The other by *Martiall*: *lib.* 4. *Epigram.* 40.

Et docti Senecæ ter numerandus domus.
Three houses of *Seneca* the learn'd.

SECT. 2.

Of their wonderfull greedinesse of gold, manifested by their great toyle and danger in working their mines, fully and lively described by Pliny.

BUt that which much more aggravates this vice of the *Romanes* is, that commonly they gathered their riches either by violent *rapine, extortion*, and *oppression*, or by *cunning sleights*, & *base practises*, or lastly by *the infinite toyle of such as therein they imployed*, not without the indangering of the lives of many thousands. I will begin with the last, and that I may the more clearely and effectually expresse it, I will deliver it in the words of *Pliny*, where hee thus speakes of the earth, torne and rent in sunder for rich mettals and pretious stones. The 'misusage, saith he, which she abideth above, and in her outward skin, 'may seeme in some sort tollerable, but wee not satisfied therewith, 'pierce deeper and enter into her very bowels, wee search into the 'veines of gold and silver, we mine and digge for copper and lead mettals, and for to seeke out gemmes and some little stones, we strike pits 'deepe within the ground. Thus wee pull the very heart-strings out of 'her, and all to weare on our finger one gemme or pretious stone. To 'fullfill our pleasure and desire, how many hands are worne with digging & delving, that one joynt of our finger might shine againe? Surely if there were any Devils beneath, ere this time verily these mines '(for to feede covetousnes & riot) would have brought them up above

Lib. 2. c. 63.

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'ground. And againe in his proeme to his 33 booke, wee deſcend, ſaith 'he, into her entrals, we goe downe as farre as to the ſeate and habitati- 'on of infernall ſpirits, and all to meete with rich treaſure, as if the 'earth were not fruitfull enough, and beneficiall unto us in the upper 'face thereof, where ſhee permitteth us to walke and tread upon her. Now the *infinite toyle*, the *fearefull and continuall danger of theſe workes*, he 'notably deſcribeth in the fourth chapter of the ſame booke. The 'third manner of ſearching of this mettall is, ſaith hee, ſo painefull and 'toyleſome, that it ſurpaſſeth the wonderfull working of the *Gyants* in 'old time. For neceſſary it is in this enterprice and buſineſſe to un- 'dermine a great way by candle light, and to make hollow vauts under 'the mountaines, in which labour the *Pioners* worke by turnes, ſuc- 'ceſſively after the manner of a reliefe in a ſet watch, keeping every 'man his houres in juſt meaſure, and in many a moneths ſpace, they ne- 'ver ſee the ſunne, nor day-light. This kinde of worke and mines they 'call *Arrugiæ*; wherein it falleth out many times, that the earth above 'head chinketh, and all at once without giving any warning ſetleth and 'falleth, ſo as the poore *Pioners* are overwhelmed and buried quicke: 'yet ſay, they worke ſafe enough, and bee not in jeopardy of their lives 'by the fall of the earth, yet be there other difficulties which impeach 'their worke: For other whiles they meete with rockes of flint and 'ragges, which they are driven to cleave and pierce thorow with fire & 'vineger; yet for feare of being ſtifled with the vapour ariſing from 'thence, they are forced to give over ſuch fire-workes, & betake them- 'ſelves oftentimes to great mattockes and pickaxes, yea and to other 'engines of iron, weighing one hundred & fifty pound a peece, where- 'with they hew ſuch rockes in peeces, and ſo ſinke deeper & make way 'before them. The earth and ſtones which with ſo much adoe they 'have thus looſed, they are faine to carry from under their feete in 'ſcuttles and baskets upon their ſhoulders, which paſſe from hand to 'hand evermore to the next fellow. Thus they moyle in the darke both 'day and night in thoſe infernall dungeons, and none of them ſee the 'light of the day, but thoſe that are laſt, and next unto the pits mouth 'or entry of the cave. Howbeit, bee the rocke as ragged as it will, they 'count not that their hardeſt worke: For there is a certaine earth re- 'ſembling a kinde of tough clay, which they call white Lome; this be- 'ing intermingled with gravell or gritty ſand, is ſo hard baked toge- 'ther, that there is no dealing with it; it ſo ſcorneth and checketh all 'their ordinary tooles & labour about it, that it ſeemeth impenetrable. 'What doe the poore labourers then? They ſet upon it luſtily with 'yron wedges, they lay on load unceſſantly with mighty beetles, & ve- 'rily they thinke there is nothing in this world harder then this labour, 'unleſſe it be this unſatiable hunger after gold, which ſurpaſſeth all the 'hardneſſe and difficulty that is.

Now notwithſtanding the great *danger* and *toyle* of theſe workes, infinite was the *number* which the *Romans* imployed therein, as may in part appeare by the ſame Authour in the ſame chap. 'Here ſaith he, 'commeth to my remembrance an *Act* of the *Cenſors* extant upon re- 'cord,

'cord, as touching the gold mine of *Ictimulum*, a towne in the territory 'of *Verselles*, which act contained an inhibition, that the *Publicanes*, who 'farmed that mine of the *Citie*, should not keepe above *five thousand Py-oners* together at worke there: By which restraint it should seeme, that their usuall practise was to keepe more, and this have wee by *Polybius* fully cleared, affirming that in the *Spanish* mines at *New Carthage*, no lesse then *forty thousand* men were daily imployed.

SECT. 3.

The unmercifull pilling and poling, robbing and spoyling the Provinces, not sparing the very temples and things sacred.

YEt had all this in some sort beene tollerable, had they not hereunto added the *pilling* and *poling*, the *robbing* and *spoyling* of their *provincials*; sometimes by open force and rapine, but commonly under the colourable pretences of tributes or *Fees*. *Demades* was wont to say when he was advanced to any place of government; *ad auream messem se venisse*, that he was come to a golden harvest; and this was surely the conceit of the *Romane Presidents* when they went to their charges; every one like another *Iason*, promised to himselfe the bringing backe of a golden fleece: these were in truth the *Harpyes*,

--- Quarum decerpitur unguibus orbis,
Quæ pede glutineo quæ tetigêre trahunt. *Rutilius Itiner. 1.*

Whose clawes spoyle all the world, whose glewie feete
Draw to themselves what ere they touch or meete.

Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes,
Convectare juvat prædas & vivere rapto. *Virgil Æneid. lib. 7.*

That which *Cicero* charged *Verres* with, in the government of *Sicilie*, was doubtlesse the common practise of them all in like places, as in part appeares by the conclusion of *C. Gracchus* his speech to the people, after his returne to *Rome* from the government of *Sardinia*; as *Gellius* relates it: the bagges, saith he, which I carried forth with me full of money, I brought backe empty; whereas others returned home those barrels full of silver, which they sent forth filled with wine. It was in reference to this practise of the *Romans*, that *Petronius Arbiter* wrote, and wrote truely; *15. 12.*

Quisquis habet nummos securâ navigat aurâ,
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio. &c.
Multa loquor; quidvis nummis præsentibus opta
Et veniet, clausum possidet arca Iovem.

They had officers under them for their collecting of their tributes, whom they named *Publicans*; which word wee have still retained in our *Gospells*; but so as it there appears, they were an odious kinde of people, by reason of their unjust and unmercifull exactions; whence some (though improperly in regard of the word, yet not impertinently in regard of their snarling and biting conditions) have stiled them *Publicani, quasi publici canes*; and if these were *dogges*, surely the *Presidents*

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themſelves were *wolves* and *lyons, not leaving the bones till the morrow*, as the *Prophet* deſcribes the *Princes* and *Iudges* of *Iſrael*. One of them while hee was yet trembling at S. *Pauls* ſermon touching *Righteouſneſſe*, *Temperance*, and the *Iudgement* to come, yet ſuch a corrupt habit had hee gotten, that even then he groped him for a bribe, though a man moſt unlikely to afford it, as well in regard of his doctrine and profeſſion, as his poore eſtate. But ſome-where have I read of this unhappy *Felix*, that hee was *inexplebilis avaritiæ gurges*, an unſatiable gulfe of covetouſneſſe. Such a one, I am ſure, was *Sylla*, who raiſed out of the leſſer *Aſia* alone, *twenty thouſand talents* yearely: Yet *Brutus* and *Caſſius* went farther, forcing them to pay the *tribute* of *tenne yeares* within the ſpace of two, and *Anthony* in *one*; by which computation they payd in one yeare *two hundred thouſand talents*, a mighty ſumme. *L. Paulus* held one of their beſt cittizens, pretending to make the *Epirots* free, as were the *Macedonians* whom he had conquered, under that pretence, calling out tenne of the chiefe of every citty, he adviſed them to bring forth their gold and ſilver, which done, he divided his *cohorts* amongſt them, and gave in charge to the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* what his pleaſure was: In the morning his command was executed by the Towneſ-men, and at foure of the clocke, ſigne was given to his ſouldiers for the ſacking of the Towne. *Tantaq; præda fuit*, ſaith *Livie*, *ut in equitem quadringenti denarij, peditibus duceni dividerentur*: So great was the ſpoyle, as there fell to the ſhare of an horſe-man foure hundred *denarij*, and of a foote-man two hundred. Nay, in *Italy* it ſelfe, *Plemminius* Lieutenant to *Scipio Africanus* proceeded ſo farre upon the *Locreans*, over whom he was ſet with a gariſon, that hee abſtained not from *ſacriledge*, neither did hee ſpoyle other *Churches* alone, but that of *Proſerpina*, robbing and carrying away, *intactos omni ætate theſauros*, treaſures till then untoucht. Theſe were ſtrange outrages. That of *Galba* was indeed leſſe outragious but more baſe, hee being *Proconſull* in *Spaine* under *Nero*, the *Taraconians* ſent him for a preſent a Crowne of gold, affirming that it weighed fifteene pounds. Hee received it, and cauſing it to be weighed, found it to want three pounds, which he exacted from them: *Poſtpoſito omni pudore*, ſaith *Fulgoſus*, laying aſide all ſhame, as if it had beene a due debt. And to ſhew he was no changeling, even after his comming to the *Empire*, hee gave with his owne hand to a certaine muſition that pleaſed him, out of his owne purſe 20 *Seſterces*, about three ſhillings *Engliſh*, and to his *ſteward* at the making up of his bookes, a reward from his table. This was *baſe*, but that of *Iulius Cæſar* moſt *diſhoneſt*, who in his firſt *Conſulſhip*, ſtole out of the *Capitoll* three thouſand weights of gold, laying up as much gilded copper inſtead thereof. He ſacked in an hoſtile manner certaine townes of the *Portugals*, though they diſobeyed not his commaunds, but freely and friendly opened their gates unto him for his entrance. In *France* he robbed the *Oratories* and *Temples* of the *Gods*, ſtored with rich offerings and ornaments, & laid waſte their *Cities*, *Sæpius ob prædam, quàm ob delictum*, ſaith *Suetonius*, oftner for love of booty then for any offence by them committed, and afterwards ſupplied the expence of his civill warres, his triumphes, his ſhewes to the people, *evidentiſſimis rapinis & ſacrilegijs*,

Zephany. 3.3.

Act. 24. v. 26. 2.

Appianus, l. 5. bellorum civilium.

Plutarch.

Lib. 45.

Idem, l. 43.

Lib. 8.

Sueton. c. 54.

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sacrilegijs, by most notorious pillaging and sacriledge. And no marvell, since as witnesseth *Cicero* in the third booke of his Offices, hee had alwayes that of *Euripides* in his mouth.

Si violandum est jus, imperij gratia
Violandum est.
If right for ought a man may violate,
'Tis for a Kingdome.

And I see not, but that he might as safely hold, that justice is to be violated for *treasure*, by which *Empire* is to be gotten and maintained, as for *Empire* it selfe.

SECT. 4.

Of the base and most unconscionable practises of Tiberius *and* Caligula, *nay even of* Vespasian *himselfe for the heaping up of treasure.*

NOw if this were the opinion and practise of *Iulius Cæsar*, what should we expect from *Nero*, *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*? of whom the first wasted *Italy* by contributions and borrowing of money, ruined the provinces, and impoverished the confederates of the people of *Rome*, and the cities which were called free. Yea the *Gods* themselves were not priviledged from being made a prey: But the temples in the City were robbed, & the gold carried away, which the people of *Rome* in all ages, either in triumphs or vowes, in prosperity or feare had dedicated to the Gods: Yea in *Achaia* and *Asia* not onely consecrated gifts, but the images of the Gods were taken away; *Acratus* and *Secundus Carinates* being sent thither of purpose. The second being presented with a goodly fish, he sent it to be sold in the market, and being designed heire by *Cn. Lentulus* one of the *Augures*, and a man of a great revenewes, never left him till thorow feare and anguish hee had brought him to his grave. Also to pleasure *Quirinus* who had beene *Consull*, a wonderfull rich man, but childlesse, in hope to be his heire, he condemned his wife *Lepida* a noble and vertuous Lady, divorced from her husband after twenty yeares marriage, and accused of contriving his death by poyson long before. *Venon* likewise King of *Parthia*, who being driven out of his owne Kingdome, and betaking himselfe to the trust of the people of *Rome*, came to *Antiochia* with infinite treasures, he caused most perfidiously to bee robbed both of it, and of his life, and of his life for it.

Tac. Annal. 13. 11.

Seneca epist. 95.

Suet. cap 49.

Verum ut hæc in eo horrenda fuerunt, ita quæ sequuntur dedecoris plena, as these things in him were horrible, so were those that followed most abominable and shamefull, saith *Fulgosus*, in reference to *Caligula*, the successour to *Tiberius*, as well in vice as Empire. Some with threats he forced to name him their Heire, and if they recovered after the making of their wills, hee dispatched them by poyson, holding it ridiculous that they should long live after their wills were made. For the bringing in of money he set up shewes both of boyes and women in the palace it selfe, and sent some thorow the streetes to invite men thither for the in-

Sueton. 38. & in sequentibus.

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creasing of the *Emperours* revenewes, and having by this and such like wretched meanes amassed huge summes of treasure, he to satiate his appetite, *contrectandæ pecuniæ cupidine incensus*, being inflamed with a longing desire of touching money, would sometimes walke upon heapes of gold, and sometimes as they lay spread abroad in a large roome, rowle himselfe over them starke naked. *O ingentem nimiamque avaritiam, quæ in tanto imperio tantum Principem excæcatum in eam vilitatem abjectionemq; deduxisti, ut neque dedecus suum, neque imperij ignominiam agnosceret*, saith *Fulgosius*, most transcendent and excessive covetousnesse which blinded so great a Commander, and cast him into such extremity of baseneſſe as to become a publike Pandar, and a poysoner for love of money, which no ingenuous minded man, though pressed with extreame necessity, would practise though in private.

But this was in these *Monsters* no miracle, I more wonder at *Vespatian*, who had the reputation (perchance by reason of their villanie) of a good *Emperour*; yet even he was so impotently covetous, that hee not onely called for the arreareages due in *Galbaes* time, but raised new tributes, & laid upon the Provinces more grievous impositions, doubling them in some places, *Negotiationes vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit*, hee publiquely practised such kinde of traffique, as even a private man would shame to doe; taking up commodities at a cheape hand, that afterward he might vent them at dearer rates: neither did he spare to sell honours to such as sued for them, or absolutions to such as were accused, whether they proved guiltlesse or guilty, hee was thought of set purpose to have made choice of the most ravenous poling officers hee could any where finde out, and to have advanced them to the highest places, that being thereby growne rich, he might condemne their persons, and confiscate their goods, and these men, he was commonly said to use as spunges, *Quod quasi & siccos madefaceret, & exprimeret humentes*, because he both moistned them being dry, and wrung them out being moistned. When some of his speciall friends for his honour intended to erect to him a sumptuous statue worth a million of Sesterces, *Vos vero, inquit, mihi argentum date*, hee desired rather to receive from them the value thereof in ready coyne, as being lesse troublesome to them, and to himselfe more acceptable. Nay which was more base, he laid an imposition upon *Vrine*, and being by his Sonne *Titus* put in minde of the baseneſſe of it, hee tooke a peece of money received for that use, and putting it to his Sonnes nostrils, demaunded of him whether hee felt any other savour from it, then from any other money, adding withall, *Bonus odor lucri ex re qualibet*, the smell of gaine is good from any thing whatsoever.

Suet. cap. 16.

Dion. in Vesp.

SECT. 5.

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SECT. 5.

That the whole Nation was deepely infected with the same vice.

AND to speake a truth, the whole body of this people was so farre possessed with this dropsie, that *Salvianus* makes it their *Nationall* disease, *Avaritia inhumanitas proprium Romanorum malum*, inhumane covetousnesse is the disease proper to all the *Romans*. And with him accords *Mithridates* in *Iustin*, *Non temerè se lupi uberibus alitos jactare, omnes enim habere luporum animos inexplebiles, sanguinis, imperij, divitiarumque avidos esse & jejunos*, that they did not without reason boast themselves to be nourished from the dugge of a she Wolfe, in as much as they have all of them insatiable mindes of wolves; greedily thirsting after Empire, bloud and riches. And this well appeared in two *publique Acts* of theirs, the one was, that a peece of land being in controversie betweene the *Ardeatines* and the *Aricinians*, they both by joynt consent referred themselves to the arbitration of the *Romans*, binding themselves to stand to their award: but they adjudg'd it to themselves. The other was that the *State* having taken great summes of money of certaine tributary Cities to make them free, forced them afterward to pay their old tribute without restoring unto them the money they had paid for their freedome; which saith *Cicero* was *turpe imperio*, a shame to their Empire, *Piratarum enim melior fuit fides quàm Senatus*, for the faith of pirats was better then the faith of the Senate. This was most dishoneſt, yet I know not whether that which followes were not more dishonourable. Their greatest men tooke to farme their basest tributes before mentioned, and worse then those, yea & sued for them, *Non aliter quàm militarem aliquam perfecturam, aut civilem Magistratum*, they bee the words of *Evagrius*, none otherwise then it had beene some great command in the warres, or some principall office in the Citie. And *Iuvenal* speaking of those who from small matters were raised to great fortunes, thus describes them.

Lib. 7. de Providentia.

Lib. 36.

Liv. dec. 1. l. 3.

Offic. 3.

Lib. 3. c. 39.

Conducunt foricas, & cur non omnia? cum sint
Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit quoties voluit fortuna jocari.

Iuven. Sat. 3.

They draughts (and why not all things else?) doe hire,
Being such as fortune when shee would be merrie,
To higheſt place doth raise from loweſt mire.

What marvell then if *Seneca* complaine, *Hac ipsa res tot magistratus tot judices detinet, quæ Magistratus & Iudices facit, pecunia.* This selfe-same thing which keepes in so many Magistrates and Judges in their places, is it which makes both Magistrates and Judges, to wit, *money*; *Mercatoresque & venales invicem facti, quærimus non quale sit quid, sed quanti*, and being become Merchants on all hands, weseeke not so much of what quality things are, but of what price. And all kinde of offices being thus purchased with money, as the places of Judicature were commonly bought, so was Justice openly sold. *Omnium fermone percrebuit in his judicijs*

Epist. 116.

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dicijs quæ nunc ſunt, pecunioſum hominem, quamvis ſit nocens, neminem poſſe damnari, ſaith *Cicero.* It is rife in every mans mouth in theſe Courts of Juſtice, which now are, that a monyed man, though he be guilty, cannot be condemned: and againe, *nihil tam ſanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia poſſit:* there is nothing ſo ſacred which with money may not be violated, nothing ſo fenced which may not be razed.

Propert. 3. 12.

Auro pulſa fides, auro venalia jura.
The Lawes for gold
Are bought and ſould.

Ovid. lib. 2. de Arte.

Aurea nunc verè ſunt ſæcula, plurimus auro
Venit honos, auro conciliatur amor.
Now is the golden age indeede,
Honour and friendſhip gold doth breede.

Saluſt. Nay *Catiline* could ſay of *Rome*, *ô urbem venalem & maturè perituram ſi emptorem invenerit!* O mercenary citie and ſoone to be ruined by ſale if it might but finde a Chapman! If a friend now deny not that which was pawned to him, and if hee bee ſo honeſt as to render the whole againe; this truely (ſaith the *Satyriſt*) is a prodigious truſt, and worthy regiſtring in the Prieſts Annals:

Iuven. lib. 5. Sat. 13.

Nunc ſi depoſitum non inficietur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follem,
Prodigioſa fides, & Thuſcis digna libellis.

And againe, the loſſe of money is more lamented then of the neareſt friends,

--- Majore domus gemitu, majore tumultu
Planguntur nummi, quam funera.---

So as even then was covetouſneſſe come to that height, as it could hardly by their owne confeſſion, make ſo much as one ſtep forward.

Ovid. l. 1. Faſt.

Tempore crevit amor, qui nunc eſt ſummus, habendi;
Vix ultra quo jam progrediatur, habet.

Not without reaſon then have ſome found in the word *ROMA*, *Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia*, Covetouſneſſe is the roote of all miſchiefe, taking the firſt letters of thoſe words as they lie in their order for the making up of that name. And not without proper ſignification did *Rome* take to her ſelfe the *Eagle* for her *Enſigne*, which as *Iob* ſpeaketh, *dwelleth and abideth on the rocke, upon the cragge of the rocke & the ſtrong place: from thence ſhee ſeeketh the prey, and her eyes behold a farre off, her young ones alſo ſucke up blood, and where the ſlaine are, there is he.* So as generally might be verified of them, what *Claudian* writes of *Ruffinus*,

1. Tim. 6. 10.

Cap. 39. v. 28. 29. 30.

Plenus ſævitiæ, lucrique cupidine fervens,
Non Tartaſſiacis illum ſatiaret arenis
Tempeſtas pretioſa Tagi, non ſtagna rubentis
Aurea Pactoli, totumque exhauſerit Hamum
Ardebit majore ſiti.
Greedy of filthy gaine, and full of cruelty,
Nor can Tarteſſian ſands him of the pretious Tage,
Or golden ſtreames of red Pactolus ſatisfie,

Might

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Might he all Hæmus drinke his thirſt the more would rage.

Or *Stroza* of *Scaurus*.

Scaurus habet villas, urbana palatia, nummos,
Pinguiaque innumeris prædia bobus arat:
Huic tamen aſſiduè major ſuccreſcit habendi,
Nunquam divitijs exſatiata fames.

Scaurus hath farmes, coyne, cities, palaces,
With many an oxe his fertile field he plowes:
Yet wealth his hunger never ſatisfies,
But his deſire to have ſtill greater growes.

CHAP. 6.

Of the Roman Luxurie in matter of incontinencie and drunkennesse.

SECT. 1.

A touch of the Roman Luxurie in generall, and in particular of the ſinnes of the fleſh.

NOw as the *Roman* covetouſneſſe was *unſatiable*, and their *cruelty unquenchable*: ſo was their *Luxury* moſt *incredible*, were it not recorded by their owne *Writers*.

Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala, ſævior armis
Luxuria incumbit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem,
Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit. *Iuven. Sat. 6.*

Now ſuffer we the plagues and miſchiefes of long peace,
Now is the conquer'd world reveng'd by luxurie,
Farre worſe then armes, and ſince *Rome's* poverty did ceaſe,
There wanted no attempt of crime or lecherie.

Pariterque & Luxuria nata eſt, & Carthago ſublata, ſaith *Plinie*, no ſooner was *Carthage* vanquiſhed by us, but we by *luxurie*: and theſe two, *covetouſneſſe* and *luxurie* mutually made way each for other: 33. 1.

Luxuriamque lucris emimus luxuque rapinas. *Man. lib. 4.*

Wee draw on luxurie by unjuſt gaine,
And rapine by luxurie is drawne on againe.

Ejuſmodi tempora conſtat à Tacito in Annalibus eſſe deſcripta, quibus nulla unquam fuerunt tupiſſimis vitijs fœdiora, neque aut virtutum ſteriliora, aut virtutibus inimicitiora, as witneſſeth *Caſaubon* in his Preface to *Polybius*: It is evident that thoſe times are by *Tacitus* deſcribed in his *Annals*, then which never were any more fruitfull in moſt ſhamefull and abhominable vices, or of vertues more barren, or to vertue more oppoſite: The branches of the *Roman luxurie* were, *monſtrous exceſſe in all kinde of uncleannes & incontinencie, in diet, in apparrell, in retinew of ſervants, in buildings & furniture of their houſes, in bathings & annointings of their bodies, in prodigall gifts*, and laſtly, *in ſetting forth their playes and Theatricall ſhewes*. I am not ignorant that *Meurſius* a *Netherlander* hath compoſed an entire

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tire booke purposely of this subject, intituling it, *De luxu Romanorum* of the *Roman Luxurie*, and concluding it with this censure, *damno, damno luxum vestrum Romani & in hac sententia concludo*, O ye *Romans*, I damne, I damne your Luxurie, and with this sentence I conclude: yet is it certaine that hee hath omitted many materiall Collections which might have beene added, and the most observable in him I shall not faile to make choyce and use of. First then for their *excesse in the sinnes of the flesh*, it is evident that they acted more then is now commonly knowne to *Christians*, and I rather desire the foulenesse thereof should bee eternally buried in oblivion, then by exposing it to publique view defile my penne with it, and perchance teach whiles I reprehend. The *Apostle* in the first to the *Romans* hath given us a touch thereof; yet so as no doubt but hee concealed much that hee knew, and many things by them, were practised, which came not to his knowledge. Though this infection were so generally spread, & had taken so deepe roote amongst them, that they made but a jest of the foulest sinnes in that kinde. They had certaine pastimes, which they tearmed *Ludos Florales*, in honour of *Flora*, a notorious strumpet. *Qui ludi tanto devotius quanto turpius celebrari solent*, saith S. *Augustine* in his second booke *de Civitate Dei*, and 27 chapter; which games of theirs the more dishonestly, the more devoutly they were celebrated. In these the *common queanes*, which got their maintenance by that trade, ran up and downe the streetes by daylight, & in the night with burning torches in their hands, having their whole bodies starke naked, and expressing the most beastly motions & gestures, and uttering the most filthy speeches and songs that could possibly be imagined. To these the *Poet* alludes.

Alexander ab Alexandro. 6. 8.

Ovid. Fastor. 5.

Turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos,
Non ex difficili cognita causa fuit.

Why queanes these playes doe celebrate, I trow
'Tis not so difficult the cause to know.

Yet to these shamefull, or rather shamelesse pastimes were their *youth* admitted, thereby adding, as it were, fire to tinder, nay the sagest *Senatours*, gravest *Matrones*, and severest *Magistrates* were well content to grace them with their presence, as it had beene some very commendable or profitable exercise.

Ovid.

Nubilis hac virgo, Matronaque, virque, puerque
Spectat, & ex magna parte Senatus adest.
Nec satis incæstis temerari vocibus aures,
Assuescunt oculi multa pudenda pati.

But these *Florall* playes were but once a yeare; their *enterludes* in the *Theater*, acted upon the open stage, were almost daily, yet so abominable, that the godly devoute *Fathers* of the *Primitive Christian Church* can hardly write of them with patience, specially *Salvianus*, whose words to this purpose are very smart and piercing: *Talia sunt*, saith he, *quæ illic fiunt, ut ea non solum dicere, sed etiam recordari aliquis sine pollutione non possit. Alia quippe crimina singulas sibi in nobis vendicant portiones, ut cogitationes sordidæ animum, impudici aspectus oculos, auditus improbi aures, ita ut cum ex his unum aliquid erraverit, reliqua possint carere peccatis, in*

De Gubernat. Dei. lib. 6.

Theatris

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Theatris verò nihil horum reatu vacat, quia & concupiscentijs animus & auditu aures, & aspectu oculi polluuntur, quæ quidem omnia tam flagitiosa sunt, ut explicare ea quispiam atque eloqui salvo pudore non valeat. Quis enim integro verecundiæ statu dicere queat illas rerum turpium imitationes, illas vocum ac verborum obscœnitates, illas motuum turpitudines, illas gestuum fœditates? quæ quanti sint criminis, vel hinc intelligi potest, quòd & relationem sui interdicunt: His conclusion is, *Quæ cum ita sint, ecce qualia aut omnes, aut penè omnes Romani agunt.* Of such a nature they are which are there acted, that a man cannot speake of them, nor well remember them without some touch of pollution: Other offences challenge to themselves but a part of us, as impure thoughts the minde, unchast sights the eyes, wicked speeches the eares; so that when one of these is tainted, yet the rest may bee cleare from pollution, but in the *Theater* none of them is free from the guilt of infection, in as much as the minde is there defiled with corrupt thoughts, the affections with naughty desires, the eares by hearing, and the eyes by seeing, all which are so lewd, that no man without blushing can so much as name them, much lesse fully describe them. For what modest man is there, who can recount those representations of beastly actions, those filthy speeches, and motions, and gestures? which how sinfull they are, we may from hence conjecture, that they cannot well be related: which being so, behold what manner of things, all, or at least-wise the greatest part of the *Romans* practise. And this may wee adde to *Salvianus*, that the *Actors* of these *Comedies* were by the state it selfe highly regarded, and richly rewarded, as if they had done some profitable peece of service for the *Common-wealth*. But this kinde of *luxurie*, as being loathsome in the very handling I briefly passe over, as men lightly skippe over quagmires, and proceed to their luxury in *diet*, and first of their *excesse in drinking*.

SECT. 2.

Of their excesse in drinking.

THis we may partly guesse at, by that which *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes of their pots, *graviora gladijs pocula erant*, their pots were heavier then their swords: Among the rest they had a kinde of cups which *Horace* calls *Ciboria*. *Lib. 22.*

---Obliviosa lævia massico
Ciboria imple. *Carm. l. 2. od. 7.*

Goe fill the biggest cups you may,
With liquor that drives care away.

Thought to bee the leaves of the *Egyptian* beane, which are so broad, which *Dioscorides* for their largenesse compares them to a *bonnet*; *Theophrastus* to a *Thessalian* hat, & *Pliny* thus describes them under the name of *Colocassia*. The leaves of *Colocassia* are exceeding large, and comparable to the broadest that any tree beareth, of these plaited and infolded one within another, the *Egyptians* make them cuppes of diverse *Lib. 21. c. 15.*

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formes & fashions, out of which they take no small pleasure to drinke; where by the leaves of *Colocassia*, *Adrianus Iunius* conceiveth *Horace* his *Ciboria* to be described. Such a kinde of cup, it seemes, was that which that mad fellow speakes of in *Plautus*, upon casting the dice.

Lib. 1. Animad. cap. 10.

Plautus in Curculione.

Iacto basilicum, propino magnam poclum,
Ille ebibit.

I threw the principall chance, & thereupon begin an health in the greatest bowle, and hee instantly pledges me the whole. Now the principall chance was *Venus*.

Hor. Carm. l. 2. od. 7.

--- Quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi.
Whom *Venus* shall name
To be Judge of the game.

And this Lord of mis-rule in their compotations or drunken meetings, was cal'd *Modiperator*, or *Magister*; his office was to prescribe rules, and to see them executed, and there hee commanded as a Soveraigne *Monarch* in his kingdome.

Horace Carm. l. 1. od. 4.

Nec regna vini sortire talis
Nor shalt thou any more by chance of dice
Win *Bacchus* kingdome, or the drinking price.

Their rules of drinking they borrowed, for the most part, from the *Grecians*, the most debosht drunken Nation, I thinke that ever was, in so much, as their very name is for that quality growne into a proverbe, both in *Latine* and *English*. Of these rules, one was to drinke downe the evening-starre, and drinke up the morning-starre, *ad Diurnam stellam matutinam potantes*, saith *Plautus*, another commonly practised among them, was the drinking of so many healths as there were letters in their *Mistresses* name.

Pergacari, a merry Greeke. *In men.*

Martiall.

Nævia sex Cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur,
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.
Six healths to *Nævia* drinke, seaven to *Iustina*,
To *Lycas* five, to *Lyde* foure, and three to *Ida*.

And yet it should seeme by *Plutarch* in his *Sympostaks*, that they had a superstitious conceit of drinking foure healths, perchance because an even number.

Aut quinque bibe, aut tres, aut non quatuor:
Three drinke, if more,
Five, but not foure.

These drunken matches were in a manner the dayly trade of their *Poets*,

Nulla manere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.
Who nought but water drinke, their rime
Cannot endure or live long time.

Horat. Carm. l. 1. od. 37.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus.
Now let us drinke out wit,
And dance and frolike it.

And

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And the *Epigrammatist* tells us of himselfe, that sober, he was no bodie for invention, but drunke, fifteene Poets strong.

Possum nil ego sobrius, bibenti — *Mart. lib. 11. Epig. 7.*
Succurrunt mihi quindecem poetæ.

Neither were their very women free from this excesse. Nay *Seneca* assures us, that in this practise they put downe the men themselves; *Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, & oleo & mero vires provocant; æquè invitis ingesta visceribus peros reddunt; & vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur, æque nivem rodunt solatium stomachi æstuantis:* They no lesse sit up late in the night, they drinke no lesse then men themselves, nay they challenge men to the annointing of their bodies, and the swilling downe of wine, regorging what they eate and drinke, as well as they; neither doe they forbeare to chaw upon snow, as men doe for the refreshing of their boyling stomackes. And this custome of drinking snow and yce in their wine was so common, that they made a trade of selling it, and set up shoppes thereof: to which custome *Solomon*, it should seeme, alludes *as the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithfull messenger to them that send him.* *Epist. 96.* *Sen. nat. qu. 4. 12.* *Prov. 25. 13.*

SECT. 3.

The same confirmed by the testimony of Pliny *and* Plutarch.

THis vice of *excessive drinking* is by some thought to be the *Epidemicall* proper disease of this age: But he that will be pleased patiently to peruse, & advisedly to consider this ensuing discourse, which I shall here annex out of *Pliny*; will I presume, alter his opinion therein, not by excusing the present, but by not excusing the former ages, and the better learne to detest this beastly vice in both. Thus then writeth hee, no lesse sharpely then elegantly of this vice, and the great excesse thereof in his time: 'If a man marke and consider well the 'course of our life, wee are in no one thing more busie and curious, nor 'take greater paines then about wine, as if *Nature* had not given to man 'the liquor of water, which of all other is the most wholesome drinke; 'and wherewithall other Creatures are well contented: But we thinking it not sufficient to take wine our selves, give it also to our horses, 'mules, & labouring beasts, and force them against nature to drinke it. 'Besides such paines, so much labour, so great cost & charges we are at 'to have it, such delight & pleasure we take in it, that many of us thinke 'they are *borne to nothing else, and can skill of none other contentment in this* 'life: Notwithstanding when all is done, it transporteth & carrieth away the right wit and minde of men, it causeth furie & rage, and induceth, nay it casteth headlong as many as are given thereunto into a 'thousand vices & misdemeanours; and yet forsooth to the end that we 'may take the more cups, and powre it downe the throat more lustily, 'we let it runne thorow a strainer for to abate and geld, as it were, the 'force thereof; yea and other devices there bee to whet our appetite 'thereunto, and cause us to quaffe more freely; nay to draw on their *plin. l. 4. c. 22.*

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'drinke men are not afraid to take *poyſons*, while ſome take hemlocke
'before they ſit downe, becauſe they muſt drinke perforce then, or elſe
'die for it; others the powder of the *Pumiſh* ſtone and ſuch like ſtuffe,
'which I am abaſhed to rehearſe, & teach thoſe that be ignorant of ſuch
'lewdnes. And yet we ſee thoſe that be the ſtouteſt & moſt redoubted
'drinkers, even thoſe that take themſelves moſt ſecured of danger to lie
'ſweating ſo long in the baines & brothell-houſes for to concoct their
'ſurfet of wine, that otherwhiles they are carried forth dead for their
'labour: You ſhall have ſome againe, when they have beene in the hot-
'houſe not to ſtay ſo long as they may recover their beddes, no not ſo
'much as to put on their ſhirts, but preſently in the place all naked, as
'they are puffing and labouring ſtill for winde, catch up great cans and
'huge tankards of wine (to ſhew what luſty and valiant *Champions* they
'be) ſet them one after another to their mouth, poure the wine downe
'the throat without more adoe, that they might caſt it up againe, and ſo
'take more in the place, vomiting & revomiting twice or thrice toge-
'ther that which they have drunke, and ſtill make quarrell to the pot, as
'if they had beene borne into this world for none other end but to ſpill
'and marre good wine, or as if there were no way elſe to ſpend & waſte
'the ſame but thorow mans body. And to this purpoſe were taken up
'at *Rome* theſe forraine exerciſes of vauting and dancing the *Moriske*,
'from hence came the tumbling of wraſtlers in the duſt and mire toge-
'ther, for this they ſhew their broad breaſts, beare np the heads, & car-
'ry their necks farre backe, in all which geſticulations, what doe they
'elſe, but profeſſe that they ſeeke meanes to procure thirſt, and take oc-
'caſion to drinke: But come now to their pots that they uſe to quaffe
'and drinke out of: are there not graven in them faire pourtraites
'thinke you of adulteries? as if drunkenneſſe it ſelfe were not ſufficient
'to kindle the heat of luſt, and to teach them wantonnes. Thus is wine
'drunke out of *lubidinous cups*, & more then that, he that can quaffe beſt
'and play the drunkard moſt, ſhall have the greateſt reward. But what
'ſhall we ſay to thoſe (would a man thinke it?) that hire a man to eat al-
'ſo as much as he can drinke, & upon that condition, covenant to yeeld
'him the price for his wine-drinking and not otherwiſe. You ſhall
'have another that will enjoyne himſelfe to drinke every denier that he
'hath wonne at dice. Now when they are come to that once, & he tho-
'rowly whittled, then ſhall you have them caſt their wanton eyes
'upon mens wives, then fall they to court faire Dames and Ladies, and
'openly bewray their folly even before their jealous and ſterne huſ-
'bands, then I ſay the ſecrets of their heart be opened and diſplayed.
'Some you ſhall have even in the midſt of their cups make their wills
'even at the board where they ſit, others againe caſt out bloody and
'deadly ſpeeches at randome, & cannot hold but blurt out thoſe words
'which afterwards they are forced to eate againe, for thus many a man
'by a laviſh tongue in his wine, hath come by his death & had his throat
'cut. And verily the world is now grown to this paſſe, that whatſoever a
'man ſaith in his cups is held for ſooth, as if *truth were the daughter of*
'*wine*. But ſay they eſcape theſe dangers, certes ſpeed they never ſo wel,

'the

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'the beſt of them all never ſeeth the Sun riſing, ſo drowzie and ſleepie
'they are in bed every morning, neither live they to be old men, but die
'in the ſtrength of their youth. Hence commeth it that ſome of them
'looke pale with a paire of flaggie cheekes, others have bleared & ſore
'eyes, and there bee of them that ſhake ſo with their hands that they
'cannot hold a full cup, but ſhed and powre it downe the floore. Gene-
'rally they all dreame fearefully, (which is the very beginning of their
'hell in this life) or elſe have reſtleſſe nights. And finally if they chance
'to ſleepe (for a due guerdon and reward of their drunkenneſſe) they
'are deluded with imaginary conceits of *Venus* delights, defiled with
'filthy abominable pollutions: & thus being ſleeping & waking they ſin
'with pleaſure. Well, what becomes the morrow after? they belch
'ſowre, their breath ſtinketh of the barrell, and telleth them what they
'did over night, otherwiſe they forget what ever they did or ſaid: they
'remember no more, then if their memory were utterly extinct. And
'yet our jolly *drunkards* give out and ſay that they alone enjoy this life,
'and rob other men of it: But who ſeeth not that ordinarily they looſe
'not onely the yeſterday paſt, but the morrow to come? Of all Nati-
'ons the *Parthians* would have the glory for this goodly vertue of wine-
'bibbing: and among the *Greekes Alcibiades* indeed deſerved the beſt
'game for this worthy feate. But here with us at *Rome*, *Nivellius Tor-*
'*quatus* a *Millanois* wan the name from all *Romans* and *Italians* both.
'This *Lombard* had gon thorow all honourable degrees of dignity in
'*Rome*, he had beene *Pretor*, and attained to the place of a *Proconſull*. In
'all theſe offices of ſtate he wonne no great name: but for drinking in
'the preſence of *Tiberius* 3 *gallons of wine* at one draught, and before hee
'tooke his breath againe, he was dubbed *Knight* by the ſurname of *Tri-*
'*congius*, as one would ſay, *the* 3 *gallon Knight*. And the Emperour, ſterne,
'ſevere and cruell otherwiſe though he was, now in his old age, (for in
'in his youthfull dayes hee was given overmuch to drinking of wine.)
'would delight to behold this worthy & renowned *Knight* with great
'wonder and admiration. For the like rare gift & commendable qua-
'lity men thinke verily that *C. Piſo* firſt roſe, and afterwards was advan-
'ced to the *Provoſt-ſhip* of the *Citie of Rome* by the ſaid *Tiberius*: and
'namely for that in his court being now Emperour, he ſate two dayes &
'two nights drinking continually, & never ſtirred foot from the board.
'And verily *Druſus Cæſar* (by report) in nothing more reſembled his
'Father *Tiberius* than in taking his drinke. But to returne againe to
'noble *Torquatus*, herein conſiſted his excellencie, that he did it accor-
'ding to art (for this you muſt take withall, there is an *Art of drinking*,
'grounded upon certaine rules and precepts) *Torquatus* (I ſay) dranke
'he never ſo much, was not knowne at any time to falter in his tongue,
'never eaſed himſelfe by vomiting, never let it goe the other way un-
'der board: how late ſoever he ſate up at the wine over night, he would
'be ſure to relieve the morning watch and ſentinell. He drunke moſt of
'any man at one entire draught before the pot went from his head: and
'for ſmaller draughts beſides, he went beyond all other in number, his
'winde hee never tooke whilſt the cup was at his mouth, but juſtly ob-

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'ſerved the rule of drinking with one breath: hee was not knowne to 'ſpit for all this: and to conclude, he would not leave a drop behinde 'in the cuppe, not ſo much as would daſh againſt the pavement, and 'make the leaſt ſound to bee heard, a ſpeciall point and preciſe law to 'prevent the deceit of thoſe that drinke for a wager. A ſingular glory 'no doubt in him, and a rare felicity. *Tergilla* challenged *M. Cicero* the 'younger, ſonne to that *M. Cicero* the famous Oratour, and reproached 'him to his face, that ordinarily hee dranke two gallons at once, and 'that one time above the reſt when hee was drunke, hee flung a pot at '*M. Agrippa* his head. And truly this is one of the fruits and feates of 'drunkenneſſe. But blame not young *Cicero* if in this point yet he deſi-'red to ſurmount him that ſlew his father, *M. Antonius* I meane; for he 'before that time ſtrained himſelfe, and ſtrove to winne the beſt game 'in this feate, making profeſſion thereof, as may appeare by a booke 'which hee compiled and ſet forth with this title, *Of his owne drunken-'neſſe:* wherein he was not aſhamed to avow and juſtifie his exceſſe and 'enormities that way, and thereby approved (as I take it) under pre-'tence and colour of his drunkenneſſe all thoſe out-rages of his, all 'thoſe miſeries and calamities that he brought upon the whole world. 'This Treatiſe hee vomited and ſpued out a little before the battle of '*Actium*, wherein hee was defeated. Whereby it may appeare very 'plainely, that as he was drunken before with the bloud of the *Citizens*, 'ſo ſtill hee was the more bloud-thirſty: For this is a property which 'neceſſarily followeth this vice, that the more a man drinketh, the 'more hee may, and is alwayes dry. And herein ſpake to good pur-'poſe a certaine Embaſſadour of the *Scythians*, ſaying, that the *Parthi-'ans* the more they drunke the thirſtier they were. To this teſtimony of *Pliny* may not unfitly bee added that of *Plutarch* in his booke of the precepts of health, ſpeaking of the exceſſive drinking of the gallants of that time, where hee ſayeth it was growne into a Proverbe, that *Wine was to bee expelled by wine, and one ſurfet digeſted by another*: and though hee condemned this opinion and practiſe of the gluttons and drunkards of his time; yet what himſelfe a ſtrict and ſevere Philoſopher thought of drunkenneſſe may partly appeare, by that which hee makes *Zeuxippus* to ſpeake in delivering his precepts of health. Wee ought, ſaith hee, when we are bidden to great feaſts and meetings, to be prepared before hand (becauſe we know wee ſhall be inforced to drinke round in our turnes, and to anſwer every ones challenge) as to keepe a roome in our ſtomakes both for meates, and alſo for fine cates and junketing diſhes; and therefore bring an appetite freſh and ready for any ſuch thing.

SECT. 4.

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SECT. 4.

In particular this exceſſe of the Romans in drinking, is confirmed by the practiſe of Anthony, *ſpecially at his being with* Cleopatra, *as alſo by the practiſe of* Clodius *ſonne to* Eſope *the Tragedian in drinking of diſſolved pearle.*

NOw becauſe *Pliny* hath inſtanced in *Anthony* as one of the moſt notorious drunkards among the *Romans*, not onely for the practiſe but for the defence thereof, notwithſtanding his eminent place and great command, it ſhall not bee amiſſe a little farther to enquire into ſome particulars touching his great exceſſe therein. It is a moſt ſhamefull one which *Cicero* chargeth him with: *Sed hæc quæ robuſtioris improbitatis ſunt omittamus; loquamur potius de iniquiſſimo genere levitatis. Tu iſtus faucibus, iſtis lateribus, iſta gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippiæ nuptijs exhauſeras, ut tibi neceſſe eſſet in Populi Romani conſpectu vomere poſtridie. O rem non modo viſu fœdam, ſed etiam auditu! ſi inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidiſſet, quis non turpè diceret? in cœtu verò populi negotium publicum gerens, magiſter Equitum, cui ructare turpe eſſet, is vomens fruſtis eſculentis vinum redolentibus, gremium ſuum & totum tribunal implevit.* But thoſe villanies which require more ſtrength let us omit, & ſpeake rather of his wicked kind of lightneſſe. Thou with thoſe chaps of thine, with thoſe ſides, with that ruffian-like ſtrength of thy whole body at the wedding of *Hippia*, did'ſt take in ſo much wine, that the next day thou muſt needes vomit in the open view of the people of *Rome*, a filthy act not onely to be ſeene but to be heard, if at ſupper-time in the midſt of thoſe thy monſtrous pots the ſame had fallen out, who would not have cryed out ſhame on thee? but now the Maſter of the Horſe being about a publique buſineſſe in an aſſembly of the people, where it had beene a ſhame for ſuch a man to belch, vomiting out gobbets of fleſh ſmelling ſtrongly, therewith filled both his owne boſome and the whole *court of Iuſtice*. *philip.* 2.

This was indeede very foule in it ſelfe, though but once done, even without the *Oratours Rhetoricall* aggravation: but his daily practiſe of exceſſive drinking during his abode with *Cleopatra* was leſſe excuſable, becauſe more frequent; touching which *Pliny* relates two memorable ſtories, though in different kindes, the one was this. *plin. l.21.c.3.*

Here by the way (ſaith he) I cannot chooſe but remember the device of *Queene Cleopatra*, full of fine wit, and as wicked & miſchievous withall. For at what time *Anthony* prepared the expedition and journey of *Actium* againſt *Auguſtus*, and ſtood in ſome doubt and jealouſie of the ſaid *Queene*, for all the faire ſhew that ſhee made of gratifying him, and doing him all pleaſure, hee was at his taſter, and would neither eate nor drinke at her table without aſſay made. *Cleopatra* ſeeing how timorous he was, and minding yet to make good ſport and game at his needleſſe feare and fooliſh curioſity, cauſed a Chaplet to be made for *M. Antonius*, having before dipped all the tips and edges of the flowers that

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went to it in a ſtrong and ranke poyſon, and being thus prepared, ſet it upon the head of the ſaid *Anthony*. Now when they had ſitten at meate a good while, and drunke themſelves merry, the *Queene* began to make a motion & challenge to *Anthony* for to drinke each of them their chaplets; and withall began unto him in a cup of wine ſeaſoned and ſpiced as it were with thoſe flowres which ſhee ware her owne ſelfe. O the ſhrewd and unhappy wit of a woman when ſhee is ſo diſpoſed! who would ever have miſdoubted any danger of hidden miſchiefe herein? Well, M. *Anthony* yeelded to pledge her: off goeth his owne garland, and with the flowres minced ſmall, dreſſeth his owne cup. Now when hee was about to ſet it to his head, *Cleopatra* preſently put her hand betweene & ſtayed him from drinking, and withall uttered theſe words; 'My deare heart and beſt beloved *Anthony*, now ſee what ſhe is whom 'thou ſo much doſt dread & ſtand in feare of, that for thy ſecurity there 'muſt waite at thy cup and trencher extraordinary taſters; a ſtrange & 'new faſhion I wis, and a curioſity more nice then needefull; loe how I 'am hot to ſeeke of meanes & opportunities to compaſſe thy death, if I 'could finde in my heart to live without thee; which ſaid, ſhe called for a priſonner immediatly out of the goale, whom ſhe cauſed to drinke off the wine which *Anthony* had prepared for himſelfe: no ſooner was the goblet from his lippes againe, but the poore wretch died preſently in the place.

Lib. 9. c. 35. The other ſtory he thus relates, Two onely pearles there were together, the faireſt & richeſt that ever have beene knowne in the world, and thoſe poſſeſſed at one time by *Cleopatra* the laſt *Queene* of *Egypt*, which came into her hands by the meanes of the great Kings of the *Eaſt*, and were left unto her by deſcent. This *Princeſſe* when *Marcus Antonius* had ſtrained himſelfe to do her all the pleaſure he poſſibly could, & had feaſted her day by day moſt ſumptuouſly and ſpared for no coſt: in the height of her pride and wanton bravery (as being a noble *Curtezan* and a *Queene* withall) began to debaſe the expence and proviſion of *Anthony*, and make no reckoning of all his coſtly fare. When he there at demanded againe how it was poſſible to goe beyond this magnificence of his, ſhe anſwered againe, that ſhee would ſpend upon him in one ſupper 100 thouſad *Seſterty*, *Anthony* who would needes know how that might bee, (for he thought it was impoſſible) lay'd a great wager with her about it, and ſhe bound it againe and made it good. The morrow after when this was to be tryed, and the wager either to be wonne or loſt, *Cleopatra* made *Anthony* a ſupper (becauſe ſhe would not make default, and let the day appointed paſſe) which was ſumptuous & royall enough, howbeit there was no extraordinary ſervice ſeene upon the board: Whereat *Antonius* laughed her to ſcorne, and by way of mockery, required to ſee a bill with the account of the particulars. Shee againe ſaid, whatſoever had beene ſerved up already, was but the overplus above the rate and proportion in queſtion, affirming ſtill, that ſhee would yet in that ſupper make up the full ſumme that ſhee was ſeaſed at: yea her ſelfe alone would eate above that reckoning, and her owne ſupper ſhould coſt ſix hundred thouſand *Seſterty*: and with that,

Cœnam paravit pollucibilem. *Macrobius Sat. 3. 17.*

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commanded the second service to bee brought in. The Servitours that waited at her trencher (as they had in charge before) set before her onely one crewet of sharp vineger, the strength whereof is able to dissolue pearles. Now shee had at her eares hanging those two most pretious pearles, the singular and only jewels in the world, and even *Natures* wonder. As *Anthony* looked wistly upon her, and expected what shee would doe, she tooke one of them from her eare, steeped it in the vineger, and so soone as it was liquified, dranke it off. And as she was about to doe the like by the other: *L. Plancius* the judge of that wager, laid fast hold upon it with his hand, and pronounced withall, that *Anthony* had lost the wager: whereat the man fell into a passion of anger. There was an end of one pearle: But the fame of the fellow thereof may goe therewith. For after that this brave *Queene*, the winner of so great a wager, was taken prisoner and deprived of her royall estate, that other pearle was cut in twaine, that in memoriall of that one halfe supper of theirs, it should remaine unto posterity, hanging at both the eares of *Venus* at *Rome* in the temple *Pantheon*.

And yet, saith the same *Pliny*, as prodigall as these were, they shall not goe away with the prize in this kinde, but shall loose the name of the chiefe and principall in superfluity of expence. For long before their time, *Clodius* the sonne of *Æsope* the *Tragædian Poet*, the onely heire of his Father who died exceeding wealthy, practised the semblable in pearles of great price: so that *Anthony* need not be over proud of his *triumvirate*, seeing that he hath to match him in all his magnificence one little better then a *stage-player*: Who upon no wager at all lay'd, (and that was more princely and done like a *King*) but only in a bravery, and to know what taste pearles had, mortified them in vineger and drunke them up. And finding them to content his palate wonderous well, because he would not have all the pleasure by himselfe, and know the goodnesse thereof alone, he gave to every guest at his table one pearle a peece to drinke in like manner.

This madnesse of *Clodius*, *Horace* thus describes.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ *Serm. 7.*
(Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet) aceto
Diluit ingentem baccam, qui sanior ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretue cloacam
The sonne of *Esop* from *Metellas* eare,
(That he at once ten thousand sols might drinke)
Pluckt off, and it dissolu'd in vineger,
As wise as if h'had thrown't into a sinke.

And therefore *Valerius* in expresse terms calls him, *non solum perditæ sed etiam furiosæ luxuriæ juvenem, amplissimum patrimonium tanquam amaram sarcinam quàm celerimè abjicere cupientem*; a young man not only of a dissolute but of a frantique kinde of *Luxury*, striving to cast away with all the speede hee might a goodly patrimony as if it had bin some grievous burthen. *Lib. 9. cap. 1.*

SECT. 5.

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SECT. 5.

Of excessive drinkers among the Romans *in regard of the quantity of the liquor, and how both their Princes and people were all generally tainted with this vice.*

THese were *luxurious drinkers* in regard of the *pretiousnes* of the liquor, such as I thinke this age hath not heard of, & God forbid it should. Now for excesse in *quantity* of wine at one draught or one sitting, *Lipsius* hath written a large *Epistle*, wherein he hath made a collection of many examples, borrowed from the ancient *Historians* to that purpose, the title of it is, *de potoribus & edonibus*, of excessive drinkers and eaters, and beginning with the first of these he thus makes his entrance. *Quos ubi & quando non est invenire? in veteri & nostro avo, in noto & novo orbe videas, & Plinij dicto, nulla in parte mundi cessare ebrietatem.* Which kinde of men where and when shall you not finde? you may see them as well in the old as in our age, both in the knowne and new world, and to use *Plynies* speech, no part of the world is free from them. To let goe the *Grecians*, and those *Romans* already named, out of *Spartianus* hee tels us of one *Firmus*, who under *Aurelian* was *Deputy* of *Egypt*; this man being challenged by *Barbarus* a famous drinker, *Situlas duas plenas mero duxit*, hee tooke off two buckets full of wine. *Bonosus* was such another who lived about the same time, of whom the same *Emperour*, as witnesseth the same *Authour*, was wont to say, *non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat*, he was borne not to live, but to drinke: & being hang'd for some misdemeanour, they jeasted on him, *amphoram pendere, non hominem*, that a barrell or tankard hung there, not a man: But that which *Capitolinus* reports of the *Emperour Maximinus* is almost incredible: *Bibisse sæpe in die vini Capitolinam amphoram*, that he often dranke in one day an *Amphora* of the *Capitoll*, an *Amphora* containing of our measure *nine gallons*, counting a gallon and a pinte to the *Congius*, whereof the *Amphora* containes eight; *Trepidarem hæc scribere*, saith *Lypsius*, *sed bonus & priscæ fidei Author adserit, quam ego non sugillem*: I should feare to write these things, but that I vouch it from an Authour of good credit, which I durst not impeach or question. Yet one instance beyond this againe he brings out of *Vopiscus*, in the life of *Aurelian*, of one *Phagon*, who dranke out in one day *plus orca*; what measure this *Orca* held, I cannot well determine; neither could *Lypsius* himselfe, yet thus much hee confidently affirmes of it, *Scio vas vinarium fuisse & amphorâ quidem majus, sed quanto mihi latet*, I know for certaine that it was a vessell of wine, and that bigger then the *Amphora*, but how much I know not. To these may bee added that memorable epitaph found at *Rome* without the gate *Capena*, as witnesseth *Camerarius*.

Ep. 63. ad Contubernacles suos

Cent. 1. cap. 94.

Heus, hic situs est Offellius Buratius Bibulus,
Qui dum vixit, aut bibit aut minxit. Abi præceps.

Heare you, here lies buried *Offellius Buratius Bibulus*,
Who whiles hee lived, either powred in liquor or powred it forth. Enough; goe, bee gone.

Now

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Now that which moſt of all infected the ſtate with this beaſtly vice, was, that the *Emperours* themſelves were deepely infected with it, both heartily affecting it themſelves, and highly rewarding it in others. *Tiberius Nero, propter nimiam vini aviditatem*, ſaith *Suetonius*, by reaſon of his exceſſive drinking, was nick-named *Biberius Mero*; and beſides, *Piſo*, whom *Pliny* told us before, he advanced to the *Provoſtſhip* of the city for that quality, hee likewiſe for the ſame promoted *Flaccus Pomponius* to the preſidentſhip of the Province of *Syria*, ſtiling them in his letters patents, *Iucundiſſimos & omnium horarum amicos*, his moſt pleaſant companions and friends for all ſeaſons: But that which exceeded the reſt, and indeede reaſon it ſelfe, was, that *ignotiſſimum Quæſturæ candidatum nobiliſſimis antepoſuit, ob epotam in convivio propinante ſe vini amphoram*, that he preferred a baſe fellow, who was a ſutor for the Treaſurerſhippe, before the moſt noble and worthy that ſtood in competition with him, only for the taking off of a *Amphora* of wine at a feaſt which himſelfe had begun. Now who would not ſtrive to excell and exceed in this lewd practiſe, when it was in ſuch requeſt and eſteeme with the greateſt *Commanders*? the multitude ſoone conforming themſelves to their manners, ſpecially in naughtines, and being thereunto encouraged by commendation and rewards. And how farre this *unmanly* vice had infected the Commons, may apeare by that of *Macrobius*, who affirmes, that at that time when *Lex Fannia* was made againſt drunkennes, *eo res redierat, ut plerique ex plebe Romana vino madidi in comitium venirent, & ebrij de Reipub: ſalute conſulerent*; to ſuch a paſſe were things brought, that the greateſt part of the common people of *Rome* came loaden with wine into the Counſell-houſe, and being drunke, conſulted of the ſafety of the ſtate. Cap. 42. Saturnal. l. 3. c. 17.

SECT. 6.

Of the coſtlineſſe and curious workemanſhippe of the veſſels out of which they dranke, which was likewiſe a meanes to draw them on to exceſſive drinking.

NOw as I began this diſcourſe of *drunkenneſſe* with the greatnes, ſo will I end it with the *coſtlineſſe* and *curious workemanſhip* of the veſſels out of which they dranke, which was likewiſe a meanes to draw them on to exceſſive drinking. The world (ſaith *Pliny*) is given to ſuch inconſtancie, as touching ſilver plate, that a wonder it is to ſee the nature of men, how variable they be in the faſhion and making of ſuch veſſels: For no workemanſhip will pleaſe them long. Onewhile we muſt have our plate out of *Furnius* his ſhop, another while we will bee furniſhed from *Clodius*: And againe in a new fit, none will content us but of *Gratius* his making (for our cupbords of plate & tables, forſooth, muſt beare the name of ſuch & ſuch goldſmiths ſhops.) Moreover, whē the toy takes us in the head, all our delight is in chaſed and embоſſed plate; or elſe ſo carved, engraven, and deepe cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, wrought in imagerie or flower worke, as if the painter had drawne 33. 11.

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drawne them. Theſe *celatures* in their drinking cups were ſo fram'd, that they might put them on or take them off at pleaſure, & were therefore called *Emblemata*. Such was that, whereof the *Satyriſt* ſpeakes.

Iuvenal. Satyr. 1. *----Stantem extra pocula caprum.*

----A goat ſtanding out from the cup.

Two of this kinde wrought by the hand of *Mentor*, coſt *Lucius Craſſus* *Plin. l. 33. c. 11.* the *Oratour* one hundred thouſand *Seſtercies*: Sometimes were they made of *Onix* ſtones drawne out of the mountaines of *Arabia*, ſome- *Idem. 36. 7.* times of mother of pearle, or ſome rare pretious ſhels.

Iuven. Satyr. 6. *Cum perfuſa mero ſpumant unguenta Falerno,*
Cum bibitur concha.

When their Falernian wines mingled with oyntments crop,
And when they drinke in ſhels.

And all theſe kindes they richly inamel'd with pearles and pretious *Lib. 33. proem.* ſtones; we drinke, ſaith *Pliny*, in rooes of pearle, and garniſh our pots with emerals; it delights us to hold the *Indies* in our hands as a provocation to drunkennes, and gold is now become but an *acceſſorie*. And for this reaſon had they ſome at their feaſts ſet to watch their drinking veſſell.

Iuven. Satyr. 5. *----Cuſtos affixus ibidem*
Qui numeret gemmas, unguesque obſervet acutos.

Faſt by ſome one is ſet to watch and tell the plate,
Leaſt any be purloynd by ſome lime-fingred mate.

Neither were they content to garniſh their cups with pearle and pretious ſtones, but made them of *entire gemmes*, they thought not themſelves dainty enough, ſaith *Pacatus*, *niſi luxuria intervertiſſet annum, niſi hy-* *In Panegerico.* *berna poculis roſa innataſſent, niſi æſtivam in gemmis capacibus glaciem falerna fregiſſent*, unleſſe luxury had changed the ſeaſon of the yeare, unleſſe winter roſes ſwam upon the top of their pots, unleſſe their pleaſant wines diſſolved the ſummer yce in a large gemme. And ſuch a one was *6. in Verrem.* that which *Tully* mentions; *Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pragrandi trulla excavata cum manubrio aureo:* There was likewiſe a drinking cuppe for wine made of one entire gemme or pretious ſtone, with a great hollow bowle and an handle of gold. They had alſo drinking veſſels of *Murrin* & *Chriſtall* of wonderfull great prices. *Video iſthic Chriſtallina, quorum accendit fragilitas pretium, omnium enim rerum voluptas apud imperitos ipſo, quo fugare debet, periculo creſcit; Video Murrina pocula, parum ſcilicet luxuria magno fuerit, niſi quod vomant, capacibus gemmis inter ſe propinarent*: I there ſee, ſaith *Seneca*, their Chriſtall glaſſes, whoſe very brit- *De beneficiis, l. 7. c. 9.* tleneſſe inhaunces their price: For among the vulgar; their delight in things is increaſed by the very danger, which ſhould rather induce them to ſhunne it: I likewiſe ſee their *Murrin* cups, their luxury being not held ſufficient, unleſſe they may in large gemmes drinke that which ſoone after they vomit up againe. The price of ſome of theſe, *Pliny*, *37. 2.* takes the paines particularly to relate: *Creſcit indies ejus rei luxus, Murrino octoginta Seſtertijs empto, capaci plane ad ſextarios tres calice*: The exceſſive luxury hereof increaſeth daily, a *Murrin* cuppe of three quarts being ſold for foure ſcore thouſand Seſterces; one of theſe bought for three

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three hundred thousand, *Petronius*, who had beene *Consull*, brake in peeces a little before his death on a spite to *Nero*, *ut mensam ejus exhæredaret*, that hee might disinherit his table thereof. Another of *Christall*, mentioned by the same Authour, I may not forget; *alius hic furor*, here is another kinde of madnesse, one *Christall* bowle, being bought by the mistris of a family, and shee not over rich neither, cost her one hundred and fifty thousand Sesterces, Hereunto might not unfitly be added the beastly formes of many of their cups.

Vitreo bibit ille Priapo, Sat. 2.

Saith *Juvenall*, and *Pliny* to like purpose, *in poculis libidines celare juvat & per obscœnitates bibere.* But I passe from their drunkennesse to their gluttony. Proœm. l. 33.

CHAP. 7.

Of the excessive gluttony of the Romanes.

SECT. 1.

Of their costly tables, their huge platters, the quantity, order, and number of their waiters, and also of their Arts and Schooles of Carving.

TOuching their *excesse in gluttony*, it is an *Ocean* both boundlesse & bottomeles, whether wee consider the *rarity* or the *variety* of those dishes which at their solemne feasts they presented: But before I come to the furnishing of their tables, it shall not bee amisse to say somewhat touching the *tables* themselves, upon which they placed, and some *monstrous platters* in which they served in their provision, and the *number* and *order* of their *waiting servants*. They had tables of *silver* and some of *gold*.

Sustentatque tuas aurea mensa dapes.
Tables of gold thy dainties do sustaine. Martial. lib. 3. Epig. 31.

But their most pretious which they had in greatest request were of *Citron*, as appeares by the same *Poet* in another *Epigram*: These, as witnesseth *Petronius Arbiter*, they fetched from *Africa*. Lib. 14. Epig. 89

----Ecce Aphris eruta terris
Citrea mensa. In Satyrico.
Tables of Citron brought from *Africa*.

With whom *Pliny* therein accordeth, who in his *Naturall History* hath a discourse proper to this purpose. 'The *Moores*, saith hee, that border 'upon the mountaine *Atlas*, are stored with abundance of *Citron* trees, 'from whence commeth that excessive expence and superfluitie about 'Citron tables made thereof: And our dames at home by way of re'venge twit us their husbands therewith, when we should seeme to find 'fault with the costly pearles which they weare: there is at this day to 'bee seene a board belonging sometimes to *Tullius Cicero*, which cost 'him tenne thousand Sesterces; a strange matter, considering hee was 'no rich man, but more wonderfull, if we call to minde the severity of Lib. 13. cap. 15.

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'that age wherein he lived. Much ſpeech there is beſides of *Aſinius* 'Gallus his table, ſold for an eleven thouſand Seſterces: Moreover there 'are two other which King *Juba* ſold, the one was prized at fifteene 'thouſand Seſterces, and the other held little under, a round ſumme, & 'the price of a good faire *Lordſhip*: which incredible prizes are notwithſtanding confirmed by *Seneca*, who farther tels us, they were valued according to their knottines: *video iſtic menſas, & æſtimatum lignum cenſu Senatoris, eo pretioſius quo illud in plures nodos arboris infœlicitas torſit*: I ſee there their tables, and a peece of wood valued at a *Senatours* revenew, ſo much the more pretious, as the unhappy tree is wreſted into diverſe knots. To which paſſage of *Seneca* and *Pliny*, *Tertullian* ſeemes to allude, for having produced the inſtances of *Tully* and *Aſinius Gallus* mentioned by *Pliny*, though with ſome addition to the prices, hee preſently addes: *Hem quantis facultatibus æſtimavêre ligneas maculas!* at what high rates did they value thoſe ſpots in wood! Beſides, theſe tables they ſupported with Yvorie feete,

De beneficijs, lib. 7. c. 9. The taxe of a Senatour was then *duodecies Seſtertium*, twvelve hundred thouſand *Seſtertij*. *Suet. Aug. 41.* *De Pallio, c. 5.*

Martial. lib. 2. Epigram 43.

Tu Lybicos Indis ſuſpendis dentibus orbes,
Fulcitur teſta fagina menſa mihi.
Thy Lybian tables Indian teeth to reare,
My Beechen bord an earthen caske doth beare.

And theſe yvorie feete were artificially carved into the ſhape of Lyons or the like, which was ſo common, that without theſe, their greateſt dainties could not reliſh to their pallates,

Iuvenal. Sat. 11

Nil Rhombus nil dama ſapit, putere videntur
Vnguenta atque roſa, latos niſi ſuſtinet orbes
Grande ebur, & magno ſublimis pardus hiatu:
Nor buck nor Turbet taſt, ſweet ointments yeeld no ſent,
And roſes ſtinke, unleſſe huge gaping yvorie Pards
Bearing a loft their large round tables give content.

Yet ſuch was the ſtore which one man poſſeſſed of theſe, that it exceeded ſome hundreds.

Martial. lib. 7. Epig. 47.

Cum menſas habeat fere trecentas,
Pro menſis habet Annius miniſtros.
An hundred tables *Annius* hath thrice told,
And waites at his tables manifold.

Lipſ. l. 1. manuduct. ad Stoicã philoſ. cap. 18. Lib. 33. cap. 11. And *Dion* reports of *Seneca*, that notwithſtanding his ſevere and *Stoicall* profeſſion, hee was ſtored with foure hundred of thoſe *Citron* tables. Whereunto we may not improperly add that *Iulius Cæſar* feaſted all the *Citizens* of *Rome* at once, ſeating them at 2200 tables.

Plutarch in the life of *Cæſar.*

'Touching their platters or chargers, no longer ſince, ſaith *Pliny*, then 'in the dayes of *Claudius* the *Emperour*, *Druſillanus* a ſlave of his ſurnamed *Rotundus*, the *Seneſcall* or *Treaſurer* under him in high *Spaine*, had 'a *ſilver Charger* of five hundred pound weight; for the working where-'of, there was a forge framed aforehand of ſet purpoſe, and the ſame 'was accompanied and attended with eight more of a ſmaller ſize, 'weighing fifty pound a peece: Now I would gladly know if it might 'pleaſe you, ſaith *Pliny*, how many of his fellowes, ſuch ſlaves I meane

as

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as himselfe, there must be to carry the said vessell and serve it up to the table, or what guests they might be who were to be served with such huge plate: [h]But this is nothing to that *Charger* of *Vitellius*, who whiles 'he was *Emperour* causèd one to be made and finished that cost [i]*a million* 'of *Sesterces*; for the making whereof, there was a furnace made of pur- 'pose in the field; alluding to this *monstrous platter*, *Mucianus* in his se- 'cond *Consulship*, when he ripped up in a publique speech the whole life 'of *Vitellius* now dead, upbraided the memoriall of him in these very 'tearmes, calling his excesse that way, *Patinarum Paludes*, platters as broad as pooles or ponds: and verily, saith hee, that platter of *Vitellius* came nothing behind another, which *Cassius Severus* reproached *Asprenas* withall, whom hee accused bitterly, and said, that the poyson of that one *platter* had killed one hundred and thirty persons, who had tasted thereof. Matchable to these; was the famous *platter* of *Esope* the *Tragadian*, save that it was more notorious for the daintinesse of the provision which he served in it, then for the massines of the dish it selfe.

h *Lib.* 35. c. 12.

i *Decies Sestertium.* according to *Budæus*: but if you reade according to *Hottomanus*, *ducenties* it is twenty times as much more.

Plin. l. 10. c. 51. *Seneca Ep.* 96.

Their waiters were sometimes naked wenches. *Tiberius* (saith *Suetonius*) sent to *Sestius Gallus*, that he would come and sup with him, upon condition, that hee should change nothing of his wonted fashion, *utque nudis puellis ministrantibus cœnaretur*; a message worthy of him, who as the same *Author* reports in the same place, erected a new office, *à voluptatibus*, onely to devise new pastimes and pleasures. But *Seneca* describes the order and number of their waiters more particularly: They had waiting on them, saith he, *puerorum infœliciam greges*, whole troopes of unfortunate *Ganymedes*, they had *exoletorum agmina*, armies of Exoletes growne to mens estate, these they ranged into severall bands according to their nations and complexions, they of the same band were all of a smoothnesse alike, or had the same length of downy mosse in their chin; nay speciall care was had, that their haire might bee sutable, as in length, so in colour and kinde: *ne quis cui rectior est coma, crispulis misceatur*, that none whose haire grew long & straight, should be ranked with the curle pates. He farther tels us of the infinite number of their Cooks and Bakers, and such like officers; *Per quos signo dato ad inferendam cœnam discurritur*, by whom the waiters run presently upon the signe given for the carrying of supper: his conclusion is, *Dij boni quantum hominum uni venter exercet!* good God, what a number of men doth one belly set a worke! and in another place *Convivia mehercule horum non posuerim inter vacantia tempora, cum videam quam solliciti argenti ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas succingant, quam suspensi sint quomodo aper à coquo cæsus exeat, quanta celeritate signo dato glabri ad ministeria decurrunt, quanta arte scindantur aves in frusta non enormia, quam curiosè infœlices pueruli ebriorum sputa detergant.* Truly for my part, I should not put their feasts among their vacant or leasure times, when I see how sollicitous they are about the ordering of their plate; how diligently they tucke up the coates of their Exoletes; how carefull they are in what manner the Bore come out of the Cookes handes and bee served in, how suddainely the smooth-chinne Catamites runne to the dresser upon the sound given, with what singular art their birdes are

Cap. 42.

Epist. 96.

De brevitate vitæ. cap. 12.

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cut up into competent portions, how ſtudiouſly and curiouſly their unhappy boyes wipe out the ſpuing and ſpitting of their drunken Maſters.

And to this their artificiall carving and ordering their diſhes on the table doth the *Satyriſt* allude, where hee intimates *Schooles* and *Maſters* of that Art, who taught their Schollers by diſhes faſhioned in wood, after what manner, and with what geſture of the body they ſhould cut them up.

Iuv. l. 4. Sat. 11.

Sed nec ſtructor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis
Pergula, diſcipulus Tripheri doctoris, apud quem
Sumine cum magno lepus, atque aper, & pygargus,
Et Scythicæ volucres, & phœnicopterus ingens,
Et Getulus oryx, hebeti lautiſſima ferro
Caditur, & tota ſonat ulmea cœna Subura.

The carvers at my board diſciples never were
To Doctour *Trypheri*, with whom none may compare,
Sowes milkie teats, the hare, the boare, white buttockt roe,
Pheſant, Getulian goat, huge Phenicopter too,
All dainties with blunt knife hee carves as is moſt meete,
And th'Elmen ſupper ſounds through all Subura ſtreete.

SECT. 2.

That after-ages ſometimes reformed the abuſes of former times: of the great number and chargeable hire of their Cookes; of Apicius *his waſtfulneſſe in belly-cheere, that ſuch waſtefulneſſe was common among them.*

Lib. 4. de Aſſe.

NOw for the proviſion, I may ſay with *Budæus*, *Majora ſunt iſta omninò noſtræ ætatis captu*, it was beyond the reach and conceit of our age, ſo as *Pliny* herein hath proved a true Prophet, *nos fecimus quæ poſteri fabuloſa arbitrentur*, wee have done thoſe things which poſterity will not beleeve, but account fabulous. In the handling hereof it ſhall not be impertinent firſt to obſerve that after-ages ſometimes reformed the abuſe of former times. Thus *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panegyricke* commends *Theodoſius* for his ſobriety and frugality in regard of his Predeceſſors, in as much as there was then no neede *ad penum Regiam flagitare remotorum littorum piſcem, peregrini aeris volucrem, alieni temporis florem*, to take up and purvay for the Emperours uſe and proviſion, a fiſh of a remote coaſt, a bird of a ſtrange ayre, or a flowre of a contrary ſeaſon: Then goes hee on to deſcribe the exceſſive Luxury of former ages in reſpect of the preſent.

Lib. 3. c. 3.

Saturnal. l. 3. c. 13.

In like manner *Macrobius* in a conference at a ſupper betwixt *Horus* and *Cecinna*, makes *Horus* to declaime againſt the Luxury of his owne times, but *Cecinna* anſwers him by proving that Antiquity was much more faulty that way. Among other inſtances and reaſons alleaged by him, this is one; that *Peacockes* egges were commonly ſold for five pence a peece, which then were nothing worth to be ſold: and againe that anciently ſo many Lawes were made againſt it, as *Lex Orchia, fannia*,

Cap. 17.

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nia, didia, Licinia, Cornelia, and others and then concludes, *nisi pessimis effusissimisq; moribus viveretur, profectò opus tot legibus ferendis non fuisset, vetus verbum est, Leges bonæ ex malis moribus procreantur*: Except men had then lived in a most inordinate and licentious manner, they had never needed the making of so many lawes; it being an old saying, that good lawes are occasioned by evill manners.

Another argument for their *excessive gluttony* in former times, might be taken from the number and exceffive hire of their *Cookes*, and their wonderfull expences in their *Kitchins* and at their *Tebles*. For the number of their *Cookes*, *Aspice Culinas nostras*, saith *Seneca*, *& concurrantes inter tot ignes coquos nostros*; Looke into our Kitchins, and marke the number of the Cookes running up and downe among so many fires. And in another *Epistle*, *innumerabiles esse morbos: non miraberis, coquos numera, In Rhetorum ac Philosophorum scholis solitudo est: At quam celebres culinæ sunt? quanta circa nepotum focos juventus premit?* Do you wonder that our diseases are innumerable? number our Cookes if you can: The schooles of Rhetoritians and Philosophers are empty, but how are out Kitchins frequented? what multitudes of youth presse about the chimneyes of unthrifts? And for their hire, they were wont to complaine, saith *Pliny*, that the hire of a Cooke was as much as the price of an horse, whereas now adayes we can hardly get them for the price of three horses: *nullusque jam prope mortalis æstimatur pluris, quàm qui peritissimè censum Domini mergit*; and scarce any man is in greater request then he that can most artificially waste his Masters substance. And what infinite waste they made this way, the onely story of *Apicius* a famous belly-god may suffice to shew: who having layd up ninety millions of Sesterces for his Kitching, besides many great gifts of *Princes*, and a mighty revenew of the *Capitoll*, being deepe in debt, he began at last, though sore against his will, to looke into his reckonings, and take an account of his estate, and found that all being cast up, hee had yet left unto himselfe cleare tenne millions of Sesterces, and thereupon *velut in ultima fame victurus, veneno vitam finivit*, as if he should have beene forced poore man to live in a hunger-sterved fashion, he poysoned himselfe: *Quanta luxuria est cui sestertium centies egestas fuit?* how great was that *Luxurie* to which ten millions of Sesterces seemed poverty? This notable vanity and folly of *Apicius*, the *Epigrammatist* most deservedly scoffes at.

Epist. 115.

96.

Lib. 9. 17.

Trium horum; not *triumphorum* as some read it.

Plin. 9. 17.

Seneca de Consolatione ad Albinam. 10.

Dederas Apici bis trecenties ventri,*
Sed adhuc supererat centies tibi laxum,
Hoc tu gravatus, ne famem & sitim ferres,
Summa venenum potione duxisti,
Nil est Apici tibi gulosius factum.

Martial. l. 3. *Epig.* 23.
* It seemes it should be read *ter trecenties*, the figures of II being mistaken for III.

Apicius thou didst on thy gut bestow
Full ninety millions: yet when this was spent
Ten millions still remaind to thee, which thou,
Fearing to suffer thirst and famishment,
In poyson'd potion dranks't: *Apicius*
Of all thy facts this was most gluttonous.

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And no marvaile *Apicius* ſhould runne ſo farre upon the ſcore and conſume ſuch a maſſe of treaſure by this meanes, ſince it was uſuall to laviſh out and devour whole patrimonies at a ſitting,

Iuven. Sat. 1. *----Vna comedunt patrimonia menſa.*

Seneca Ep. 96. *Quid eſt cœna ſumptuoſa flagitioſius, & equeſtrem cenſum conſumente? & tricies tamen Seſtertio adjciales cœnæ frugaliſſimis Viris conſtiterunt.* What is more lewde, ſaith *Seneca*, then a ſumptuous ſupper waſting a Knights revenewes? yet it ſtands the moſt frugall commonly, if it be ſolemne, in three hundred thouſand Seſterces. And he that ſhall but looke into their bils of fare, and take a particular view of the number of their *Courſes* at a feaſt, and of their *diſhes* at a courſe, and of the *priſes* of their diſhes, together with their *long* and *often* ſittings, will rather wonder that they ſpent ſo little, then that they brought going ſo much.

SECT. 3.

Of their long and often ſitting and uſuall practiſe of vomiting, as alſo of the number of their courſes at a ſitting, together with the rarity and coſtlineſſe of their ſeverall ſervices.

Cap. 42. FOr their *long ſittings Suetonius* reports of *Tiberius*, that hee ſpent a whole night and two dayes out right in nothing elſe but eating & drinking, *Noctem continuumque biduum epulando, potandoq; conſumpſit*: And of *Nero*, *Epulas è media die ad mediam noctem protrahebat*, he held out his feaſt from noone day till midnight. And of *Vitellius* for *often ſittings*, that he feaſted uſually three times, ſometimes foure times a day, every ſitting being valued at foure hundred thouſand Seſterces, *facilè omnibus ſufficiens vomitandi conſuetudine*, being eaſily able to goe thorow them all by a continuall cuſtome of vomitting: which it ſeemes was among them a common practice: *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant: epulas, quas toto orbe conquirunt, nec concoquere dignantur*: they vomit that they may eate, and eate againe that they may vomit, and thoſe delicates which they hunt for thorow the world, they vouchſafe not ſo much as to concoct, and from hence (as I conceive) did they uſually riſe from their great feaſts ſo colourleſſe and indiſpoſ'd,

Cap. 29. *Cap. 12.* *Seneca de Conſolatione ad Albinam. c. 9.*

Hor. Sat. 2. l. 2. *----Vides, ut pallidus omnis*
Cœna deſurgat dubia? quin corpus onuſtum
Heſternis vitijs, animum quoque prægravat unà,
Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.
Seeſt thou how pale they from their doubtfull ſupper riſe?
Their body further charg'd with riotiſe
Of yerſterday, weighs downe the ſoule, and in the mire
Of this baſe earth doth plunge the ſparke of heav'nly fire

The *number* of their Courſes at a ſitting were uſually ſeaven, and that ſometimes when they ſate privately,

Iuvenal. Sat. 1. *----Quis fercula ſeptem*
Secreto cœnavit avus?
Which of our Anceſters upon
Seaven ſervices did ſup alone?

But

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But that monster *Heliogabalus* had served in at one feast two and twenty severall courses, *Exhibuit aliquando & tale convivium ut haberet viginti duo fercula ingentium epularum*; hee once made such a feast that he had served in, two and twenty courses, all of the choicest fare. *Lampridius.*

For their *variety* of dishes wee may partly guesse at them by that *adventitious* supper, (as *Suetonius* calls it) which was made *Vitellius* by his brother, *in qua duo millia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur*, in which are said to have beene served in, two thousand of the choicest fish, and seaven thousand fowle. *Cap. 13.*

Now for the *delicacie* and prices of their dishes, it certainely exceeded their variety and number, they were farre fetcht and deare bought, *Quicquid mari, aut terra, aut etiam cœlo gigneretur, ad satiandam ingluviem suam natum existimans, faucibus ac dentibus suis subdidit*, saith *Macrobius* of *Anthony*, he devoured with his chaps and teeth whatsoever the Sea, or Earth, or Aire brought forth, as if all had beene borne only to satisfie his luxurie. And *Salust* of *Metellus Proconsull* in *Spaine*, *Epulæ verò exquisitissimæ, neque per omnem modò provinciam, sed trans maria ex Mauritania volucrum & ferarum incognita antea plura genera.* His feasts were most exquisite, not onely for all the dainties which were to bee had in those parts, but many kindes of birds and beasts before unknowne in that Countrey, were brought from beyond the Seas and out of *Mauritania*. *Saturn. 3. & 17.*

Quis ganeonum aut lurconum possit vel ansit imitari? Quis nostrûm hodie aves aut feras trans mare cœna causâ conquirit: Which of our thriftlesse Belly-gods can or dare imitate him? Which of us now adayes sends for birds or beasts beyond the Seas to make a supper? Yet was this practise among them no rare matter, as may appeare by that of *Petronius Arbiter*. *Lipsius.*

Ingeniosa gula est, Siculo scarus æquore mersus
Ad mensam vivus deducitur; inde Lucrinis
Eruta littoribus vendunt conchylia cœnis,
Et renovent per damna famem; jam Phasidos unda
Orbata est avibus, mutoque in littore tantum
Sola desertis aspirant frondibus auræ.

The throat is witty, thence the Guilthead that doth clive,
Sicilian sea is brought unto the board alive.
Shelfish they sell that in the lake of Lucrin grew,
To sup on, by their losse their hunger to renew.
The bankes of Phasis now are dumbe, the birds are gone,
And on forsaken boughs now breathes the winde alone.

And least wee should thinke that hee speakes *Poetically* and *hyperbolically*, the grave *Seneca* in his sober and sad manner goes beyond it. *Non est necesse omne perscrutari profundum, nec strage animalium ventrem onerare, nec conchylia ultimi maris ex ignoto littore eruere, Dij istos Deæque perdant, quorum luxuria tam invidiosi imperij fines transcendit, ultra Phasin capi volunt quod ambitiosam popinam instruat, nec piget à Parthis quibus nondum pœnas repetivimus, aves petere, undique convehunt omnia vota fastidienti gulæ, quod dissolutus delicijs stomachus vix admittat ab ultimo portatur Oceano.* There is no necessity of searching the deepe, nor of filling our bellies with the *De consolat. ad Albinam. c. 9.*

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ſlaughter of beaſts, nor of dragging ſhell-fiſh of the moſt remote ſeas & the unknowne ſhore. The Gods and Goddeſſes plague them, whoſe luxury cannot bound it ſelfe within the liſts of ſo large and ſo much envied an Empire: It muſt be taken beyond the river *Phaſis*, which ſhould ſerve the proviſion of their ambitious kitchin, neither are they aſhamed to borrow birds from the *Parthians*, upon whom they have not yet taken revenge, from all places they hunt after that which they long for to ſatisfie their yawning appetite; nay they fetch that from the fartheſt part of the Ocean, which their ſtomacke weakened with delicacies, will hardly admit. And a while after, *ô miſerabiles quorum palatum niſi ad pretioſos cibos non excitantur, pretioſos autem non eximius ſapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, ſed raritas & difficultas parandi facit.* O wretched men, whoſe pallates are not ſtirred but with pretious meates, ſpecially when that which makes them pretious, is not any ſingular reliſh or excellent ſavour they have, but onely their ſcarcity and difficulty of procuring them.

And herein *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panygericke* accords well with *Seneca*, if he goe not a ſtraine beyond him; *Horum gulæ anguſtus erat orbis noſter: namque appoſitas dapes non ſapore ſed ſumptu æſtimantes, illis demum cibis acquieſcebant, quos extremus Oriens, aut poſitus extra Romanum Colchus Imperium, aut famoſa naufragiis maria miſiſſent*: This our world was too narrow for their throates: for not valuing their Cates by their taſt, but by their coſt, they reſted content onely with that proviſion which they got from the uttermoſt parts of the *Eaſt*, or *Colchus*, ſeated beyond the *Romane Empire*, or ſeas infamous with ſhipwrackes.

Iuvenal. Satyr. 11. *---Magis illa placent quæ pluris emuntur.*
That pleaſeth moſt
Which deareſt coſt.

Many thinke it (ſaith *Plutarch*, in that golden booke of his touching the *precepts of health*,) an abſurd thing, not to feede liberally of things which are rare, and can hardly be come by, as a Sowes pappes when ſhe hath newly farrowed, *Italian* Muſhroomes, *Samian* Cakes, or Snow out of *Egypt*, forcing the body (which otherwiſe would not ſeeke after them) to participate of ſuch rare things, onely becauſe they be much ſpoken of, and hard to come by, to the end that they may report, and recount to others, what they have eaten, that they may bee reputed happy and fortunate in having enjoyed things ſo deare, ſo ſingular and geaſon.

SECT. 4.

Of the ſumptuous proviſion of two platters furniſhed out, the one by Vitellius, *the other by* Æſope *the* Tragædian, *as alſo of the horrible exceſſe of* Caligula *and* Heliogabalus

Suet. cap. 13. THeſe dainties wee may partly gueſſe at by the furniture of two famous platters, the one of *Vitellius*, which for the huge bigneſſe thereof, hee was wont to call *Minerva's buckler*, in this hee blended

ded together the livers of Guiltheads, the braines of Fesants and Peacockes, the tongues of Phænicopters, & the melts of Lampries brought from the *Spanish* & *Carpathian* Seas, by the Masters of Shippes and Gallies. The other of *Æsope* the *Tragedian*, which he furnished out with the rarest singing birds, or such as imitated mans voice; they cost him six thousand Sesterces a peece, and the whole platter six hundred thousand: *Nulla alia inductus voluptate, nisi ut in his imitationem hominis mandaret*, induced hereunto by no other pleasure, saith *Pliny*, but that thereby he might eate the imitation of mankinde, or perhaps *imitatione hominem*, mankinde by imitation. *Valer. l. 9. c 1. Senec. Ep. 96. Tertul. de Pallio. Pl. 10. 51.*

To these may be added the horrible excesse of *Caligula* and *Heliogabalus*, the former of which, *Videtur natura edidisse ut ostenderet quid summa vitia in summa fortuna possent*, whom nature seemes to have brought forth, to shew what effects the greatest vices joyned with the greatest fortune could produce. This man, saith *Suetonius*, *nepotinis sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit*, in thriftles expences exceeded the wits of all the prodigalls that ever were, *commentus portentosissima genera ciborum atque cænarum*, inventing most monstrous kindes of meates & suppers, the most orient pearles that were to be gotten, hee dissolved in vineger and swallowed downe, and set before his guest bread & victuals of gold, *aut frugi hominem esse oportere dictitans, aut Cæsarem*, commonly saying, that a man neede be thrifty, or *Cæsar*; yet notwithstanding, saith *Seneca*, being assisted with the inventions of all his companions, he could hardly finde the meanes to spend the tribute of the *Provinces* at one supper. Which I wonder *Seneca* should affirme, considering he practised the dissolving and swallowing of pearles. *Seneca de consolatione ad Albinam, c. 9. Cap. 37. De Consol. ad Albinam, c. 9.*

Now for *Heliogabalus*, *Lampridius* thus begins his story. *Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam nunquam in literas misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum Principem sciret, nisi antè Caligulas, & Nerones, & Vitellios hoc idem habuisset Imperium:* The most beastly life of *Heliogabalus Antoninus* I would never have committed unto writing, that it might not have bin knowne, that ever there was such an Emperour of the *Romans*, unlesse *Caligula*, and *Nero*, and *Vitellius* had before sate in the same throne. Of him then, besides his other most abominable filthinesse, hee reports for his excesse in diet, that at one supper he caused to be served in the heads of six hundred Ostriches, onely for the eating of their braines; being neare the Sea, hee never tasted fish, but in places farthest distant from the Sea, all his diet was upon fish: And in the In-land hee fed the countrey clownes with the melts of Lampries and Pikes. To be briefe, *Cænas & Vitellij & Apicij vicit*, he exceeded the suppers both of *Vitellius* and *Apicius*.

SECT. 5.

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SECT. 5.

Of the exceſſive luxury of more ancient times.

WHat ſhould I ſpeake of more ancient times? of the *Dictator Cæſar*, who borrowed of *Hirrius* ſix thouſand Lampries by weight, for the furniſhing out of a triumph ſupper, and by weight to be repaid againe, and if ſuch were his ſtore of Lampries, what ſhall we conceive of his other proviſion? Of *Fabius Gurges*, ſo called for devouring his Patrimonie thorow the throat? Of *Metellus Pius*, who made ſuppers *ultra Romanorum ac mortalium etiam morem*, not onely beyond the cuſtome of the *Romanes*, but of mankinde? Of *Metellus Pontifex*, of whom *Macrobius* having ſpecified the dainties ſerved in at his table in all kindes, concludes, *Vbi jam luxuria tunc accuſaretur quando tot rebus farta fuit cœna Pontificum?* who ſhould then excuſe luxurie, when the table of the high Prieſts was furniſhed with ſuch variety of rarities? Of *Hortenſius*, who uſually watered (if I may ſo ſpeake) his plane trees with wine, in ſo much, that one day being to pleade a cauſe, wherein *Cicero* was likewiſe retained, hee ſollicited him to change turnes with him, that ſo he might returne the ſooner to his country farme, to powre wine on his Planes with his owne hand; and ſo curious hee was about his fiſh-ponds, that the ſame *Cicero* ſome-where calls *Phillip* and him, *Piſcenarios*, pond-men or fiſh-mongers, and ſo chary withall of his fiſh, that ſooner ſhould you get by his good will, *ex equili rhedarius mulas quàm ex piſcina barbatum mullum*, his coach mules out of his ſtable, then one barbell out of his pondes: yet was a mule ſold ſometimes for the price of an horſe.

Macrobius. Saturn. 2. 11. Pliny, 9. 55.

Macrob. Saturn. 3. 13. Saluſt.

Varro de re ruſtica. 3. 17.

---Pluris mula eſt quam domus empta tibi.

More for a mule then for a houſe thou pay'ſt.

Martial. lib. 3. Epig. 2.

Of *Aſinius Celer*, who laid downe for one mullet ſix thouſand Seſterces, as *Tertullian*, ſeaven thouſand, as *Macrobius*, eight thouſand, as *Pliny*, *In quare luxuriam illius ſeculi eo magis licet æſtimare*, ſaith *Macrobius*, *quod Plinius ſecundus temporibus ſuas negat facilè mullum repertum qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majoris ponderis paſſim videmus, & pretia hæc inſana neſcimus*: wherein we may the ſooner gueſſe at the luxurie of that age, in as much as *Plinius Secundus* affirmes that in his time, 'twas hard to finde a mullet of above two pound weight, whereas now wee have them every where of a greater quantitie, and yet are not acquainted with thoſe mad prices. Of *Lucullus* a great Stateſ-man, whom *Tully* and *Pompey* meeting by chance in the market-place, out of a deſire they had to know what his daily fare might bee, invited themſelves to ſuppe with him that night, but upon condition, he ſhould give no warning thereof, for that they deſired not to put him to charge: He began at firſt to put them off with excuſes for that time, wiſhing them rather to agree on the next day; but they importuning him for the preſent, he demanded of them, whether or no they would then ſuffer him to give order in what roome they ſhould ſup; that they permitted: whereupon he

Tertul. de Pallio. Macr. Satur. 3. 16. Pl. 9. 17.

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he presently dispatches away a message in their hearing, that he would that night suppe in *Apollo*, within a while they follow after, and finde all things ready in a pompous and princely manner, but knew not the true reason, all the cunning lying in the word, *Apollo*: For he had so disposed of his roomes, that being distinguished by names, their provision & charge when he sate in them was accordingly allotted to them; by which meanes his Steward and Cooke, as soone as they heard the roome named, knew presently what to provide. Now among the rest, that which bore the name of *Apollo* was chiefest, the summe allotted thereunto, being, as witnesseth *Plutarch*, *Quinquaginta millia drachmarum*, which *Budæus* casts up to 5000 Crownes, and addes withall, *hujusmodi multa à Plutarcho referuntur fidem omnino excedentia, si ex præsenti seculo æstimentur*: Many such things are reported by *Plutarch*, which if they should bee valued by the scantling of our present times, would seeme altogether incredible. Of [a] *Sergius Aurata* or *Orata*, who borrowed his name from a fish so called, because he loved it most; the first hee was that adjudged the price of the *Lucrine* Oysters for taste. Of *Licinius Crassus*, who, as witnesseth *Cicero*, being held a grave and staid man, and most eminent among the Citizens of the best ranke and note, mourned in blacke for a Lamprey which died in a pond adjoyning to his house, as it had beene for his daughter; and thereupon was afterward commonly called *Licinius Murena*. Or lastly, of *Octavius*, *Admirall* of the *Navy*, who finding that the *Scarus* was not to bee had in the *Italian* Seas, dispersed an incredible multitude of them, being brought thither in ships, betweene *Hostia* and *Campania*, *miroque ac novo exemplo pisces in mari, tanquam in terra fruges aliquas seminavit*; by a strange and new example sowed fishes in the Sea, as it had beene corne in the field: And the same man, *tanquam summa in hoc utilitatis publicæ verteretur*, as if herein had consisted the well-fare and chiefe happines of the state, for five yeares imployed his utmost endeavours, that if among other fishes any fisher-man by chance lighted upon a *Scarus*, hee should againe restore him to the Sea safe and sound. Belike this was the same *Octavius*, of whom *Seneca* relates this pleasant story: *Mullum ingentis formæ, (quare autem non pondus abijcio & aliorum gulam irrito? quatuor pondo & ad Selebram fuisse aiebant) Tiberius Cæsar missum sibi cum in macellum deferri & venire jussisset, amici inquit omnia me fallunt, nisi istum mullum aut Apicius emerit aut Publius Octavius. Vltra spem illi conjectura processit, licitati sunt, vicit Octavius & ingentem consecutus est inter suos gloriam, quum quinque millibus* H.S. *emisset piscem quem Cæsar vendiderat, ne Apicius quidem emerat. Tiber. Cæs.* being presented with a goodly mullet of a vast quantity (but why doe I not adde his weight, that so I may provoke the appetite of others? he was said to weigh foure pound and an halfe) sent it presently to the market there to be sold; and my friends, quoth hee, I am much mistaken if either *Apicius* or *Publius Octavius* buy him not: It fell out beyond expectation; they both cheapned it, but *Octavius* carried it away, and thereby got him wonderfull applause among his companions, that hee had with five thousand Sesterces bought a fish which the *Emperour* sold, and *Apicius* durst not buy. For

[a] *Macrob. Saturn.* 3.15. Of this *Orata* see more in *Val. Max. lib. 9. cap. 1.* *Lib. 4.* *Idem.* 3.16. *Epist. 69.*

mine

mine owne part I cannot tell, whether I should more wonder at the base parcimony of *Tiberius*, or the riotous prodigality of *Octavius*, that the one being an Emperour should send a fish which was given him for a present to the market to bee sold; or the other, being but a private man, should buy it at such a rate: Yet it should seeme by the *Satyrist*, this price was not so rare, but others out-vied it.

Iuven. Satyr. 4.

---Mullum sex millibus emit,
Æquantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
Hee for a mullet did six thousand pay,
Which equall pounds did with those thousands weigh.

By which proportion it seemes, they equalled a thousand Sesterces to a pound of fish.

SECT. 6.

Of their wonderfull niceness in the strangeness, weight, and newness of their fishes, as also of diverse other their strange curiosities about them, and of the vastness of their fish-ponds, and great store of fishes in them.

AND no marvell since those fishes among them were in greatest request which were brought from remote Seas, their owne being in a manner drawne drie,

Iuven. Satyr. 5.

Mullus erat dominæ quem misit Corsica, vel quem
Tauromenetanæ rupes, quando omne peractum est,
Et jam defecit nostrum mare.
That's th'onely Mullet which from Corsica is sent,
Or from Sicilian rockes, for all our Sea is spent,
And altogether failes.

And of the *Lamprey* to like purpose in the same Satyre.

Virroni murena datur, quæ maxima venit
Gurgite de Siculo.
A Lamprey one on *Virro* did bestow,
The greatest that Sicilian gulfe did know.

Of their *weight* they were so curious and observant, that they had them weighed many times at their very tables in the presence of their guests, many standing by and noting it in their table-bookes, as witnesseth *Ammianus Marcellinus*: *Poscuntur etiam in convivijs aliquoties trutinæ ut appositi pisces & volucres ponderentur, & glires quorum magnitudo sæpius delicata non sine tedio præsentium ut antehac inusitata laudatur assiduè, maximè cum hæc eadem numerantes notarij propè triginta adsistant, cum thecis & pugillaribus.* The ballances are sometimes sent for in the middest of their feasts, that the fishes which are set before them, and the birds, and the reare-mice may be weighed, whose excessive greatnesse not without tediousnesse to some present, as being a thing heretofore unusuall, is daily magnified and extolled, specially when almost thirty *Notaries* standing by, set downe the exact weight in their table-bookes. To which custome the *Poet* alludes;

Lib. 28.

---Laudas

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---Laudas insane trilibrem
Mullum. *Hor. l. 2. Sat. 2.*

A Mullet thou doest praise
Mad man that three pound weighs.

And as the weight much commended their fish & inhanced their price; so did the newnesse and freshnesse thereof: they being come to such a niceneſse and delicacy at last, that *parum videtur recens mullus nisi qui in convivæ manu moreretur*, that mullet seemed not new enough which died not in the guests hand. To this purpose they brought them alive in glassen bottles filled with water, into the roome where they sate: *in cubili natant pisces, & sub ipsa mensa capitur, qui statim transferatur in mensam*, out fishes swimme in our chambers, and that very fish is taken up under our board, which is instantly served in to our board. They took a marveilous delight to see their mullets change colour whiles they were expiring, *Mullum expirantem versicolore quadam & numerosa varietate spectari, proceres gulæ narrant*: The headmen and peeres of *Luxury* affirme that the mullet when he lies a dying shewes himselfe in many and those very various and changeable colours. But *Seneca* hereupon cannot hold but desires leave to leave his matter a while, and to lash those gluttons. *Permitte mihi quæstione sepositâ castigare luxuriam*: and then goes on. *Quo pervenêre deliciæ? & pro putrido jam pisce affertur qui non hodie eductus, hodie occisus est; nescio de re magna tibi credere, ipse oportet mihi credam, huc asseratur, coram me animam agat; ad hunc fastum pervenêre ventres delicatorum, ut gustare non possunt piscem nisi quem in ipso convivio natantem, palpitantemque viderint.* To what passe is our daintinesse now come? it is held for a stinking fish which is not that very day drawne out of the water and kild: I cannot trust thee in a matter of so great moment, bring him thither that hee may expire in my presence: to such an height are our belly-gods come, that they cannot taste the fish unlesse they see him in the very feast swimming and panting. And to this end, saith he, *cursu advehitur, & gerulis cum anhelitu & clamore properantibus datur via*, hee is brought in a posting speed, and way is given to the Porters; making haste with panting and out-cryes. His conclusion is, *non tempero mihi quin utar interdum temerarijs verbis, & proprietatis modum excedam: non sunt ad popinam dentibus, & ventre, & ore contenti, oculis quoque gulosi sunt.* I cannot refraine but that sometimes I must use unadvised and improper words, they are not content to play the gluttons with their jawes, and belly, and mouth, but they must doe it with their eyes too. *Plin. 9. 17.* *Sen. nat. quæst. 3. 17.* *Cap. 18.* And *Meursius* hereupon inferres, *Quæ malum hæ deliciæ? vix credamus nisi ab ipsis authoribus haberemus, quorum fidem hic negare sit periculum.* What a mischiefe, what a niceneſse is this? we should not beleeve it, but that we have it from those authors, whose credit once to question were a kinde of impiety. Yet that *Sammonicus Severus* writes to *Severus* the Emperour touching the serving in of the *Acipenser* or *Sturgion*, is mee thinkes a degree beyond all that hath beene yet spoken, it therein appearing that indeed they made their belly their God. *Dignatione vestra cum interfum convivio sacro, animadverto hunc piscem à coronatis ministris à Tibicine introferri.* When your sacred Majesty is pleased to admit me to *Cap. 14.* *Macrob. Sat. 3. 16.* *Philip. 3. 19.*

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your feaſt, I obſerve that this fiſh is ever ſerved in with muſicke, the wayters that beare him wearing garlands or chaplets on their heades. Whereupon *Macrobius* makes this Comment, *Quaſi quadam non deliciarum ſed numinis pompa*, as it had beene not for delight, but for devotion to ſome divine power.

Since then they were thus curious in the choice of their fiſh, wee neede not much marvell at him in *Iuvenal*, who

Iuven. Sat. 4.

----Circais nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad ſaxum Rutipinove edita fundo
Oſtrea, callebat primo deprendere morſu;
Et ſemel aſpecti littus dicebat Echini.

No ſooner did he taſt an Oyſter, but hee knew
Whether it from Circes towne, or Lucrin lake they drew,
Or from Richborow deepe, and Lobſters alſo hee,
What ſhore them bred can tell, when firſt he doth them ſee.

Lib. 4. epig. 30. But rather that of *Martiall* touching the Lampries in *Domitians* fiſh-ponds at *Baia*.

Piſcator fuge nè nocens recedas,
Sacrus piſcibus hæ natantur undæ,
Qui norunt Dominum, manumque lambunt
Illam, quâ nihil eſt in orbe majus.
Quid quod nomen habent, & ad Magiſtri
Vocem quiſque ſui venit citatus?

Angler wouldſt thou be guiltleſſe? then forbeare;
For they are ſacred fiſhes which ſwimme here,
Who know their Soveraigne, and will licke his hand,
Then which, none's greater in the worlds command:
Nay more th'have names, and when they called are,
Doe to their ſeverall owners call repaire.

Lib. 10. 70. Which latter part is confirmed by *Pliny*, *Spectantur & in piſcinis Cæſaris genera piſcium ad nomen venire, quoſdamque ſingulos*. In the *Emperours* fiſh-ponds are ſeene a kinde of fiſhes which come at the calling of them by their names, and that particular and ſingle ones. And of *Antonia* the *Lib. 9 55.* wife of *Druſus* he reports, that at *Baulos* ſhe hung jewels as it had beene eare-rings in the gilds of a Lamprey which ſhe loved; and that *Hortenſius* the Oratour was ſeene to ſhed teares for the death of one whom he dearely affected.

Theſe kinde of fiſh-ponds for the keeping of Lampreys, beſides the *Emperour*, diverſe private men had, and that ſo large, as is almoſt incredible what is reported of them, were it not written by Authors of good credit. The ſame *Hirrius*, whom wee mentioned before, received for the yearely rents of his buildings raiſed about his fiſh ponds, as witneſſeth *Varro*, twelve thouſand Seſterces; All which hee diſburſed againe in the feeding of his fiſhes: his farme hee ſold, and ſpecially in regard of his fiſh-ponds, for foure hundred thouſand Seſterces. And *Cato* (as writeth the ſame Author) being Guardian to *Lucullus*, ſold out of his fiſh-ponds ſo much fiſh as hee received for it forty thouſand Seſterces. But *Columella* making report hereof out of *Varro*, whether upon

De re ruſtica. 3. 17.

Ibid. cap. 2.

Lib. 8. cap. 16.

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upon a miſtake or no I know not, makes the ſumme ten times as much: his words are, *attamen iiſdem temporibus quibus hanc memorabat Varro luxuriem maxima laudabatur ſeveritas Catonis, qui nihilominus & ipſe tutor Luculli grandi are ſeſtertium quadringentorum millium piſcinas pupilli ſui venditabat.* In thoſe very times in which *Varro* mentions this Luxury, the ſeverity of *Cato* was highly commended, yet hee being guardian to *Lucullus*, ſold his Wards fiſh-ponds for a great ſumme of foure hundred thouſand Seſterces; the difference is great betweene *Varro* and *Columella*, but it ſhould ſeeme, the one ſpeakes of the fiſh alone, and the other of the fiſh-ponds with it. Howſoever, the ſumme was doubtleſſe very great, which argued their great ſtore of fiſh, and yet their prices being ſo great withall, it muſt needes argue that their *Luxurie* was *univerſall*, and greater then either their prices or ſtore.

SECT. 7.

Of their exceſsive gluttony in fowle as well as in fiſh, together with their luxurious appurtenances to their ſolemne feaſts, as alſo that their gluttony roſe with their Empire, and againe fell with it.

NOw as their *Luxurie* ſhewed it ſelfe chiefly in their *fiſh*, ſo likewiſe did it in *birds*, though not happily ſo much, yet foule enough to diſcover their inſatiable appetites: *Gellius* to this purpoſe alleageth a notable paſſage out of a ſet ſpeech of *Favorinus*, an ancient Orator, which hee uſed in reproach of their luxurious ſuppers, when he perſwaded the *Licinian* Law for the cutting off of ſuperfluous charge that way, which is the more remarkeable, becauſe in thoſe times, *Præfecti popinæ atque luxuriæ negant cœnam lautam eſſe, niſi quum libentiſſimè edis, tum auferatur, & alia eſca melior atq; amplior ſuccenturietur: is nunc flos cœnæ habetur inter iſtos, quibus ſumptus & faſtidium pro facetijs procedit: qui negant ullam avem præter ficedulam totam comeſſe oportere: cæterarum avium atque altilium, niſi tantum apponatur ut à cluniculis inferiori parte ſaturi fiant, convivium putant inopia ſordere: ſuperiorem partem avium atq; altilium qui edunt eos palatum non habere.* The maſters of the Art of Cookerie and Luxurie deny it to be a rich ſupper, unleſſe that meate which you feed upon with a good ſtomack be taken off, and more dainty and full diſhes be muſtered in place thereof. That is now held the flowre of delicacie, when in ſteed of merriment, coſtlineſſe even to loathing is ſubſtituted: they deny that any bird is to be eaten whole, but onely the * gnat-ſnapper, and except ſuch a quantity of other birds and fatted fowle be ſerved in, and ſet on, as a man may glut himſelfe onely with the hinder part of them, they hold it but a poore feaſt: and ſuch as taſt the fore-part, they cenſure as having no palate. The ducke they fedde upon only about the breaſt and the necke. 15. 8.

* *Ficedula.*

Tota quidem ponatur anas, ſed pectore tantum, Mart. 13.
Et cervice ſapit, cætera redde Coco.

And ſo did they onely upon the belly, and fat entralls of the *Scarus*.

Hic Scarus æquoreis qui venit obeſus ab undis, Idem ibidem.

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Viſceribus bonus eſt, cætera vile ſapit.

The fowle which they ſpecially hunted after and moſt delighted in, were *Phœnicopters*, *Peacockes*, *Thruſhes* and *Pigeons*. For the firſt of theſe I know not what kinde of bird it was, but *Martial* thus deſcribes it.

Lib.13. Epig.71.

Dat mihi penna rubens nomen, ſed lingua guloſis
Noſtra ſapit, Quid ſi garrula lingua foret?

Red wings gave me my name, my tongu's a dainty cate
To gluttons: would be more if that my tongue could prate.

Lib.3. cap.6. Their *Peacockes* grew in greateſt requeſt in *Varroes* time, *De pavonibus noſtra memoria greges habere capti, & vanire magno, ex ijs Auſidius ſupra ſexagena millia nummûm in anno dicitur capere*: Flockes of *Peacockes* began to bee kept in our time, and to be held at high rates, *Auſidius* is ſaid to receive yearely for theſe birds ſixty thouſand Seſterces; their bodies being commonly ſold for fifty, and their egges for five pence a peece. What reckoning they made of their *Thruſhes* in part appeares by that of *Martiall*.

Lib.13. Epig.92.

Inter aves turdus, ſi quid me judice certum eſt,
Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus.

'Mongſt birds the Thruſh, 'mongſt beaſts the Hare,
In my conceit the choiſeſt are.

Of *Thruſhes* they had marvellous great abundance, and yet were they *Lib.3. cap.2.* very deare; both which, wee have teſtified by *Varro* upon his owne knowledge. In this farme alone, ſaith he, which is ordained for an *Ornithon*, or the keeping of birds, *Quinque millia ſcio veniſſe turdorum denarijs ternis, ut ſexaginta millia ea pars reddiderit eo anno villa*: I know to have beene ſold five thouſand Thruſhes for three pence a peece, ſo as that commodity alone brought in that yeare threeſcore thouſand Seſterces. And no marvell, ſince the places in which theſe were kept, were, as writeth the ſame *Authour*, as large as the whole *mannor* houſe it ſelfe. Now for *Pigeons*, a paire were commonly ſold for two hundred Seſterces, if they were faire, for a thouſand. And *Lucius Accius* having it ſeemes ſome excellent breed, would not ſell them under foure *Lib.3. cap.7.* hundred pence the paire; and this in *Varro's* age, which was more ſe- *Lib.8. cap.8.* vere. But afterward in *Columella's* time they were held at foure thouſand Seſterces: his words are worth the noting, *Pretijs earum domini complent arcam, ſicut eximius Author Marcus Varro nobis affirmat, qui prodidit, etiam ſeverioribus ſuis temporibus paria ſingula* [*Columbarum*] *millibus ſingulis Seſtertiorum ſolita vanire, nam noſtri pudet ſeculi, (ſi credere volumus,) inveniri qui quaternis millibus nummûm binas aves mercantur.* The owners of them fill their cheſts with the money which they receive for them; as that renowned Authour *Marcus Varro* affirmes, who witneſſeth that even in his times, which were more ſevere, a paire of *Pigeons* were uſually ſold for a thouſand Seſterces: For, of the age in which we live, I cannot ſpeake without bluſhing, ſome being found therein (if it be not a matter beyond beleife) who have laid downe for two of thoſe birds foure thouſand Seſterces. Yet were they not content with thoſe ſtore-houſes at home, but muſtred in the provinces Abroad whole cohorts of fowlers & hunters to bring them in proviſion;

as

as *Latinus Pacatus* hath elegantly expreſſed it. *Vt taceam infami ſæpè delectu ſcriptos in provincijs aucupes, ductaſque ſub ſignis venatorum cohortes militaſſe convivijs.* Not to ſpeake of their infamous leavying of fowlers muſtered within the Provinces, and whole bands of hunters marching under ſeverall colours; the end of whoſe warres was, to make worke for their feaſts: In which, their curioſitie likewiſe about their very *bread* was ſuch, that the number of them was not the leaſt, ſaith *Gellius* in his 15 booke, *cap.* 19. To whom that of *M. Varro* in his Satyre, περὶ ἑαυτῶν might not unfitly be applied, *ſi quantum operæ ſumpſiſti ut tuus piſtor bonum faceret panem, ejus duodecimam philoſophiæ dediſſes, bonus jampridem eſſes factus, nunc illum qui norunt, volunt emere millibus centum, te qui novit nemo centuſsi:* If thou hadſt beſtowed but the twelfth part of that paines in the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which thou haſt, that thy Baker might make thee good bread, thou thy ſelfe mighteſt long ſince have beene made good; whereas now they that know him, will be content to lay downe for him five hundred pounds, but for thee, ſuch as know thee, ſcarce one hundred pence.

Now if I ſhould hereunto adde the *appurtenances* to theſe feaſts, as their infinite variety of *ſawces*, whereof *Seneca*, *inventæ ſunt mille condituræ quibus aviditas excitaretur*, a thouſand kinde of ſawces are found out for the ſtirring up of the appetite; their bathings and annointings before their feaſts, their perfumes and ſweet odours in diverſe kindes at their feaſts, *Croco ſparſa humus*, the very floore was ſtrowed over with ſaffron: the changing of their apparrell, as alſo of the roofe of the roome where they ſate, with ſome new device in it at the bringing in of every ſeverall courſe: And laſtly, of their damnable practiſe after their feaſt ended, not fit to bee named among *Chriſtians*, I ſhould tire both my ſelfe, and the Reader. And ſome of theſe I ſhall perchance have fitter occaſion to ſpeake of, when I come to treat of their *luxury* in *buildings*, and in *apparell*. *Epiſtola 96.* *Saluſt. of Metellus.*

And though it bee true in the condition of the ſtate, as in the courſe of private men,

Nemo repentè fuit turpiſſimus.

No man ever arrived to the height of villanie at firſt daſh; yet when their *Empire* was at the height, their riches & fulneſſe, bred ſuch exceſſive *luxurie*, as is ſcarcely matchable in all reſpects in any nation at any time: But doubtleſſe as farre beyond all that latter ages have afforded, as was the vaſte extent of their dominions. Neare about the ſecond *Punike* warre they were come to that paſſe, that *Cato* the Cenſor openly complained, *non poſſe ſalvam eſſe urbem, in qua piſcis pluris quam bos veniret*, that it could not goe well with that Citie, in which a fiſh was ſold for more then an oxe. But in *Tiberius* his time it was come to another paſſe, when one fiſh was valued at the price of above tenne oxen, *Tres mullos triginta millibus nummûm veniſſe graviter conqueſtus eſt*, ſaith *Suetonius* of that Emperour: He greivouſly complained that three mullers were ſold for thirty thouſand Seſterces, which is two thouſand Seſterces upon a fiſh beyond any yet ſpoken of; which I wonder was forgotten by *Plinie* in that place, where hee purpoſely mentions the exceſſive prices *Cap.* 34. *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 17.

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prices of fiſhes: But as this *Empire* declined, ſo did their luxury, as we have heard before out of *Macrobius* and *Latinus Pacatus*; by which it appeares that *Vices* have their riſing, their raigning, and their falling, as all other things have: As their fewell increaſeth, ſo doe their flame: but that once failing, they are ſoone extinguiſhed.

SECT. 8.

That their riot did not only ſhew it ſelfe in the delicious choyce of their fare, but in voracity and gurmandizing, in regard of the quantity ſome of them devoured at a meale.

NEither did their exceſſive *luxurie* ſhew it ſelfe only in the *delicious choyce* of their fare, but there were among them, who likewiſe ſtrangely exceeded in *voracity* & gurmandizing, in regard of the quantity and weight thereof. *Maximinus* the Emperour devoured many times in one day *quadraginta libras carnis, ut autem Cordus dicit, etiam ſexaginta*: forty pounds of fleſh, or as *Cordus* hath it, Sixty. *Clodius Albinus* another Emperour, did eate ſo much, *quantum ratio humana non patitur*, as humane reaſon cannot well comprehend it: *Nam & quingentas ficus paſſarias quas Graeci Calliſtruthias vocant jejunum comediſſe Cordus dicit, & centum Purſica Campana, & melones Oſtienſes decem, & uvarum Lavicanarum pondo viginti, & ficedulas centum, & oſtrea quadraginta*: In the morning faſting, he diſparched five hundred dryed figges, writeth *Cordus*, & an hundred peaches of *Campania*, and ten melones of *Oſtia*, and twenty pound weight of grapes of *Lavica*, beſides an hundred *gnat-nappers, and forty oyſters.

Capitolinus.

Idem.

* A bird like a Nightingall, feeding on figs.

Dij talem terris avertite peſtem,
God from ſuch monſters us defend.

But *Phago*, in whom *Aurelian* tooke ſingular delight for his wonderfull eating, ſurpaſſed in my minde both the former, ridding at one meale in the Emperours preſence, *aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem & porcellum*, a whole bore, an hundred loaves, a weather, & a young pig: and it ſhould ſeeme, that their ſerving in of whole bores, was a thing not unuſuall, even when they ſate alone and in private.

Vopiſcus in Aurelian.

---Quis feret iſtas
Luxuriæ ſordes? quanta eſt gula quæ ſibi totos
Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum?
This filthy luxury who can endure? how great
Is that ſame gut, which would whole boares (a beaſt
Ordained for feaſts) to bee before him ſet?

Iuven. Satyr. 1.

And the other *Satyriſt* to like purpoſe.

Horat. lib. 2. Sat. 2.

Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia naſus
Illis nullus erat: ſed, credo, hac mente, quòd hoſpes
Tardiùs adveniens, vitiatum commodiùs, quàm
Integrum edax dominus conſumeret.
Our Anceſtours well lik't a rancid boare, not that
They had no noſe, but (as I thinke) if gueſts came late,

'Twas

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'Twas thought much fitter they ſhould eate a tainted one,
Then the feaſts founder ſhould devour one all alone.

Mark Anthony, ſaith *Plutarch*, having but twelve gueſts provided eight boares, ſet to fire after one another, that whenſoever he came in, ſooner or later, one at leſt might come in prime. Nay *Carunus*, ſaith *Athenæus*, ſet before every gueſt a boare in a ſeverall diſh.

Now I have beene long, I confeſſe, in this point, but their *infinite vanity*, and *extreme madneſſe* therein hath made me ſo, the rather, for that this exceſſe is commonly brought as a reaſon of the generall decreaſe of mankinde now a dayes, as well in ſtrength and ſtature, as age and duration: And though it bee true, that we exceed this way too much, waſting that in ſuperfluous and riotous pampering of our bodies, which would be farre better beſtowed on ſuch as want neceſſaries; yet it is as true, that they as farre exceeded us this way, as we come ſhort of them in riches and dominion: And yet I doubt, much of that which hath beene ſpoken, will hardly be beleeved, though I have alleadged their owne Authours, and for the moſt part in their owne words, thereby to adde the greater weight, and procure the greater credit thereunto. *Nam vetera nunc ferè hoc fatum habent, ut etſi vera, vix videantur, an ſui magnitudine, an noſtra declinatione*, ſaith a great *Antiquarie*, ſpeaking of this very thing: Theſe ancient records are for the moſt part ſubject to this deſtiny, that although they bee true, yet they ſeeme not ſo, either thorow their owne exceſſe, or our comming ſo farre ſhort of them: But I hope I ſhall prepare a way to an eaſier beleife of that which is paſt, by that which is now to follow, touching their *luxurie* in building and apparell, and other prodigall expences every way ſutable to their *luxurie* in diet, if not exceeding it. *Lypſius Epiſt. ſelect. 63.*

SECT. 9.

Rare examples of faſting in this latter age, the like whereunto antiquity no where affords.

AS theſe latter times afford no ſuch example of exceſſive *luxurie* in feeding and feaſting: ſo neither doth antiquity afford us any of the like admirable abſtinency from all kinde of food as this latter age hath done; Neither *Pliny* himſelfe nor any other of the ancients that I have met with, hath ſo much as mentioned any thing comparable thereunto in that kinde.

Paulus Lentulus a Doctour of Phyſicke in the province of *Bearne*, a Canton of *Swiſſerland* hath publiſhed a booke, which he intitles, *Hiſtoria admiranda, de Appolloniæ Schreira virginis in agro Bernenſi inedia*, and dedicated it to our late Soveraigne King *Iames*, at his firſt entrance to the Crowne, in which epiſtle dedicatory he ſaith, *admirationem ingentem parit quod noſtra & patrum memoria, jam aliquoties diverſis in locis talia contingerent: priſcis ſeculis (quantum quidem ex omnis ævi monumentis colligi poteſt) aut ignota planè aut fortaſſe parum obſervata, exceptis paucis illis quæ in ſacris literis commemorantur, quæ à deo immediatè ad certum finem*

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(*ſicuti ex eiſdem ſacris literis patet*) *planè contra totum naturæ ordinem, verè miraculosè edita ſcimus.* In the hiſtoricall narration he tells us that himſelfe was with the maide hee there writes of, three ſeverall times, and that ſhe was by the command of the Magiſtrates of *Bearne* brought thither, and having a ſtrict guard ſet upon her, and all kinde of tryalls put in practiſe for the diſcovery of colluſion; in concluſion thy found none, but diſmiſſed her fairely: In the firſt yeare of her faſting, ſhe ſlept very little, in the ſecond not at all, and ſo continued for a long time after. The ſame Authour in the ſame booke produceth diverſe other examples in the ſame kinde, though not upon his owne experience, yet upon the teſtimony of witneſſes not to be excepted againſt; as of one *Margaret*, a girle of about ten yeares of age, borne in a village named *Roed*, about two miles from *Spire*, who began to abſtaine from all kinde of ſuſtenance *Anno Domini* 1539, and ſo continued for three yeares, walking in the meane ſeaſon, and talking, and laughing, and ſporting as other children at that age uſe to doe, yet was ſhe by ſpeciall order from the Biſhop of *Spire* delivered into the hands of the Paſtor of the Pariſh, and by him narrowly obſerved, and afterwards by the command of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, committed to the keeping of *Gerardus Bucoldianus* his Phyſitian, with whom hee joyned a Gentleman of his bed-chamber, and at the end of twelve dayes finding by their relation that there could bee no jugling in the buſineſſe, he gave her leave to returne to her friends, not without great admiration and princely gifts. A third narration hee makes of *Catharine Binder* borne in the *Palatinate*, whom *Iohn Caſimir* *Anno Domini* 1585, committed to the ſearch of a Divine, a ſtateſ-man, and two Doctours of Phyſicke; ſhee is ſaid to have fed onely upon aire by the ſpace of nine yeares and more, the diſcourſe whereof *Lentulus* received from *Fabritius*, and therewith the narration of another maide borne in the Dukedome of *Iuliers*, who being about the age of fourteene yeares, was brought to *Cullen*, and is certainely reported to have taken no kinde of meate or drinke by the ſpace of at leaſt three whole yeares. But the ſtrangeſt I have met with in this kinde is the Hiſtorie of *Eue Fleigen*, out of *Dutch* tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and printed at *London*, *Anno* 1611, who being borne at *Meurs*, is ſaid to have taken no kinde of ſuſtenance by the ſpace of 14 yeares together, that is from the yeare of her age 22 to 36, and from the yeare of our Lord 1597, to 1611, and this we have confirmed by the teſtimony of the Magiſtrate of the towne of *Meurs*, as alſo by the Miniſter who made tryall of her in his houſe thirteene dayes together, by all the meanes he could deviſe, but could detect no impoſture. Over the picture of this maiden ſet in the front of the *Dutch* copie ſtand theſe *Latine* verſes.

Meurſa hæc quem cernis decies ter ſexque peregit
Annos, bis ſeptem prorſus non veſcitur annis
Nec potat, ſic ſola ſedet, ſic pallida vitam
Ducit, & exigui ſe oblectat floribus horti.

Thus rendred in the *Engliſh* copie.

This maid of *Meurs* thirty ſix yeares ſpent

Fourteene

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Fourteene of which she tooke no nourishment,
Thus pale and wan shee sits, sad and alone,
A garden's all shee loves to looke upon.

Franciscus Citesius a *French* Physitian likewise witnesseth that one *Catharine Colberghen* lived in *Spire* seaven yeares without meate or drinke: as also that within the towne of *Constans* in *France*, lying upon the borders of *Limosin*, and the river of *Vien*, a Smith by name *John Balam* had a daughter named *Ioane*, borne in the yeare 1588, who for the space of two yeares did neither eate nor drinke; in admiration and for verification of which wonder that famous and eloquent Doctour *Iacobus Viverius* wrote, and published certaine verses too long to bee here inserted. He that desires to see more of these kinde of admirable feastings, let him consult with *Sylvius Consil. adversus famem*, *Laurentius Ioubertus Deca.* 1. *Paradox.* 2. and *Schenkius* in his *Medicinall observations. lib.* 3. *observ.* 39. and truly me thinkes such wonderfull workes of God as these, should not passe by us without a marke set upon them, specially considering that the greatest and most notable part of the examples alleaged have beene of the Protestant Religion.

CHAP. 8.

Of the Romans *excessive luxurie in building.*

SECT. 1.

Of their excesse in the great variety of their farre fetcht and deare bought marble.

THe chiefest materialls of building, in which the *Romanes* most generally exceeded, was the great variety of their farre fetcht & deare bought *Marble*: of which *Pliny* as being himselfe an eye-witnesse speakes so feelingly, and yet withall so wittily, that he best deserves to be heard: Though I professe to make choice of his words, as they lie here and there, and sute best with the present purpose. 'It now *Lib. 36. cap. 1.*
'remaines (saith hee) to write of the nature of stones, that is to say, the
'principall point of all enormous abuses, and the very height of wast-
'full superfluities. For all things else which we have handled hereto-
'fore even to this booke, many seeme in some sort to have beene made
'for *man*, but as for *Mountaines*, *Nature* hath framed them for her owne
'selfe, partly to strengthen, as it were certaine joynts within the veines
'& bowels of the earth, partly to tame the violence of great rivers, and
'to breake the force of surging waves and inundation of the Sea. And
'yet notwithstanding for our wanton pleasures, and nothing else, wee
'cut & hew, we loade and carry away those huge hills and inaccessible
'rockes, which otherwise to passe onely over, was thought a wonder.
'Our Ancestours in time past, reputed it a miracle, & in a manner pro-
'digious, that first *Hannibal*, and afterwards the *Cimbrians* surmounted
'the *Alpes*: But now even the same mountaines we pierce through with

'pick-

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'pick-axe & mattocke, for to get out thereof an hundred ſortes of mar-
'ble; wee cleaue the Capes and Promontories, wee lay them open for
'the ſea to let it in; downe we goe with their heades, as if we would lay
'the whole world even, and make all levell. The mighty mountaines,
'ſet as limits to bound the frontires of diverſe countreyes, and to ſepe-
'rate one nation from another, thoſe we tranſport and carry from their
'native ſeate: Ships we build of purpoſe for to fraught with marble: the
'cliffes & toppes of high hills they carry to and fro amid the waves &
'billowes of the ſea. Now let every man thinke with himſelfe what ex-
'ceſſive prices of theſe ſtones he ſhall heare anon, and what monſtrous
'peeces and maſſes he ſeeth drawne & carried both by land and ſea, &
'then let him conſider withall how much more faire & happy a life ma-
'ny a man ſhould have without all this, and how many cannot chooſe
'but die for it, whenſoever they goe about to doe, or if I ſhould ſpeake
'more truly, to ſuffer this enterpriſe. Alſo for what uſe elſe or pleaſure
'rather, but only that they might lie in beds & chambers of ſtones, that
'forſooth are *ſpotted*, as if they never regarded how the darkeneſſe of
'the night bereaveth the one halfe of each mans life of thoſe delights
'and joyes.

SECT. 2.

Of their exceſsive ſumptuouſneſſe in their temporary or tranſient buildings, made only for paſtime to laſt but for a ſhort time.

NOw their buildings were either *private* or *publique*; and the pub-
lique again, either meerely for *pleaſure* or for *uſe*: ſuch were their
places for civill *aſſemblies*, their *bridges*, their *Aquiducts*, their
draughts under ground, their *market places* & high *wayes*; & theſe, though
reſpectively to their ſeverall ends they were very ſumptuous, yet be-
cauſe they were for publique uſe, I will not touch, but will onely inſiſt
upon their exceſſive ſuperfluitie, caſt away upon thoſe which were on-
ly for publique pleaſure, or the vaine delight of private men. Among
thoſe that were deſtined to none other end, but game and paſtime, their
Theaters and *Amphitheaters* firſt preſent themſelves to our view, and a-
mong theſe, the renowned *Theater* of *Scaurus*. This *Scaurus*, ſaith *Pliny*,
Lib. 36. cap. 15. when hee was *Edile*, cauſed a wonderfull peece of worke to be made,
and exceeding all that ever have beene known wrought by mans hand,
not onely thoſe that have beene erected for a moneth, or ſuch a thing,
but even thoſe that have beene deſtined for perpetuity, and a *Theater* it
was: The ſtage had three lofts one above another, wherein were 360
columnes of marble, the baſe or nethermoſt part of the ſtage was all of
Marble, the middle of *glaſſe* (an exceſſive ſuperfluity, never heard of
before or after) as for the uppermoſt, the boards, planks & floores were
gilded; the columnes beneath were 40 foot high wanting twaine; and
betweene theſe columnes there ſtood of ſtatues of images in braſſe to
the number of 3000. The *Theater* it ſelfe was able to receive 80000
perſons to ſit well and at eaſe. As touching the other furniture of this

Theater

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Theater of *Scaurus* in rich hangings which were cloath of gold, painted tables the most exquisite that could bee found, Players apparrell, and other stuffe meet to adorne the stage, there was such abundance thereof, that being carried backe to his house of pleasure at *Tusculum* the surplusage thereof, (over and above the daintiest part whereof hee had daily use at *Rome*) his servants and slaves there, upon indignation for this waste and monstrous superfluitie of their Master, set the said countrey house on fire, and burnt as much as came to an hundred millions of Sesterces. Yet was this magnificent peece of building, by the testimony of the same *Plinie* but *Temporarium Theatrum*, a Theater set up but for a short time: And in another place, *vix uno mense futurum in usu*, scarce to indure for a moneth. *Lib. 36. c. 2.*

Such a kinde of worke was *Caligula* his bridge, *novum & inauditum spectaculi genus*, a new and unheard of kinde of shew: It reached from *Putzoll* to *Bauly* three miles and a quarter: He built it upon ships in a few dayes, and in emulation of *Xerxes*, over this hee marched with the Senate and the Souldierie in a triumphant manner, and in the view of the people, upon this he feasted and passed the night in dalliance and gaming: but like *Ionas* his gourd, it was suddenly up, and suddenly downe, *Immensum opus perpendenti, sed cui laudem vanitas detrahit; nam quo fine structum nisi ut destrueretur?* a marveilous great worke indeede, but such as the vanity thereof deprived it of commendation, for to what end was it raised but to be demolished? thus sported he, saith *Seneca*, with the power of the *Empire*, and all in imitation *furiosi & externi, & infæliciter superbi regis*, of a forraine, frantique, and unluckie proud King. Of like nature were those buildings set up by the command of *Caracalla*, (whom we may not unfitly or unjustly call another *Caligula*) *Vbicunque hyematurus erat aut etiam putabatur hyematurus, cogebantur amphitheatra & circos struere, & ea ipsa mox diruenda*, whersoever hee wintred, or but intended to winter, they were constrained to erect Amphitheaters & Cirkes for publique games, & those within a while be taken downe againe: So as upon the matter they were put to that excessive charge only for the imaginary use of one man. *Sueton. c. 19.* *Lipsius.* *De brevit. vitæ. cap. 18.* *Dio.*

SECT. 3.

Of their infinite expence in their permanent Amphitheaters, and the appurtenances belonging thereunto, namely their Curtaines and Arena.

BVt I passe by these *transient* buildings, and come to their *permanent*, among which the *Amphitheater* begun by *Vespasian*, but finished and dedicated by *Titus*, was one of the most famous, *Cujus summitatem agrè visio humana conscendit*, the height whereof was such, that the eye of man could hardly reach it. It was reared (saith *Cassiodore*, *divitiarum profuso flumine*, with rivers of treasure powred out, it contained only upon the steps or degrees, sufficient and easie seates for eighty seven thousand, so as the vacant places besides might well containe *Ammianus.*

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taine ten or twenty thouſand more. *Martiall* preferres it before all the rare great workes of *Rome*.

Omnis Cæſareo cedat labor Amphitheatro,
Vnum præ cunctis fama loquatur opus.

To *Cæſars* Amphitheater all other workes muſt vaile,
To ſound this one above them all Fames trump ſhall never faile.

And in another place hee beſtowes upon it the title of Venerable.

Hîc ubi conſpicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, ſtagna Neronis erant.

In that place where ſometimes ſtood cruell *Nero's* ponds,
That venerable peece th'Amphitheater ſtands.

Now as the maſſe of treaſure was infinite which they caſt away in the raiſing of theſe buildings, only to make the people ſport, ſo was it incredible what they ſpent in the furniſhing of them, and ſetting foorth their games therein.

Ovid. *Inſpice ludorum ſumptus Auguſte tuorum,*
Empta tibi magno, talia multa leges.

Quid dicendum eſt de ijs qui populari levitate ducti, vel magnis urbibus ſufficturas opes exhibendis muneribus impendunt? ſaith *Lactantius*: What
Inſtit. lib. 6. ſhall we ſay of them who being led with popular applauſe, ſpend in exhibiting ſword-fights, treaſure enough for the building or maintaining
Sermone. 81. of great Cities? And *Ambroſe* to like purpoſe, *Magiſtratus in Theatris, mimis, athletis, gladiatoribus, aliſque hujuſmodi generibus hominum totum patrimonium ſuum largitur & prodigit, ut unius horæ favorem vulgi acquirat.* The Magiſtate upon *Theatricall* games, jeaſters, wraſtlers, ſword-players, and ſuch kinde of men, laviſhes out his whole patrimony, and that onely to purchaſe the applauſe of the people for an houre: And ſurely wee may well conceive and beleeve as much, whether we conſider their *frequency*, or their *appurtenances*: for the former
Suetonius. c. 43 of which, *Auguſtus* alone is ſaid to have ſet foorth publique games in his owne name for himſelfe, foure and twenty ſeverall times: And for other Magiſtrates who either were abſent or wanted meanes to goe thorow with it, three and twenty. Nay *Titus* at the dedication of his *Amphitheater* held them for an hundred dayes together. Now for the appurtenances I may ſay,

---Materiam ſuperabat opus.

The workemanſhip did farre the ſtuffe exceed,

They were beyond the ſtrangeneſſe of their buildings, their whole furPlin. l. 33. c. 3. niture was ſomtimes of ſilver, as that of *Iulius Cæſar*, and *C. Antonius*;
Idem ibidem. ſomtimes of gold, thus *Nero* for the oſtentation of his greatneſſe to *Teridates* King of *Armenia* covered over not the ſtage only, but the whole Theater with gold: All the inſtruments then uſed and furniture thereof were likewiſe gilded, and the vaile or curtaine which hung over them to keepe them from the heate of the Sunne was all of purple, imDio, Caſſius in Nerone. broadered with ſtarres of gold, *ex quo & dies ille aureus appellatus*, from whence that was ever after called, *the golden day*. To theſe kinde of curtaines which were doubtleſſe of very great charge, being coloured & ſhadowing ſo ſpatious a place, doth *Lucretius* allude,

Et

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Et vulgo faciunt id lutea rufaque vela,
Et ferruginea cum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos vulgata trabesque trementia pendent:
Namque ibi concessum Caveai subter & omnem
Scenai speciem, patrum, matrumque, Deorumque
Inficiunt, coguntque suo fluitare colore.

So doe those curtaines yellow, russet, red,
When o're the Theaters streacht out and spred,
On masts and beames they trembling hang: for then
The scaffolds underneath; and all the Scene
Of Gods, of Fathers, and of Matrons grave,
They with their colours dye, and cause to wave.

Hereunto may bee added the *Arena*, the place below in which their games were exhibited, so called, for that it was strowed over with sand for the drinking in of the bloud which was spilt upon it, and officers they had purposely for this businesse; who in the Lawes and Writings of the Christian Doctours are tearmed *Arenarij*; Sanders, who as they first strowed it over, so betweene whiles during the same sitting, they renewed it againe, as appeares by those verses of *Martial*, where hee speakes of a Lyon suddenly inraged who slew two of those Sanders.

Nam duo de tenera juvenilia corpora turba,
Sanguineam rastris qua renovabat humum:
Sævus & infœlix furiali dente peremit,
Martia non vidit majus Arena nefas.

Two youthfull bodies of that company,
Which did with rakes the bloudie ground renew;
With furious tooth the savage Lyon slew,
A fouler deede the sand did never see.

This place *Nero* in steed of sand caused to be strowed over with dust of gold, himselfe being to try a match of Chariot driving therein: and so did *Cajus Caligula, Edidit & Circenses quosdam præcipuos minio & Chrysocolla constrato Circo*; he set forth certaine notable games in the *Circus*, being strowed over with vermilion and dust of gold. *Plin.* 33.5. *Suetonius* c. 18.

SECT. 4.

Of their incredible expence in the hiring, and arming, and dieting of their sword players, in the hunting, bringing home, feeding, and keeping of their wild beasts, in other admirable shewes to the astonishment of the beholders, in refreshing the spectators with pretious and pleasant perfumes, and the like, and lastly in casting their largesse among the people, neither was this the practise of the Emperors only, but of private men.

BUt the greatest expence of all was the *multitude of Fencers* who were all hired for great prices (and great reason, their lives being exposed to evident hazard) besides the arming & dieting of them before they entred; and if they exhibited beasts, it is almost past credit, the relations that are made by *Historians* touching their *number*, the *Emperour Probus* commanded to bee let loose at once, a thousand *Vopiscus in Probo.*

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Oſtriches, a thouſand ſtagges, a thouſand wilde boares, and a thouſand fallow deere, beſides wilde goates, wilde ſheepe, and other beaſts, all which he gave over to the mercy, or rather the rage of the people, every one to catch what he could, the *Circus* being ſet all over with tall and mighty trees, which by the Souldiers were taken up by the rootes as they grew in the woodes and there planted with greene turfe about them, and faſtned with beames and yrons. The next day hee let in to the ſame place *centum jubatos leones*, one hundred maned or creſted Lyons, which with roaring filled the ayre as it had beene with thunder, one hundred Leopards of *Lybia*, one hundred of *Syria*, one hundred Lyoneſſes, and three hundred beares. Now if wee ſhould caſt up the expence he was at for the hunting, for the bringing home, for the feeding and keeping of all theſe, it is not for any ordinary reach to comprehend: yet ſtood he not alone in this kind. *Gordianus* exhibited in one day an hundred wilde beaſts of *Lybia*, and in another, one thouſand beares, as *Capitolinus* in his life witneſſeth.

And they ſtrived (as it ſhould ſeeme) who ſhould outvy one another in *rarity of ſhewes*, and *riotouſneſſe of expence*, even *Titus* himſelfe, who in their ſtories is named, *Delicia generis humani*, the delight or delicacy of mankinde, marveilouſly exceeded this way. Hee ſet forth the whole *tragedie* of *Orpheus*, ſo that creeping rockes and running woods were exhibited in the *Arena*, as *Martial* hath well expreſſed it.

Quicquid in Orpheo Rhodope ſpectaſſe theatro
Dicitur, exhibuit Cæſar Arena tibi.
Repſerunt ſcopuli, mirandaque ſylva cucurrit,
Quale fuiſſe nemus creditur Heſperidum.

What *Rhodope* in *Orpheus* Theater did ſee,
Th'Amphitheater that exhibits unto thee
O *Cæſar*: Rockes do creepe, and woods do move apace,
The Orchard ſuch they ſay of *Atlas* daughters was.

Nay there were that together with *Land-beaſts* brought in *Sea-Monſters*, as the *Sea-calfe* and the *Sea-horſe*, which *Calpburnius* at the games of *Carinus* teſtifies that himſelfe beheld,

Nec ſolum nobis ſylveſtria cernere monſtra
Contigit, Æquoreos ego cum certantibus urſis
Spectavi vitulos, & equorum nomine dignum
Sed deforme pecus.

Hippopotamus.

Nor onely did I ſee wood-Monſters there,
But Sea-calves alſo tugging with the beare,
And that miſ-ſhapen uglie beaſt withall,
Which we not without cauſe the Sea-horſe call.

Dio in Nerone. And that which was more ſtrange, they brought in the *Sea it ſelfe*, and therein ſhippes, repreſenting the forme of a Sea-fight. But *Heliogabalus* went beyond all conceit: *Fertur in Euripis vino plenis naves Circenſes exhibuiſſe*, they be the words of *Lampridius*, he is ſaid to have exhibited ſhippes in the *Circus*, ſayling and contending in wine. It was in *Hortenſius* a great folly and vanity to water his plane trees with wine, but for ſhippes

ſhippes to ſayle and contend in wine was a moſt monſtrous ſuperlative madneſſe.

Now amid all theſe ſights, it was ordinary to refreſh the ſpectatours with pleaſant *perfumes* from gummes, or ſweete water, or oyntments, or balſamum, or ſaffron mixed with wine, or ſomewhat in that kinde; which they conveyed in cloſe pipes through the whole *Amphitheater*, and the fight ended, they commonly caſt a *largeſſe* among the people, wrapping up the names of thoſe things in little pellets, which they intended to give, and every one as he could catch them, brought them to the *Maſters* of the games, who delivered them the thing it ſelfe ſpecified in their pellet. Such gifts *Titus* caſt abroad by the ſpace of an hundred dayes (as witneſſeth *Dion*) for ſo long his games laſted, and many of them were of good value, as appeares by the teſtimony of the ſame *Authour*, not onely meate, and drinke, and apparell, but veſſels of ſilver and gold, horſes, cattell, ſlaves, and the like, but it is wonderfull what *Nero* did in this kinde, to the fore-named hee added curious pictures, pearles, and pretious ſtone, yea *naves, inſulas, agros, ſhips, horſes, farmes: O res vix Suetonio fidiſſimo teſti credendas*, things hardly to bee credited, though delivered by *Suetonius* a moſt faithfull Hiſtorian.

Apuleius. Spartianus in Adriano. Seneca Ep. 90.

Suet. c. 11. Lypſius.

Neither was this the practiſe of *Emperours* onely, but even of private men. *Cicero* teſtifies of *Milo*, that in theſe kinde of games hee waſted three patrimonies; and *Vopiſcus* with ſome indignation relates the like of of *Meſſalla, Legat hunc locum Iunius Meſſalla, quem ego libere culpare audeo; ille enim patrimonium ſuum Scænicis dedit, haeredibus abnegavit*: Let *Junius Meſſalla* reade this place, whom I dare freely accuſe, for that hee hath caſt away his patrimony upon ſtage-players, and defrauded his heires thereof; and then reckoning many particulars of his waſtfull riot that way, at length he thus concludes, *Et haec quidem idcirco in literas miſi, ut futuros editores pudor tangeret, ne patrimonia ſua, proſcriptis legitimis haeredibus, mimis & balatronibus deputarent*: Theſe things have I therefore committed to writing, that ſuch as hereafter ſet forth theſe kinde of games, might bluſh to conferre their patrimonies vpon jeſters and baſe raskals, excluding their lawfull heires.

In Carino.

SECT. 51.

Of their ſuperfluous expence, as in the number and largeneſſe, ſo likewiſe in the beauty and ornament of Bathes, which were likewiſe of little other uſe then for pleaſure.

BUt leaving their *Theaters* & *Amphitheaters* which were onely for pleaſure, let us take a view of their *Bathes*, which were likewiſe of little other uſe, at leaſt-wiſe as they uſed them; as appeares by that of *Artemidorus, Balneum nihil aliud ſuo aevo faiſſe quam tranſitum ad cœnam*, that a bath in his time was nothing elſe but a paſſage to ſupper; ſo as they which often tooke repaſt, waſhed as often; it being noted of *Commodus* the Emperor, that hee waſhed ſeaven or eight times in a day:

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And among the *Christians*, *Sisinius* a *Bishop* was censured as intemperate for washing twice in a day: Many there have beene, saith *Plutarch in his booke of the precepts of health*, who have brought themselves to this passe, that they could neither eate nor drinke unlesse they had first bathed or had sweat in a stough, among whom *Titus* the Emperour was one, as they did testifie who had the cure of him when he lay sicke: and in the same booke he bringeth in *Zeuxippus* giving precepts of diet, perswading that men would not thinke it strange to come now and then to the table without having beene at the bath or hot-house before: so common a thing it was in those dayes at *Rome* to make use of their baths before they came to their meales. Yet a wonder it is to consider, to what an infinite height these kinde of buildings for *Bathing* amounted, aswell in regard of their *number* and *largenesse*, as their *beauty* and *ornament*. *Agrippa*, as witnesseth *Pliny*, during his *Ædilship*, built for publique and free use one hundred and seaventy, and the same *Author* there addes, that at *Rome* in his time their number was infinite: and for the *largenesse*, some of them, saith *Olympiodorus*, were *ingenti*, and *Cassiodorus*, *mirabili magnitudine*, of an huge and wonderfull bigneſse: *Ammianus* is more particular, *Lavacra in modum Provinciarum extructa*, Bathes built in the manner of Provinces; the *Antoninian*, or rather *Diocleſian Bathes* alone, were so capacious, as they contained for the use of washing, *Cellas mille sexcentas, easque è marmore polito factas* one thousand six hundred severall seats, and those all of polished marble.

Lib. 36. c. 15.

Lib. 16.

Olympiodorus in Excerpt.

Neither was the *ornament* & *beauty* of these bathing places unsutable to their number and largeneſse; which *Seneca* in his eighty sixt *Epistle* hath most elegantly expressed, and withall bitterly censured, where speaking of the meaneſse of the *Bath* which *Scipio Africanus* used, while he lived in banishment, (where *Seneca* wrote that *Epistle*,) he thus goes on: *At nunc quis est qui sic lavari sustineat? pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis & pretiosis orbibus præfulserint, nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sint, nisi illis undique operosa & in picturæ modum variata circumlitio prætexatur, nisi vitro condatur Camera, nisi Thasius lapis quondam rarum in aliquo spectaculum templo, piscinas nostras circumdederit, nisi aquam argentea epistomia fuderint, & adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor: Quid cum ad Balnea libertinorum pervenero? quantum statuarum? quantum Columnarum & nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum & impensæ causâ? eo deliciarum venimus ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus*: But who is there now, who would be content to wash as he did? he seemes to himselfe poore and base, whose wals doe not shine with great and pretious circles, unlesse betweene the marble of *Alexandria*, bee inlaid the shavings of that of *Numidia*, unlesse they have a border round about it with diverse colours in manner of pictures, unlesse their arched roofe be covered over with glasse, unlesse the *Thasian* stone, heretofore a rare sight in some Temple, compasse our ponds; unlesse silver cockes powre us forth water; and as yet have I spoken of the ordinary and common pipes: how much beyond all this are the Bathes of freed men? how many statues, how many pillars have you there, for none other use, but onely for ornament and expence? wee are now come to that delicacie, that

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that we can tread upon nothing but jewels. By which lively description a man would thinke, he rather spake of the pallaces of some great Princes, then of their common *Bathing* roomes, ordained for none other use, then the washing off of the swet and filth of their bodies. Yet with *Seneca* in some part of his description *Statius* accords.

Nil ibi plebeium, nunquam Temesea notabis
Æra, sed argento fœlix propellitur unda, *In balneo Etrusci.*
Argentoque cadit, labrisque nitentibus instat,
Delicias mirata suas.

There's nothing vulgar, there's no *Temesean* braſſe,
But happy waters there through silver conduits paſſe,
From silver fall, and into glistering ciſterns runne,
(Admiring their delights) with expedition.

Thereby signifying that not onely the pipes, through which the water ranne, and the cockes and conduits, out of which it ranne, but the ciſterns too, into which it fell were all of pure silver. And touching the glaſſe, hee touches that too.

Effulgent Cameræ, vario fastigia vitro,
In ſpecies animoſque nitent.

The arched roofes doe shine and gliſter gloriously,
Of diverſe glaſſe compos'd, both to the minde and eye.

Pliny goes farther, and tels us, that not onely the sides of the ciſternes, in which they bathed were of silver, but the seats and footing or the bottome, so as they could hardly stand for sliding upon it, *ut eadem materia & probris ſerviat & cibis*, so as the same matter, saith he, is made to serve both at our tables and for base unworthy offices. Nay as *Roſinus* in his chapter *de thermis* affirms, they used to annoint the very wals of their Bathes with rich ointments, and that even such Bathes as were but for the use of servants. But in truth the most considerable thing in their expences about their Bathes was (as I conceive) the exceeding great charge which they were at in the heating of the water, especially they being so large that one of them contained at least tenne times as much in compaſſe as the Kings Bath in *Bathe*; and so much water together must needes require an infinite deale of fuell to warme it, considering withall that in the latter times when the exceſſe of bathings grew to the height (as witneſseth *Plutarch* in the eight booke and ninth chapter of his *Sympoſiackes*) their bathes were so hot as they could hardly endure their bodies in them: hee saith that while they were in them they did draw in aire that was mingled as it were with fire & water, whereas in ancient times men could sleepe, and eate, and drinke in their bathes without over heating of their bodies. *Lib.* 33. 12. *Antiq. Rom.*

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SECT. 6.

Of the endleſſe maſſes of treaſure which they powred out in the erecting & adorning of Temples, for the worſhip of thoſe images which they forged to themſelves, or at leaſtwiſe knew well enough were no Gods.

BEfore wee enter into their *private houſes*, it ſhall not be amiſſe in paſſing from their *Bathes* by the way, to caſt a glance upon their *Temples* and *Statues*. Had their temples beene conſecrated to the honour and ſervice of the *true God*, I ſhould have highly commended their great expence in the building and beautifying of them, as a worke
1. Cor. 10. 20. of piety and devotion. But being dedicated to *Idolls* and *Devills*, & ſuch as themſelves, at leaſtwiſe the wiſer ſort among them, either laughed at, or beleeved not: the exceſſive charge which that way they were at,
Notitia Imperij was not only exceſſive *vanity* and *folly*, but moſt prophane and impious both *ſuperſtition* and *ſuperfluity*. The number of their Temples onely in the citie of *Rome*, was foure hundred twenty foure, the greateſt part of which was no doubt very magnificent, ſhining with gold, and jeat, and marble, as appeares by that of *Rutilius*.

Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia viſus,
Ipſos credideris ſic habitare Deos.
And gliſtering temples wandring eyes confound,
So dwell the Gods I thinke on heavenly ground.

And theſe chiefly, as I conceive doth *Claudian* intend, ſpeaking of *Rome*.

---- Qua luce metalli,
Æmula vicinis faſtigia conſerit aſtris.
Who with her mettals light doth ſhine;
And with the neighbour ſtarres her tops confine.

De Templis. But moſt elegantly and fully hath *Arnobius* expreſſed it: *Sint ergo hæc licet ex molibus marmoreis ſtructa, laquearibus aut renideant aureis, ſplendeant hic gemmæ, & ſydereos evomant variata interſtitione fulgores, terra ſunt hæc omnia & ex fœce vilioris materiæ concreta*: Though they be built with piles of marble, and their vautes ſhine with gold; though they gliſter with pretious ſtones, which dart forth & ſparkle abroad beames like the ſtarres in a various diſtance, yet all theſe things are but earth, made of the dregges of the baſeſt matter.

Amongſt them all, that of the *Capitoll* was moſt eminent and ſtately, it tooke its name, as witneſſeth *Arnobius*, *à Capite Toli*, from the head of a man ſo named, which, at the laying of the foundation was digged up: It was foure times ruined, and three times againe reedefied: It was firſt built by the *Tarquines*, Secondly by *Sylla*, but dedicated by *Lutatius Catulus*;
Dio. 55. in which *Auguſtus* beſtowed upon the ſeat of *Iupiter*, *Sedecem millia pondo auri & quingenties Seſtertiûm in gemmis*, ſixteene thouſand weight of gold, and five hundred times an hundred thouſand Seſterces in jewels. Thirdly by *Veſpaſian*, Fourthly & laſtly, by *Domitian*. The height whereof was ſuch, that *Silius* brings in *Iupiter*, thus prophecying of *Domitians* rayſing it.

Aurea

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Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
Et junget noſtro templorum culmina cœlo.

He on Tarpeian rocke ſhall place the golden Capitole,
And ſhall advance his Temples top as high as heavenly role.

With whom *Tertullian* fully agrees in ſenſe, and almoſt in words: *Nam etſi à Numa concepta religio eſt, nondum tamen aut ſimulachris aut templis res divina apud Romanos conſtabat, & nulla Capitolia cœlo certantia, ſed temeraria de ceſpite altaria*: Though religion was firſt brought in by *Numa*, yet then had the *Romanes* neither images nor temples for divine ſervice, no *Capitoll contending with heaven* for height, but altars were ſet up of the turfe that came next to hand. And no doubt but the length and breadth were every way anſwerable to the height; the exceſſive charge that *Domitian* was at in the building hereof, *Martiall* after his flattering manner hath wittily deſcribed, telling him, that thereby he had ſo farre obliged *Iupiter* and all the Gods, that if they ſhould empty their coffers and make ſale of all they had, they could never make him ſufficient recompence, but would be forced to turne *Banke-rupts*. *In Apologet. 2.* *Lib. 9. Epig. 4.*

Quantum jam ſuperis Cæſar cœloque dediſti,
Si repetas, & ſi Creditor eſſe velis,
Grandis in Ætherio licet auctio fiat Olympo,
Coganturque Dei vendere quicquid habent,
Conturbabit Atlas, & non erit uncia tota
Decidat tecum qua pater ipſe deûm.
Pro Capitolinis quid enim ſibi ſolvere templis,
Quid pro Tarpeiæ frondis honore poteſt? &c.
Expectes & ſuſtineas Auguſte neceſſe eſt,
Nam tibi quod ſolvat non habet Arca Iovis.

If *Cæſar*, what on Gods and heaven thou haſt beſtow'd,
Thou wouldſt as Creditour call in, and all that's ow'd;
Though in the Etheriall skies portſale of all were made,
And all the Gods were forc't to ſell what ere they had,
Atlas would bankerupt prove, and to the prince of heaven
Not one ounce would remaine to make all reckonings even.
For for the Capitals great temples how can he,
Or for Tarpeian oakes and laurels ſatisfie? &c.
Thou muſt, o *Cæſar*, needes a while forbeare and ſtay,
For why, *Ioves* coffers yet have not wherewith to pay.

By which it appeares what account they made of the *Gods*, to whom they dedicated theſe *Temples*: Nay *Domitian* himſelfe the founder of the *Capitoll*, is ſo bold with them, as if indeed they had beene his debtors, or at leaſt-wiſe his companions, to ſtile himſelfe in his edicts. *Dominus & Deus noſter ſic fieri jubet*, our Lord and God ſo commands, *unde inſtitutum poſthac ut nec ſcripto quidem nec ſermone cujuſquam appellaretur aliter*: And from thenceforth was it ordained, that no man ſhould give him other title either in writing or ſpeech. Now for the riches and ornament of the *Capitoll*, wee may in part give a gueſſe at it by this, that there was ſpent only upon the gilding of it *ſupra duodecem millia talentorum*, above twelve thouſand tallents: it was all gilded over, not *Sueton. c. 13.*

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the inner roofe only, but the vtter covering which was of braſſe or copper, but the doores were laid over with thicke plates of gold, which remained till *Honorius* his raigne: and then in a dearth of coyne, *Stilicho mandaſſe perhibetur*, (ſaith *Zozimus*,) *ut fores in Capitolio Romano quæ auro magni ponderis erant obductæ, laminis ijs ſpoliarentur: Cum autem qui hoc fulcere juſſi erant, id agerent, in parte forium ſcriptum repererant*, [*infœlici Regi ſervantur*:] *Quod eventus docuit: nam Stilicho paulo poſt infœliciter periit.* *Stilicho* is ſaid to have given command, that the doores of the *Capitoll*, which were laid over with maſſie gold, ſhould bee robbed of thoſe plates, and when they who had it in charge put it in execution, the found ingraven upon a part of the doore theſe words, [*They are reſerved for an unfortunate King*] which the event proved to bee true, for *Stilicho* within a while after periſhed unfortunately.

Next to the *Capitoll* was the *Pantheon*; the Temple of *Honour*, of *Fortune*, of the *City*, ſtrange *Idolls*, and that of *Peace* inferiour to none. It was built by *Veſpaſian*, three hundred foote in length it was, and in breadth two hundred; ſo as *Herodian* deſervedly calls it, *Maximum & pulcherrimum omnium in urbe operum*, the greateſt and faireſt of all the workes in the City: Whereunto he adds, *ditiſſimum, ornamentis auri & argenti excultum*, the moſt ſumptuous in ornaments of gold & ſilver: of which *Ioſephus* thus write, *Omnia in hoc templum collata & diſpoſita ſunt, ob quæ homines videndi cupiditate antea per totum orbem vagabantur*, Upon this temple were beſtowed all the rarities which men before travelled thorow the world to ſee. And *Pliny*, *Ex omnibus quæ retuli clariſſima quæque in urbe, jam ſunt dicata à Veſpaſiano Principe in templo Pacis*, of all the choice peeces that I have ſpoken of, the moſt excellent are laid up and dedicated to *Veſpaſian* the *Emperour* in the Temple of *Peace*: thus they made *Idolls* to themſelves, which the ſimpleſt of them could not but diſcerne were no *Gods*, and then without *meaſure* or *reaſon*, powred out infinite maſſes of treaſure in the ſerving and worſhipping of them.

Lib. 7. Excidij.

Lib. 34. 8.

SECT. 7.

Of their wonderfull vanity in erecting infinite numbers of ſtatues, & thoſe very changeable, and that to themſelves.

YEt in this was ſome pretence of *Religion*, but in their *Statues* they worſhipped themſelves, vainely imagining thereby to eternize their names. *Quidam æternitati ſe commendari poſſe per ſtatuas æſtimantes, eas ardenter affectant, atque auro curant inbracteari*, ſaith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ſome hoping to recommend themſelves to eternitie by ſtatues, infinitely affect them, cauſing them to bee over-laid with gold. This itching humour of theirs, *penè parem urbi populum dedit quàm natura procreavit*: in time begat almoſt as many inhabitants to the Citie as nature brought forth, meaning that the number of their ſtatues, did in a manner equall their Citizens: And no marvell, they being *ſine numero*, without number, in ſo much as they filled every corner, peſtered their ſtreetes,

Lib. 16.

Caſſiodorus, l. 7 Victor.

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ſtreetes, and ſtraitned their wayes; which gave occaſion to that *Edict* of *Claudius*, whereby private men were inhibited the erecting of ſtatues to themſelves; but by leave firſt obtained from the *Senate*, ſuch onely excepted as had done ſome *publique ſeruice*. *Dio. lib. Vltimo.*

For the price of the ſtuffe whereof they were made, the moſt common and baſeſt of them were of *Marble*, the reſt of *Yuorie*, and *Siluer*, & *Gold*, and thoſe ſolide and maſſie; *Statuas ſibi in Capitolio non niſi aureas aut gentilicias que pondere certo*; they be the words of *Suetonius* touching *Domitian*, hee forbad any ſtatues to be erected to him in the *Capitoll*, ſaue onely of gold and ſiluer, and thoſe of a certaine weight: which weight perchance thoſe verſes of *Statius* expreſſe, *Cap. 13.*

Da Capitolinis æternum ſedibus aurum,
Quo nitent ſacri centena pondera vultus.
Grant to the Capitoll eternall gold, wherein
Thoſe ſacred faces of one hundred weight may ſhine.

But that of *Commodus* farre exceeded this weight, *Statuam mille librarum auream habuit*, hee had a Statue erected to him of a thouſand pound weight. *Dion. in compendio.*

Now as they were at this great charge in the making and erecting of their Statues: So were they likewiſe in the *guarding* of them. They were kept with no leſſe caution, then they were ſet up with care and coſt: And to this purpoſe maintained they an Officer of great honour who had the title of *Comes Romanus* given him. This man with his ſouldiers walked thorow the ſtreetes of the Citie in the night to ſee good order: but chiefly to prouide that no wrong ſhould be offered to the Statues; thus prodigally carefull they were of their owne *ſhadowes*, and as prodigally careleſſe of the lives of others: ſo as I cannot eaſily determine whether their *cruelty* were greater in the one, or their *folly* in the other. *Caſſiodorius l. 7.*

SECT. 8.

Their prodigall ſumptuouſneſſe in their priuate buildings, in regard of their largeneſſe & height of their houſes, as alſo in regard of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pauement full of art and coſt.

NOw for their dwelling houſes and *priuate buildings*. *Claudian* ſpeaking of *Rome*, thus ſets them out in generall.

Qua nil in terris complectitur altius æther;
Cujus nec ſpatium viſus, nec corda deſorim,
Nec laudem vox ulla capit.
Oreearth nought higher doth the Heavens embrace:
Her largeneſſe ſight, her beauty hearts, her praiſe
Tongue comprehends not.

It was the vaunt of *Auguſtus*, *marmoream ſe reliquere quam lateritiam acceperit*, that he left the Citie of *marble* having found it of *bricke*: but S. *Hieromes* complaint, *Vivimus quaſi altero die moriturí, & ædificamus quaſi ſemper in hoc ſeculo victuri*, we ſo feed as if we were to die to morrow, & ſo build as if we were here to live for ever. The number of their houſes *Epiſt. ad Gaudentium.*

belonging

belonging to one of their Senatours was such, that as *Blondus* in his booke *de Roma triumphante* shewes, *Cicero* alone had eighteen great houses in the Countrey, and by his description of one of them, it was a faire and large as any of the Kings. The *largenesse* of their houses was strange; and such as a man would wonder what use they could have of it. The words of *Valerius* are to this purpose very pertinent; where speaking of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, to whom the *Dictatorship* was offered, though hee plowed but foure acres of land, with some indignation hee addes; *angustè se habitare nunc putat, cujus domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt*; hee thinkes hee is straitned in his dwelling, whose house is no larger then were all *Cincinnatus* his grounds. Some of *Neroes slaves* had *Kitchings* that tooke up above two acres of ground, and the Lands of those who layd the ground of their Empire were of lesse extent then the Cellars of some that came after: so that by this proportion their houses came almost to the greatnesse of *Cities*; *domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exadificatas*, they bee the words of *Salust*, wee may understand their houses and farmes to bee built in the manner of Cities. Nay they went beyond them: *aedificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincentia*, private mens houses exceeded the largenesse of great Cities. And of these sometimes they joyned two or three together, as *Catiline* in his Oration to his Souldiers upbraides his enemies; and in this sense it seemes is *Martiall* to be understood.

Lib. 4. cap. 6.

Plin. 18. 2.

36. 15.

Senec. de Benef. 7. 10.

Et docti Senecæ ter numeranda domus.

Lib. 4. Epig. 40.

And learned *Seneca's* thrice to be numbred house.

Neither was the height of their houses disproportionable to the largenesse.

Ædificant auro sedesque ad Sydera mittunt.

They build with gold and raise their seats unto the starres.

There were of them who built to the height of their chiefest Temples that of *Hercules* and *Fortune*, nay exceeded the *Capitoll* it selfe.

Ædificator erat Centronius, & modò curvo
Littore Cajetæ summa nunc Tyberis arce,
Nunc Prænestinus in montibus alta parabat
Culmina villarum, Græcis longeque petitis
Marmoribus, vincens Fortunæ atque Herculis ædem;
Vt spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.

Iuven. Sat. 14.

Centronius was a builder, sometimes on
Crooked *Cajetas* shore, sometimes upon
Tyburs high tops raising his palaces,
And on *Prænestine* hils fetching from *Greece*
And farre way his marbles, to controll
(As th'Eunuch *Posid* did our Capitoll)
The *Church* of *Fortune* and of *Hercules*.

Yet to this height they farther added somewhat, by planting *gardens* & *orchards* and *groves* upon their house toppes: therein like *Antipodes* running a contrary course to nature, as *Seneca* truly and justly taxes them.

Epist. 122.

Non vivunt contra naturam qui pomaria in summis turribus serunt; quorum

silva

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sylvæ in tectis domorum ac fastigijs nutant, inde ortis radicibus quo improba cacumina egissent? Doe they not live contrary to the rules of Nature, who make themselves Orchards upon their highest towers, whose woods shake upon the tops of their houses, their rootes there springing up where the top should have reached?

Neither was the *riches* & *ornament* unsutable either to the largenesse or height of their building. Thither they called to their great expence the most skilfull *Architects* from *Greece* and *Asia*, and all the parts of the knowne world, *Quibus ingenium & audacia fuit, etiam quæ natura denegavisset, per artem tentare*, whose wit and daring was such, that by art they attempted to effect that, which Nature seemed to deny. *Lucullus* neare unto a house of pleasure which he built by the sea side, not farre from *Naples* caused mountaines to be cut through, only to let in the sea into his house for places to keepe his fish in, and roomes hee built also in the sea it selfe to that purpose; in so much as *Tubero* a Stoicke Philosopher having seene those workes, said that *Lucullus* was a *Roman Xerxes*, for so said he, *Xerxes* in old time caused the mountaine *Athos* to be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his ships through. Among the rest of their ornaments, their infinite number of marveilous high *pillars*, & those of diverse sorts of the choicest kinds of marble was not the least. The height of some of them was 38 foote, and to their height was their beauty & greatnesse every way answerable. *Pueros reperti in littore calculi leves & aliquid habentes varietatis delectant, nos ingentium maculæ columnarum sive ex Ægyptijs arenis, sive ex Africæ solitudinibus advectæ porticum aliquam vel capacem populi cœnationem ferunt.* Children are delighted with pebble stones or shells of diverse colours taken up from the shore, and wee with diverse spots of huge marble pillars, drawne hither from the sands of *Egypt*, & the deserts of *Africa*, for the supporting of a gallery or some spacious dining roome. Their number was likewise very great,

Tacit. Annal. 15. 10.

Plin. 36. 2. Senec. ep. 115.

Pendent innumeris fastigia nixa columnis.

Whose roofe doth rest on pillars numberlesse.

Statius in Epithalamia Stellæ.

Sometimes an hundred of them stood together,

At tua centenis incumbunt tecta columnis.

Thy roofe upon an hundred pillars stayes.

Martial. 5. 13.

Sometimes as many more; as in the house built by *Gordianus* in the *Prenestine* way, *ducentas columnas uno peristylo habens*, having in one entry or gallery two hundred pillars, distinguished by fifties from diverse countries, and all of an equall height. And if wee desire to know the price of some of these, *Crassus* tells us, *decem columnas centum millibus nummûm emi*, I bought ten pillars for one hundred thousand Sesterces. And as their pillars were of solide marble, so their walls were artificially crusted over with peeces of diverse colours. *Miramur parietes tenui marmore inductos cùm sciamus quale sit quod absconditur, oculis nostris imponimus*: Wee stand wondring at the walls laid over with thinne crusts of marble, though wee know well enough what lyes under them, weeare content to coson our owne eyes. To this *Lucan* alludes,

Capitolinus in Gordiano. 3.

Valerius.

Senec. Ep. 116.

Nec summis crustata domus, sectisque nitebat
Marmoribus.

Nor

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Nor was the house with crusts of marble lin'd,
Nor with hewen stones of pretious marble shin'd.

Seneca Controuers. 2. 1. And *Fabianus Papyrius*, *In hos igitur exitus varius ille secator lapis, ut tenui fronte parietem tegat*: To this purpose is that diversely coloured stone sawed in diverse peeces, that with a thinne surface it may cover the wall. The first inventor or setter up of this device was *Mamurra*, as *Lib. 36. c. 6.* witnesseth *Pliny* out of *Cornelius Nepos*.

But their beames exceeded these walls being all guilded over.

Statius in Tiburtino Manlij Vopisci.
Auratasne trabes ebumauros undique postes
Mirer?
But whereat should I wonder most,
The golden beames or yvorie post?

Propertius.
Non tenarijs domus est mihi fulta columnis,
Nec Camera auratas inter eburna trabes.
Nor is my house on *Spartan* pillars plac't,
Nor yvorie roofe with guilded beames is grac't.

And they were either laid over with thicke guilding or plates of gold.

Lucanus.
---Crassamque trabes abscondera aurum.
Thicke gold did hide the beames.

As were likewise their roofes.

Statius.
---Crassa laquearia fulta metallo.
Thicke mettals lin'd the roofes.

This their best *Authours* every where testifie and censure. *Quo pertinent hæc atria columnata? quò variæ istæ colorationes? quò aurata lacunaria?* to what use are their entries set with rowes of pillars of diverse colours? to what end are their roofes guilded? they bee the words of *Musonius* *33. 3.* in *Stobæus*. The roofe of the *Capitoll*, saith *Pliny*, was not guilded till the razing of *Carthage*; *Quæ nunc & in privatis domibus auro teguntur*, which now a dayes even in private mens houses are covered with gold, Nay he goes farther and tells us, that this practise passed from the roofs and beames, to their chambers and walls, *Qui & ipsi jam tanquam vasa inaurantur*, which are now guilded as well as our drinking vessels. With *Ep. ad Gaudentium.* whom S. *Hierome* accords, *Auro parietes, auro loquearia, auro fulgent capita columnarum*, with gold their wals, with gold their roofes, with gold the heads of their pillars shine. And herein they had diverse shapes artificially expreſt, as appeares by *Statius*, and pretious stones here and *In Tiburtino.* there glistering among.

Vidi artes veterumque manus varijsque metalla
Viva modis, labor est auri memorare figuras,
Aut ebur, aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas.
Their ancient workes their living mettals I
Of sundry sorts did see, a labour 'twere
To tell the shapes of gold, the yvory,
The pretious stones on fingers fit to weare.

But that which I thinke was more costly then gold, was their admirable variety and change of roofes, with drawing one face, and exhibiting another at their pleasure, *Versatilia Cœnationum laquearia ita coagmentant, ut subinde alia facies, atq; alia succedat, & toties tecta quoties fercula* *Senec. ep. 90.* *mutentur.*

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mutentur. They ſo fram'd the moveable roofes of their dining roomes that one face ſucceedes another, which they vary as often as they ſerve in a new courſe. And it ſhould ſeeme by *Rutilius* that in theſe they ſometime repreſented groves with birds ſinging in them.

Quid loquar incluſas inter laquearia ſylvas?
Vernula quæ vario carmine ludit avis.

They pleaſant groves within their roofes doe ſhut,
Where birds doe chant and vary many a note.

And from theſe ſometimes they caſt downe flowers in ſuch abundance that they buried men under them, *Oppreſſit in triclinijs verſatilibus paraſitos ſuos violis & floribus, ſic ut animam aliqui efflaverint, cum eripi ad ſummam non poſſent*, ſaith *Lampridius* of *Heliogabalus*; He ſo over-loaded his jeſters in his dining roomes that had changeable roofes, with violets and others flowers, that ſome of them died upon the place, being brought to that paſſe, as at laſt they could not be reſcued. Nay ſo curious they were, that the very floore which they trode upon muſt anſwere the roofe, *Impenditur cura ut lacunaribus pavimentorum reſpondeat nitor*, a ſpeciall care muſt be had, that the ſhining of the floore muſt be anſwerable to the roofe. And in another place, *domus etiam qua calcatur pretioſa, divitijs per omnes angulos diſſipatis:* pretious things are ſpread there even where men tread, riches being ſcattered through every corner of the houſe. And this exceſſive curioſity *Statius* glances at. *Senec. epiſt. 115.* *De Tranq. c. 1.*

Dum vagor aſpectu vultuſque per omnia duco,
Calcabam nec opinus opes: Nam ſplendor ab alto
Deſluus, & nitidum referentes æra teſtæ
Monſtravere ſolum, varias ubi picta per artes
Gaudet humus, ſuberantque novis Aſarota figuris.

Whilſt to and fro my wandring eyes ſurvaid
All things, unwares on riches did I tread,
Downe from above came light, the roofe, the aire
Reflecting on the ſoyle, ſhewed what lay there,
The artificiall pavement ſeem'd to ſmile,
And figures new were pictur'd on the tile.

And ſo doth *Martial*,

Calcatuſque tuo ſub pede lucet Onix. *Lib. 9. epig. 15.*

Under thy feete the Onix ſtone doth ſhine.

SECT. 9.

The profuſe expences of Domitian *and* Nero *in their buildings, as alſo of* Caligula *in his madde workes.*

NOw as the greateſt part of theſe was ordinary even in private mens houſes, ſo we may well conceive that the palaces of the *Emperours* farre exceeded them. I will inſtance onely in two, thoſe of *Domitian* and *Nero*. Touching the former, *Plutarch* treating of the ſumptuous furniture of the *Capitoll*, thus writes. *Quod ſi quis hunc Capitolij magnificum inſtructum miretur, idem ſi Domitiani in aula una-*

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nam porticum vel basilicam, vel balneum, vel pellicum dietam viderit, exclamet cum Epicharmo.

Non liberalis aut benignus tu clues,
Profusione gaudes.
Not bountifull nor liberall
Art thou, but plainely prodigall.

If any wonder at this magnificent structure of the *Capitoll*, the same man if in *Domitians* palace he should behold but one gallery, or hall, or bath, or parlour for his Concubines, he would presently cry out with *Epicharmus*, &c. where hee makes all the glory of the Capitoll, which wee have in part opened before, to bee but as a trifle or toy, in comparison of *Domitians* owne house.

Cap. 31. The other was that of *Nero*, which himselfe named *domum auream*, a golden house; and *Suetonius* in his life thus describes it. *Vestibulum ejus fuit in quo Colossus centum viginti pedum staret ipsius effigie, tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices milliarias haberet. Item stagnum maris instar, circumseptum ædificijs ad urbium speciem. Rura insuper arvis atque vinetis & pascuis sylvisque varia cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum, in cæterù partibus cuncta auro lita distincta gemmis unionumq; conchis erant. Cœnationes laqueata tabulis eburneis versatilibus ut flores, & fistulatis ut unguenta desuper spargerentur, præcipua Cœnationum rotunda quæ perpetuò diebus ac noctibus vici mundi circumageretur: Ejusmodi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare capisse.* In the porch was set a *Colossus* shaped like himselfe of one hundred and twenty foot high, the spatiousnesse of the house was such that it had in it three galleries, each of them a mile long, a standing poole like a sea, beset with buildings in the manner of a Citie; fields, in which were arable grounds, pastures, vineyards, and woods, with a various multitude of tame and wilde beasts of all kindes. In the other parts thereof, all things were covered with gold, and distinguished with pretious stones or mother of pearle. The supping roomes were roofed with yvorie plankes, that were moveable for the casting downe of flowers, and had pipes in them for the sprinkling of oyntments. The roofe of the principall supping roome was round, which like the heaven perpetually day & night wheeled about. This house when he had thus finished and dedicated, hee so farre forth approved of it, that hee said, *hee began to dwell like a man.*

Algentè rapiat Cœnatio Solem. Iuven. Sat. 7.

See Tacitus of this house, Annal. 15. c. 10.

I had thought nothing could be added to this extreame madnesse of *Nero* & *Domitian*, which made me resolve here to conclude this chapter; but I know not whether that *Caligula*, though perchance in somewhat a different kinde exceede them both. *Fabricavit & de Cedris liburnicas gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum, & porticuum, & triclinjorum laxitate, magnaq; etiam vitium & pomiferarum arborum varietate: quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac Symphonias littora Campaniæ peragraret. In extructionibus Prætoriorum atque villarum omni ratione posthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur, & jacta itaque moles infesto ac profundo mari, excisæ rupes durissimi silicis, & campi montibus aggere æquati, & complanata fossuris montium juga,*

Sueton. c. 37.

Contracta pisces aquora sentiunt jactis in altum molibus: Horat.

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juga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum morâ culpa capite lueretur. He built of Cedar, barges or gallifoists, their sternes being set with pearle and pretious stone, carrying sayles of diverse colours, having in them bathes, galleries, and parlours of great largenesse, with great variety of vines and trees bearing fruite, lying along in these amid his musicke of voyces and instruments, he was carryed up & downe upon the coast of *Campania.* In the building of his Countrey or mannour houses, setting aside all reason, hee desired nothing so much to be done, as that which was denyed could be done: so as that he would lay huge mighty piles in the deepe sea, to stop the course of it, he would cut thorow rockes of the hardest flint, equall the Champian to the mountaines, and levell the toppes of high hills; and all this he did with speed incredible, the least delay being presently punished with death.

SECT. 10.

That the Romanes *luxurious excesse in their houshold-stuffe, and the ornaments of their houses, was suitable to that of their buildings.*

WEE may adde as an *appendix* to their luxury in buildings, that in their *houshold-stuffe*, and the *ornaments of their houses*; their excesse in their tables, and dishes, and cups I have already touched, as being appurtenances of their *luxury* in diet; passing by these then we may take a *survey* of the rest. And first of their *beds*: These were either *Tricliniaries* or *Cubiculares*, such as they used for diet, or lodging, in their supping roomes, or their chambers. These by degrees came to be of silver, then were they gilded, & lastly of pure massie gold: which *Carvilius Pollio* first brought in use: And *Suetonius* reports of *Iulius Cæsar, in aureo lecto veste purpurea decubuisse*, that hee laid him downe in a bed of gold with a purple covering. And *Gellius* of more ancient times out of *Favorinus*; *Stratus auro, argento, purpurâ, amplior aliquot hominibus quam Dijs immortalibus adornatur*: a bed for some men is furnished more magnificently with gold, & silver, & purple, then for the Gods immortall. These they likewise perfumed with rich and pretious odours, which the *Epigrammatist* deservedly laughs at.

Plin. 33. 11. cap. 49.

Gell. 15. 8.

Quid thorus à Nilo? quid Syndone tectus olentî?
Ostendit stultas quid nisi morbus opes? *Mart. 2. 16.*

What meanes thy bed from Nile, and quilt perfumed so?
What doth thy sickenesse but thy fooliish riches show?

Next their beds wee may set their *Chariots*, which were in a manner running beds, as their beds were a kind of standing chariots. These *Heliogabalus* had not only of gold, but set with pearle and pretious stone. And such a one belike was that whereof *Martiall* speakes,

Lampridius.

Aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur. *Martial. 3. 62.*

That for a mannours price thou bought'st a golden coach.

So as that which the Poet fained of the *Chariot* of the *Sunne*, might indeed be verified of theirs.

Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summæ *Ovid. Met. 2.*

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Curvatura rotâ, radiorum argenteus ordo.
The axel-tree was gold, the beame, the wheele,
The spokes of silver were.---

Their harnesse belonging to these was likewise very costly, and the Caparizons of their horses & mules imbroydered with gold & silver. Of these *Nero* when he journeyed had never lesse then a thousand; his mules being shod with silver, and his muleters richly apparelled: but *Poppæa* his wife therein exceeded him, causing the choyfest of her travelling beasts to be shod with gold: Yet *Heliogabalus* went a straine farther, and put it to a baser use; as he made water *in Myrrinis & Onichinis*; in Murrin vessels and of the Onix stone, so made hee his stoole-pans of gold: Which *Pliny* out of *Messala* likewise reports of *Anthony*, *in contumeliam naturæ vilitatem auro fecit, opus proscriptione dignum*, to the reproach of nature he used gold to the basest offices, a worke even worthy proscription. And the same doth *Martiall* upbraid *Bassa* with:

Suetan. c. 30.
Plin. 33. 11.
Lampridius. & Lib. 33. 3.
Lib. 1. 37.

Ventris onus miserο nec te pudet excipis auro,
Bassa.
Thy bellies load thou doest exonerate
O Basse, in gold, yet shamest not thereat.

Their caldrons, their seething-pots, their grid-irons, and frying-pans were usually of silver, as witnesseth *Vlpian*, and *Pliny*, *vasa coquinaria ex argento fieri quæritur*; *Calvus* the *Oratour* complaines, that our very Kitching vessels are all of plate. The same *Pliny* affirmes, that the price of a candlesticke was the salarie or stipend of a *Tribune*, which was fifty thousand Sesterces: Nay a little hatchet or axe, if we may credit *Martiall*, was sold for foure hundred thousand.

L. cum aurum
Plin. 33. 11.
14. 35.

Cum fieret tristis solvendis auctio nummis,
Hæc quadringentis millibus empta fuit.
When sale was made that debts might be defraid;
Foure hundred thousand for this was well paid.

Now for ornament of their houses, they bought them *pictures* of excessive prices: *Cum tabulæ eorum singulæ oppidorum vanirent opibus*; some single peeces being valued at the riches of a whole towne: the counterfeit taken from a table made by *Pausias*, wherein was represented his Mistrisse *Glycera* with a chaplet of flowres in her hand, curiously plaited and twisted, *Lucius Lucullus* bought of *Dionysius* a Painter of *Athens*, and it cost him two talents of silver. *Cydias* in a table represented the *Argonautes*, for which *Hortensius* the Oratour was content to pay one hundred forty foure thousand Sesterces. And what difference is there herein betweene us and children, saith *Seneca*, who valuing counterfeit rings, and jewels, and bracelets at high prices: *nisi quod nos circa tabulas & statuas insanimus charius inepti*, save that wee dote about statues and pictures, playing the fooles at a dearer rate.

Plin. 35. 4.
Epist. 115.

But as they were luxurious in the price, so were they likewise in the worke it selfe, which many times was *lasciuious* and *beastly*.

Propertius.

Quæ manus obscœnas depinxit prima tabellas,
Et posuit casta turpia visa domo,

Illa

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Illa puellarum ingenuos corrupit ocellos
Nequitiaque ſua noluit eſſe rudes.
The hand that firſt laſcivious pictures drew,
And filthy ſights in houſes chaſt did ſhew,
He maids chaſt eyes did firſt corrupt, and he
Would have them train'd up in their lechery.

Thus did *Tyberius* adorne his chambers: *Cubicula plurifariam diſpoſita tabellis ac ſigillis laſciviſſimarum picturarum ac figurarum adornavit.* So did *Hor. Speculato cubiculo ſtorta dicitur habuiſſe diſpoſita, &c.* They had likewiſe for ornament the ſhells of Tortoiſies artificially wrought, *& in gentibus emptas*, bought at wonderfull high rates. But I leave their houſes, together with the ſtuffe and ornament thereof, and come to their apparrell & ornament of their bodies, in which they exceeded as much or more then in their houſes.

Suston. 43.
Idem in vita Horatij.
Seneca de benef. ficijs. 7. 9.

CHAP. 8.

Of the Romanes *exceſsive Luxury in their dreſsing and apparell.*

SECT. 1.

How effæminate they were in regard of their bodies, ſpecially about their haire.

THeir effeminate ſoftneſſe and niceneſſe in regard of their bodies, *Seneca* hath well both obſerved and cenſured: *Adhuc quicquid eſt boni moris extinguimus levitate & poliſura corporum, muliebres munditias anteceſſimus, colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos viri ſumimus, tenero & molli ingreſſu ſuſpendimus gradum, non ambulamus, ſed repimus*: Whatſoever is yet left of good faſhion we extinguiſh it by the decking and trimming of our bodies, we have exceeded the neatneſſe of women, even wee men weare light and whoriſh colours, not becomming matrons, we faſhion our gate to a wanton & mincing pace, we doe not walke but creepe. And of the ſame hee grievouſly complaines in the proeme to the firſt booke of his Controverſies: *Capillum frangere, & ad muliebres munditias vocem extenuare, mollitie corporum certare cum fœminis, & immundis ſe excolere munditijs noſtrorum adoleſcentium ſpecimen eſt*: It is now held the accompliſhed gallantry of our youth to friſle their haire like women, to ſpeak with an affected ſmalnes of voice, and in tendernes of body to match them, & to bedeck themſelves with moſt undecent trimming. But their extreame curioſity in plaiting and folding their haire, hee in another place moſt lively deſcribes, and as ſharply, but juſtly reproves: *Quomodo iraſcuntur, ſi tonſor paulo negligentior fuit tanquam virum tonderet? quomodo excandeſcunt ſi quid ex juba ſua deciſum eſt? ſi quid extra ordinem jacuit, niſi omnia in annulos ſuos reciderunt? Quis eſt iſtorum qui nō malit Remp. turbari, quam comā? Qui non ſolicitior ſit de capitis ſui decore, quam de ſalute? qui non comptior eſſe malit, quā honeſtior?* How doe they chafe if the barbour be never ſo little negligent, as if hee

Nat. quæſt. 7. 31
De brevit. vitæ cap. 12.

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were trimming a man? How doe they take on if any thing be lopped off of their feakes or fore-tops? if any thing lye out of order, if every thing fall not even into their rings or curles, which of these would not rather choose that the state whereof he is a member should be in combustion then his haire should bee displatted? who is not much more sollicitous of the grace of his head then of his health? who maketh not more account to bee fine then honest? Even *Iulius Cæsar* himselfe was this way too too nice, *Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, sed velleretur etiam, ut quidam exprobaverunt:* He was too studious about the care of his body, so as he was not onely curiously cut, but shaven, nay had his haires plucked off with pincers, which some upbraided him with. No marveile then if *Nero* exceeded this way: *Circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus,* so shamefull was he in the dressing of himselfe, that he alwayes wore his haire after the *Greeke* fashion plaited behind. These plaitings they likewise besmeared with oyntments and perfumes:

Suetonius. c. 45.

Suetonius. c. 51.

Iuven. Sat. 4.

Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
Quantum vix redolent duo funera.

And *Crispin* sweating with his oyntment and perfume,
Two funerals scarce smell so much I dare presume.

And sometimes they dyed their haire.

Mart. l. 3. ep. 43.

Mentiris juvenem tinctis Lentine capillis,
Tam subito corvus qui modo cygnus eras.
Non omnes fallis, scit te Proserpina canum,
Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo.

And againe,

Mart. l. 1. ep. 99.

Cana est barba tibi, nigra est coma, tingere barbam
Non potes, hac causa est, sed potes Ole comam.

Neither was the use of perruques unknowne in those times as may appeare by this of the Epigrammatist.

Mart. lib. 10. epig. 71.

Calvo turpius est nihil comato.

Then bushie baldnesse nothing's more deform'd.

And for the face they used so much slibber-sauce, such dawbing and painting, that a man could not well tell,

Iuven. Sat. 6.

---Facies dicatur an ulcus.

May it a face or else a botch be call'd?

Cap. 12.

Suetonius reports it of *Otho*, that hee shaved every day, and rubbed his face over with moistned bread, *idque instituisse à prima lanugine, ne barbatus unquam esset*, and that this hee practised from the time of his first appearance of the haires on his chinne, that he might never have a beard. Neither were these things only practised by them, but Schooles they had to teach them, and open shoppes to sell what they had in this kinde.

Senec. ep. 91.

SECT. 2.

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SECT. 2.

Of the preſsing, plaiting, ſtore, die, and price of their garments, as alſo of their rings and jewels of ineſtimable value.

NOw as they were thus effœminate and curious about their Bodies, ſo were they likewiſe about the apparelling of them. Their *garments* were artificially preſſed, *ponderibus ac mille tormentis ſplendere cogentibus*, with waights and a thouſand rackings and tortures to make them ſhine the brighter. *Senec de tranquill. c. 1.*

Sic tua ſuppoſitis perlucent præla lacernis.
So doe thy preſſes ſhine with garments under-laid. *Martial. 2. 46.*

And as they were thus artificially *preſſed*, ſo were they moſt curiouſly *plaited*, as appeares by this, that *Hortenſius* having one day with much adoe compoſed himſelfe to the looking-glaſſe, he commenced a ſuit againſt his fellow in office, for that meeting him by chance in a narrow way, hee had diſordered the plaites of his Robe, *& capitale putavit quod in humero ſuo locum ruga mutaſſet*, he held it a capitall matter that a fold upon his ſhoulder was diſplaced. *Macrob. Satur. 3. 13.* And therefore *Tertullian* alluding hereunto accompts it among the commodities of his cloake, that it needed no Artificer, *qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet*, who the day before he wore it, ſhould ſet in due forme & order the plaites thereof: & a while after, *etiam cum reponitur nulli cippo in craſtinum demandatur*: whē it is laid aſide, it is not cōmitted to the ſtocks till the morrow. *De pallio. c. 5.* Of theſe they had ſuch variety and ſtore, that *Nero* was never ſeene twice in the ſame garment; & when a *Prætor* intending to ſet forth the moſt ſumptuous & magnificēt ſhewes he could deviſe, came to *Lucullus* to borrow of him ſome ſtore of ſhort clokes; his anſwer was, that he would take a time to ſee if he had ſo many as the *Prætor* deſired; and the next day ſending to know what number would ſerve the turne, it being told him an hundred, *ducentas accipere juſsit*, he bid them take two hundred. *Suetonius c. 30.* But *Horace* ſpeaketh of a farre greater number, no leſſe then five thouſand. *Plutarchus in Eucullo.*

----Chlamydes Lucullus ut aiunt
Si poſſet centum ſcenæ præbere, rogatus,
Qui poſſum tot: ait? tamen & quæram, & quot habebo
Mittam, Poſt paulò ſcribit ſibi millia quinque
Eſſe domi chlamydum, partem vel tolleret omnes,
Lucullus asked once, if he could lend
Unto the ſtage one hundred cloakes, replyed
How can I man, ſo many? yet Ile ſend
As many as I have when I have tried,
Soon after writes, five thouſand cloaks I have.
Take all, or part as many as you crave,

Epiſt. 6.

Sic micat innumeris arcula ſyntheſibus,
Atque unam veſtire tribum tua Candida poſsint
Apula non uno quæ grege terra tulit.
The cheſt with ſupper garments infinite,
Shines in like manner, and thy fleeces white

Mart. lib. 2. Epig. 28.

From more then one flocke in Apulia ſhorne
By one whole tribe ſuffice well to be worne.

When they went to the publique Bathes, they had of theſe ſo many brought after them as might well ſuffice a dozen men; At their publique feaſts they changed often only for oſtentation to ſhew their variety, at leaſt ſo often as *ſeverall courſes* were ſerved in.

Marcellinus lib. 28.

Vndecies una ſurrexti Zoile cœna,
Et mutata tibi eſt Syntheſis undecies.

Martial. lib. 5. epig. 81.

Eleven times at one ſupper thou
O *Zoilus* didſt ariſe.
As many times thou didſt I trow
Thy mantle change likewiſe.

Neither was the *price* unſutable to their ſtore, they dared to lay downe for a cloake ten thouſand Seſterces:

Epig. l. 4. ep. 61.

Millibus decem dixti
Emptas lacernas munus eſſe Pompillæ.
Pompilla gave thee, thou didſt boaſt,
A cloake that might ten thouſand coſt.

And in another *Epigram*,

Emit lacernas millibus decem Baſſus.

8. 10.

Ten thouſand Baſſus for a cloake did pay.

Now that which principally hoiſed up the price of the garments to this immoderate hight, was the *rich dye* which they borrowed from ſhel-fiſh, *Quibus eadem mater luxuria paria pænè etiam margaritis pretia fecit*, which our Luxury, ſaith *Pliny*, hath brought to prizes almoſt equall to thoſe of pearles. A pound of *violet purple* in the time of *Auguſtus*, as witneſſeth *Cornelius Nepos*, who lived and wrote during his raigne, was ſold for an hundred pence, in ſteede whereof the *Tyrian* double dye grew in uſe, which could not be bought for a thouſand.

Lib. 9. c. 35. *Lib. 9. c. 39.*

Their lightneſſe farther appeared in the light apparell which they wore; This is the making of that fine Say, whereof ſilke cloath is made, (ſaith *Pliny*) which men alſo are not abaſhed to put on and uſe, becauſe in ſummer-time they would goe light and thin. And ſo farre doe men draw backe now a dayes from carrying a good corſlet and armour on their backes, that they thinke their ordinary apparell doth over-loade them. And theſe tranſparent garments the *Satyriſt* thus deſervedly inveighs againſt.

Lib. 11 c. 23.

---Sed quid
Non facient alij cùm tu multitia ſumas
Cretice, & hanc veſtem populo mirante perores
In Proculas & Pollineas? Eſt mæcha Labulla,
Damnetur ſi vis, etiam Carfinea: talem
Non ſumet damnata togam. Sed Iulius ardet,
Æſtuo, Nudus agas, minus eſt inſania turpis.
En habitum quo te leges ac jura ferentem
Vulneribus crudis populus modò victor, & illud
Montanum poſitis audiret vulgus aratris.
Quid non proclames in corpore judicis iſta

Si

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Si videas? quæro an deceant multitia testem?
Acer & indomitus, libertatisque magister
Crevice pelluces?

What will not others doe, since *Creticus* doth use
Light garments, and therein *Pellinear* doth acuse
And *Proculas*, while as the vulgar sort therefore
Both game and wonder makes. *Labulla* playes the whore
Condemne her if thou wilt, condemn *Carsinia* too,
Yet will she not condemn'd weare such a gowne I trow.
But *July* scaldeth, and I fry. Plead naked then,
Lesse shame'tis to be mad. Behold the weed wherein
The conquering people yet fresh bleeding from the warre,
And hardie mountainer leaving both plough and share,
May heare thee talke of law and right, didst thou but see
A Iudge in such attire, what out-cryes would there bee?
Would lawne a witnesse fit? Thou *Creticus* so sad,
So fierce, so free, art in transparent garments clad.

Hereunto they added rings and jewels of inestimable value. At the battle of *Canna* the *Carthaginians* gathered frō the fingers of the slaughtered *Romanes* who died in that battle three *modij*, which by *Hannibal* were sent to *Carthage* as a token of the greatnes of his victory. *Nonius* the Senatour, being proscribed by *Anthony*, betooke himselfe to flight, and of all his goods carried with him onely one ring, wherein was set an opall *Quem certum est, sestertijs viginti millibus æstimatum*, which it is certaine was valued at twenty thousand Sesterces. Rings they wore upon every finger. *Plin.* 33. 1. *Plin. l.* 37. c. 6.

Per cujus digitos currit levis annulus omnes,
On whose each finger was a gold ring set. *Martial.* 5. 63.

Nay for every joynt they had a ring, and that set with a pretious stone, *exornamus annulis digitos, & in omni articulo gemma desidet*, we garnish our fingers with rings, & upon every joynt shines a pretious stone, saith *Seneca*, & *Pliny*; some will have the little finger loaden with three rings, nay now adayes, the middle finger onely excepted, all the rest are charged with them, *atque etiam privatim articuli minoribus alijs*, yea and every joynt by themselves must have some lesser rings & gemmals to fit them. *Charinus* wore upon every finger six, neither would he even in the night disburden himselfe of them. *Senec Nat. Quæst. l.* 7. 31. 33. 1.

Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit
Nec nocte ponit annulos: *Mart. lib.* 11. *Epig.* 40.

And as if all this had beene too little, they wore upon one joynt many pretious stones.

Sardonichas, Smaragdos, Adamantas, Jaspidas una
Versat in articulo Stella Severe meus. *Martial.* 5. 11.

Sardonyx, Smaragd, Iasper, Diamond,
My Stella weares on one joynt of his hand.

Parum scilicet fuerit in gulas conde maria, nisi manibus, auribus, capite, totoq; corpore à fœminis juxta virilia gestarentur: forsooth it was too little that the seas were made for our gluttony, unlesse we also wore them upon our

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Lib.9.c.35. our hands, in our eares, upon our heads, & over all our body, saith *Pliny*, speaking of the great abundance of pearle and purple, that was worne as well by men as women. To this luxury of theirs in the use of rings may not unfity be added, that the rings which they wore in summer, in winter they layd aside, and insteed of them used others, distinguishing them into *summer* and *winter* rings. *Luxuria* (saith *Probus*) *invenerat alios annulos æstivos alios vero hyemales.* And *Iuvenal. Sat.* 1.

---Cum verna Canopi
Crispinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ.

---When an *Egyptian* slave
Crispin, a *Tyrian* cloake shall on his shoulders have,
And summer gold-ring on his sweating fingers weare,
Nor can endure the weight of greater gemme to beare.

SECT. 3.

The great excesse and immodesty of their women in the same kinde.

Sen de Benef.7. NOw if their men were herein thus effœminate, wee may well conceive their women exceeded more: *Video sericas vestes, si vestes vocanda sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut deniq; pudor possit. Quibus sumptis, mulier parum liquidò nudam se non esse jurabit. Hac ingenti summa ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut Matronæ nostræ, ne adulteris quidem, plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendunt.* I see their silken clothes, if they may be called clothes, wherewith neither their bodies nor shame are covered; which a woman wearing, cannot safely sweare that shee is not naked: Yet are these at huge prizes, fet from Nations with whom we have no traffique, that our women may expose no lesse to the publique view, when they the come abroad, then they doe to their Paramours in the bed. This immodesty of the women is thus also taxed by *Horace.*

Cois tibi pæne videre est
Vt nudam.
In her lawne shee doth appeare
Almost as if shee naked were

And touched by *Martial*,

Egregium lucet sic per bombycina corpus.

Lib.8.epig.62. Now besides this, they were so loaden with costly ornaments, that one

Ovid. Poet tells us.

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.
The least part of her selfe a maiden is.

And another,

Matrona incedit census induta Nepotum.
Propert.l.3. Eleg.11. The Matron jets attir'd in all her heires estate.

Manilius l.5. *Perque caput ducti lapides, per colla manusque,*
Et pedibus niveis fulserunt aurea vincla.

The

The head, the necke, the hands were deckt with pretious ſtone,
And chaines of gold did ſhine their ſnowie feete upon.

To this exceſſive pride and folly in apparrell among the women of the Gentiles doth S. *Cyprian* allude, dehorting the chriſtian women from it. *Non inferantur auribus vulnera, nec brachia includat aut colla, de armillis & monilibus pretioſa catena, ſint à compedibus aureis pedes liberi, crines nullo colore fucati, oculi conſpiciendo Deo digni.* *De habitu virginum.*

I my ſelfe have ſeene, ſaith *Pliny*, *Lollia Paulina*, late wife and after widow to *Caius Caligula* the *Emperour*, when ſhee was dreſſed and ſet out, not in ſtately wiſe, nor of purpoſe for ſome great ſolemnity, but onely when ſhee was to goe to a wedding ſupper, or rather to a feaſt when the aſſurance was made, & great perſons they were not, that made the ſaid feaſt; I have ſeene her, I ſay, ſo beſet and bedeckt all over with emrauls and pearles ranged in rowes one by another round about the tyre of her head, her cawle, her borders, her perruke of haire, her bungrace and chaplet at her eares pendant, about her necke a carcanet, upon her wreſts in bracelets, and upon her fingers in rings, that ſhe gliſtered and ſhone againe as ſhe went. The value of theſe ornaments ſhe eſteemed & rated at foure hundred hundred thouſand Seſterces, and offered openly to prove it out of hand, by her books of accounts & reckonings. Their ropes of pearle were ſo rich, that S. *Hierome* tells us, *uno filo villarum inſunt pretia*, upon one rope hang the prices of diverſe Lordſhips. And *Tertullian*, *uno lino decies Seſtertium inſeritur*, upon one twine were threaded up tenne hundred thouſand Seſterces. And againe, *ſaltus & inſulas tenera cervix fert*, the tender necke carries woods and Ilands upon it; nay, one pearle which *Iulius Caeſar* bought for *Servilia* the mother of *Brutus*, *Sexagies Seſtertio mercatus eſt*, coſt him ſixtie hundred thouſand Seſterces: But ſpecially they exceeded in the jewels they wore in their eares. *Quare vxor tua locupletis domus cenſum auribus gerit*, ſaith *Seneca*: why doth thy wife weare in her eares the revenewes of a rich familie? And in another place, *Video uniones, non ſingulos ſingulis auribus comparatos: jam enim exercitatæ aures oneri ferendo ſunt. Iunguntur inter ſe & inſuper alij binis ſupponuntur. Non ſatis muliebris inſania viros ſubjecerat, neſi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus ſingulis pependiſſent.* I ſee their pearles not fitted ſingle to their eares, which are now inured to the bearing of weight; they are coupled together, and others are added to the two firſt, the madneſſe of our women had not ſufficiently brought men into ſubjection, did they not hang two or three patrimonies at each eare. And with him *Pliny* accords, *Binos ac ternos auribus ſuſpendere, fœminarum gloria eſt*, to hang theſe by couples or more in each eare, is the pride of our women. And their luxury (ſaith hee) hath found out a name for this, calling it *Crotalia*, as if they gloried in the ſound and ſtriking of the pearles each againſt another. Nay he goes farther *affectantq; jam & pauperes, lictorem fœminæ in publico unionem eſſe dictantes*: It is come to that paſſe, that even the poorer ſort affect the ſame faſhion; their common ſaying being, that a pearle is the womans ſerjeant to waite upon her when ſhee ſhewes her ſelfe abroad. But their extreme folly herein, hath *Tertullian* after his *African* manner wittily expreſſed, *Graciles aurium* *Lib. 9. 35.* *In vita Pauli Eremitæ.* *De habitu muliebri cap. 9.* *Seuton. cap. 50.* *De vita beata, cap. 17.* *De benef. 7. 9.* *De habitu muliebri, cap. 9.*

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rium cutes Kalendarium expendunt, the tender libbets of their eares consume their Kalender, that is, saith the learned *Iunius* in his notes on that passage, *universum domus censum qui præscribitur in Kalendario* : the whole revenew or expence of their house, which was set down in their Kalender, or rentrole, or count-booke : Yet had this beene more tollerable, had they not worne them upon their feete too. *Pliny* can hardly speake of this with patience ; Let our women, (saith hee) have their pearle and pretious stones upon every finger, about their necks, in their eares, upon their chaplets and tresses, *etiamnè pedibus induitur?* must they needes weare them upon their feete? And in another place, but not without some indignation too, *Quin & pedibus nec crepidarum tantum obstragulis, sed totis soculis addunt : neque enim gestare jam margaritas nisi calcent, ac per uniones etiam ambulent satis est* : Nay they garnish their feete with them, and not only the higher, but the lower part of their slippers ; so as now it is not held sufficient to weare pearle, unlesse wee tread and walke upon it. And the same hath *Tertullian* likewise observed, *in peronibus uniones emergere de luto cupiunt*, the pearle in their shooes labours to keepe it selfe out of the mire. But *Lampridius* tells us of *Heliogabalus*, that he wore jewels curiously engraven on his feete, which (saith hee) moved laughter to all men, *quasi possent sculpturæ nobilium artificum videri in gemmis quæ pedibus adhærerent*, as if the gravings of famous Artificers could be discerned in jewels that were set on his feete.

Lib. 33. 3.

Lib. 9. 35.

De habitu muliebri. 7. *cap.*

Moreover, their women did not blush to have it knowne, that usually they painted not their faces onely, but their very eye-browes :

Scitis & inducta Candorem quærere cera,
Sanguine quæ vero non rubet, arte rubet.
Arte supercilij confinia nuda repletis,
Parvaque sinceras velat aluta genas :
Nec pudor est oculos tenui signare favilla,
Vel prope te nato livide Cydne croco.

Ovid, de Rem. Amor.

They frisled and curled their haire with hot irons :

Cum graciles essent, tamen & lanuginis instar,
Heu mala vexatæ quanta tulere comæ !
Quam se præbuerant ferro patienter & igni !
Vt fieret torto nexilis orbe sinus.
Clamabam scelus est, istos scelus urere crines,
Sponte decent, capiti ferrea parce tuo.

Ovid, de Rem. Amor.

They likewise dyed their haire :

Fœmina canitiem germanis inficit herbis,
Et melior vero quæritur arte color.

They also wore haire which they bought, insteed of their owne :

Jurat capillos esse quos emit suos
Fabulla, nunquid illa Paule pejerat?

Fabulla sweares her haire (which at a rate shee bought) is hers, is shee forsworne in that?

And this without any shame they openly bought :

Fœmina procedit densissima crinibus emptis,
Proque suis alios efficit ære suos ;

Nec

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Nec pudor est emisse palam---

Besides, they used artificiall teeth in defect of naturall:

Thais habet nigros, niveos Lecania dentes,
Quæ ratio est? emptos hæc habet, illa suos. Mart. 5. 43.

And againe to *Lalia*:

Dentibus atque comis (nec te pudet) uteris emptis
Quid facies? oculus Lalia non emitur.

Lastly, they had infinite little boxes filled with loathsome trash of sundry kindes of colours and compositions for the hiding of their deformities, the very sight and smell whereof was able to turne a mans stomacke.

Pyxidas invenies, & rerum mille colores,
Non semel hinc stomacho nausea facta meo. Ovid. de Medic. fac.

SECT. 4.

More of the excessive nicenes of their women, as also of Caligula *his monstrous phantasticalnesse in his apparell, together with their extreame vanity in the multitude of their servants and slaves waiting on them.*

BEsides all this excesse in apparell and dressing themselves, their niceneſse was such, that if but an *haire* were amisse, they called a councell about them, for the reforming of it,

---Tanquam fama discrimen agatur
Aut animæ.--- Juvenal.

As if their credit or their life in question were.

Nay, if but *tenuis radiolus*, the least beame pierced thorow any little hole of their fanne, or a fly chanced to sit upon it, *queruntur quod non sint apud Cymmerios natæ*, saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, they presently complaine, that they were not borne among the *Cymmerians*. Their *looking glasses* were in height and breadth answerable to their bodies, ingraven in their borders with gold and silver, and embossed with pretious stone: *Et pluris unum ex his fœminæ constitit quàm antiquarum dos fuit, illa quæ publicè dabatur Imperatorum pauperum filiabus*: Some one of these hath stood a woman more then was the dowry of the Ancients, yea that which by publique allowance was given the daughters of the poorer Emperours. And within a while after, *jam libertinorum virgunculis in unum speculum non sufficit illa dos quam dedit Populus Romanus filiæ Scipionis*: Now adayes that dowry, which the people of Rome gave with *Scipio* his daughter, will not suffice to buy a glasse for the daughter of a manu-missed slave. Now that dowry was *undecem millia æris*, eleven thousand *asses*: what then shall we thinke of the daughters of their *free-borne Citizens*, of their *Knights*, of their *Senatours*? Surely these, as they were superiour in meanes and ranke, so were they likewise in expence.

Lib. 28. Sen. Nat. Quæst. l. 1. 17.

I will conclude this discourse of *apparell* with *Caligula* his monstrous phantasticallnesse therein, described by *Suetonius*, *Vestitu neq; patrio neq; civili, ac ne virili quidem aut denique humano semper usus est.* Hee used not the apparell of his countrey, nor that which was civill or manlike, and

Cap. 52.

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ſometimes not ſo much as humane. for at times would he imitate *Deorũ inſignia*, the enſignes of the Gods: And at other times againe, would he come abroad and ſit in judgment, *in ſocco muliebri* in womens ſlippers; wherin *Suetonius* ſeemes to allude to that ſtory, which is by *Seneca* reported more at large. *De benef. l. 2. 12.* *Cæſar* (ſaith he) gave to *Pompeius Pœnus* his life, if he give it who takes it not away: But being acquitted & giving thankes, he reached forth his left foote for him to kiſſe: Now they who go about to excuſe him herein as being not done out of inſolency, *aiunt, ſocculũ auratum imo aureum margaritis diſtinctũ oſtendere eum voluiſſe*, ſay for him that it was but to make ſhew of his gilded, nay goldẽ ſlipper ſet with pearle.

To their exceſſe in apparell and dreſſing, may not unfitly bee added the extreame vanity in the *multitude* of their *ſervants* and *ſlaves* waiting on them. *Lib. 28.* *Ammianus* ſpeakes of fifty attending, when they went to the publique Bath: And in another place he cals them *familiarum agmina*, *Lib. 14.* troopes of houſhold ſervants: and *Pliny*, *mancipiorum legiones*, legions of ſlaves, which as a traine they drew after thẽ. *Lib. 1. Satyr. 5.* *Horace* tels us, that *Tigellius* had often two hundred that followed him at heeles. But *Athenæus* much *Lib. 6.* exceedes him, *decem imò viginti mille, & plures quoque ſervos habent, non quæſtus causâ ut ille Græcorum ditiſſimus Nicias, ſed pleroſq; in publico comitantes*: They have ten, nay twenty thouſand ſervants and more, not ſo much to make a gaine of them, as did *Nicias*, the richeſt of the *Grecians*, but the greateſt part to waite on them when they went abroad. And me *De Ben. 7. 7. 10* thinkes, *Seneca* againe outvies *Athenæus*, *Familia bellicoſis nationibus major*, a family more populous then ſome warlike Nations. Neither were the women in this exceſſe inferiour to the men, but rather went beyond thẽ. *Marcellinus* deſcribes the order of ranging their ſervants when they *Lib. 14.* went abroad, as it had beene an army marching in the field: And S. *Hierome* calls one part of them, *an army*, *noli ad publicum ſubinde procedere & Ep. ad Furiam.* *ſpadonum exercitu præeunte viduarum circumferri libertate*: Do not walke abroad with an army of Eunuches marching before you after the manner of licentious widowes: inſomuch as they were driven to have their *Nomenclators*, controllers or remembrancers to tell them the names of their ſervants & people about them, ſo many they were. Many of theſe they bought at a deare rate, & clad richly: They uſually payd for a ſlave ſix thouſand Seſterces: And *Iulius Cæſar* layd downe ſuch incredible prices for ſome of them, that himſelfe was aſhamed thereof: *Sic ut ratio- Suetone. 47.* *nibus vetaret inferri*, ſo as he gave ſpecial charge it ſhould not be brought into his account. But their Ieaſters were commonly the deareſt:

Martial. l. 8. epig. 13.

Morio dictus erat viginti millibus emi,
Redde mihi nummos Gargiliane: ſapit.

A foole I bought for twenty thouſand price:
Reſtore it backe, *Gargilian*, he is wiſe.

And for the rich apparrelling of them at times, wee have a memo- *De Tranq. c. 1.* rable place in *Seneca*, *diligentius quàm intra privatum larem veſtita & auro culta mancipia, agmen ſervorum nitentium*; their ſlaves are more carefully apparelled and decked with gold when they appeare in publique, then within doores, and the troopes of their Servants ſhining and glittering.

SECT. 5.

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SECT. 5.

Of the prodigall, or rather prodigious gifts of their Emperours, and the extreame unthriftinesse of private men.

I May happily seeme to some to have beene tedious in dwelling too long upon the *excessive Luxury* of this people: but surely their extreame folly and madnesse therein have made me so: And if not the rarity, yet the variety of the matter hath beene such, as I presume it cannot quickly cloy the appetite of an attentive Reader. And though much hath beene said, yet much more might be added, specially touching their *prodigall*, or rather *Prodigious gifts*, which their great *Patron Iustus Lypsius* thus censures. *Si quis Midas fuisse fingatur qui omnia tacta faciat aurea, defecerit inaurare quantum isti sunt largiti*: If we could faine a *Midas* that could turne all hee touched into gold, surely he would bee weary to make the gold they gave. And againe, *Vbi estis qui novum orbem & novas in eo divitias reperistis? huc ite, ostendent & effundent eas Duumviri isti unâ largitione*: where are you that speake of a new world, and the great treasure that is there to be found? Come hither and behold, two *Duumviri* (meaning *Anthony* and *Octavius*) that will emptie it all at one gift: And would you know to what great good purpose all these profuse largitions were? the same *Author* shall tell you, though somewhat against his will, *ut ad imperium veniant, imperium pænè ipsum donant*: They in a manner give away the *Empire*, that they may come unto it. *Quid? donant? perdunt certè, & quomodo tot isti pecuniarum cumuli sine aperta pernicie Provinciarum Civiumque colligi potuere?* What said I, they give away? nay they rob and spoyle the *Empire*, in as much as so great masses of treasure could not possibly be gathered without the evident ruine as well of the Citizens as of the Provincials. *Caligula* in lesse then a yeare scattered and consumed those infinite heapes of gold and silver which *Tiberius* his Predecessour had layd up, *vicies ac septies millies sestertium*, seaven and twenty hundred millions of Sesterces. Of *Vitellius*, *Iosephus* yeelds this testimony, *Octo menses ac dies quinque potitus imperio, jugulatur in media urbe, quam si vivere diutius contigisset, ejus luxuriæ satis esse imperium non potuisset*; having raigned eight moneths & five dayes he was slaine in the midst of the City, whose luxurie, should he have lived longer, the Empire could not have satisfied: And lest wee should thinke *Iosephus* passionate herein, as being a *Jew* and oppressed by the *Romanes*; against the testimony of *Tacitus* himselfe a *Romane* and partiall for his Countrey wee cannot except: let us then heare his evidence touching the same *Vitellius*: *Ipse abundè ratus si præsentibus frueretur, nec in longum consultans novies millies sestertium pauciss. mensibus intervertisse creditur*, he holding it fully sufficient if he injoyed the present, and not caring for the future, within the compasse of a few moneths, is said to have set going nine hundred millions of Sesterces; which summe *Budæus* casting up, thus pronounces of it, *hanc ego summam non minorem ducenties vicies quinquies centenis millibus esse dico*, I affirme that this sume

De Magn. Rom. 2. 12.

Suetonius. 37.

De bello Iudaico. 5.

Histor. 2. 27.

Lib. 4.

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is no leſſe then twenty five hundred thouſand Crownes. And for *Nero*, *divitiarum ac pecuniæ fructum non alium putabat quam profuſionem*, hee thought there was no other end of money and riches but to caſt them away. Thoſe hee held baſe fellowes, who tooke any account of their expences, but gallant and noble ſpirits, if they waſted and laviſhed it out. He in nothing ſo much commended and admired his Uncle *Cajus*, as for that in ſo ſhort a ſpace hee brought going the infinite maſſes of treaſures which *Tiberius* had hoarded up, *Quare nec largiendi nec abſumendi modum tenuit*, ſo as he never ended giving and waſting:

Suetonius. c. 30.

Iuven. Sat. 6

---Velut exhauſta redivivus pullulet arca
Nummus.

As if when nought did in the cheſt remaine,
Moneyes would grow there and revive againe.

In Dionis Compendio.

When once he had given ſo unreaſonable a ſumme, that his mother *Agrippina* thought it fit to reſtraine his boundleſſe prodigality, ſhe cauſed the whole ſumme to be laid before him on a table as hee was to paſſe by, that ſo the ſight of it might worke in him a ſenſe of his folly; but he ſuſpecting it belike to be his mothers device, commands preſently ſo much more to be added thereunto, and withall was heard to ſay aloud, *Neſciebam me tam exiguum dediſſe*, I knew not that I gave ſo little. To *Teridates* (which ſcarce ſeemes credible to *Suetonius* himſelfe) during his abode in *Italy* by the ſpace of nine moneths, he allowed daily *octingenta nummûm millia*, eight hundred thouſand Seſterces: And beſides at his parting for a farewell, beſtowed on him *Seſtertium millies*, no leſſe then an hundred millions; the reſt of his prodigall gifts were not diſproportionall thereunto, ſo that in the whole, *bis & vicies millies ſeſtertium donationibus Nero effuderat*, hee caſt away in prodigall needleſſe gifts two and twenty hundred millions of Seſterces. *Menecrates* a fidler, and *Specillus* a fencer, *triumphalium virorum patrimonijs ædibuſque donavit*, he rewarded with the patrimonies, and houſes of Triumphers: Nay *Luxuria tam effranatæ fuit*, ſaith *Oroſius*, ſo luxuriouſly waſtefull he was, beyond all reaſon and meaſure, *ut piſcaretur retibus aureis quæ purpureis funibus extrahebantur*, that he would not fiſh but with nets of gold drawne with purple coloured cords. Neither was his gaming unanſwerable to his giving, *Quadringenis in punctum ſeſtertijs aleam luſit*, he adventured foure hundred thouſand Seſterces upon every pick of the dice.

Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 6.

Suetonius c. 30.

Suetonius.

But yet all this might perchance ſeeme more tollerable in their Emperours, had not their private men according to the proportion of their meanes gone beyond them in theſe mad monſtrous prodigalities. *Sylla* (as *Plutarch* in his life reports it) would ſometimes give a whole countrey, or province, or the whole revenues, or certaine cities to a pleaſant jeſter, or a minſtrell, or a wicked ſlave made free, or to a woman whom he affected for her beauty, *Pyramides regum miramur*, ſaith *Plinie*, *cùm P. Clodius quem Milo occidit, Seſtertium centies & quadragies octies domo empta habitaverit, quod non ſecus ac regum inſaniam miror*. Do we wonder at the *Pyramides* of the *Ægyptian* Kings, ſince *Clodius* whom *Milo* ſlew, dwelt in an houſe which coſt one hundred forty eight hundred thouſand Seſterces, which truly I as much admire as the madneſſe of thoſe Kings-

Lib. 36. 15.

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Kings. And going on, touches *Milo* himselfe upon the same veine: *Itaque & ipsum Milonem sestertium septingenties aeris alieni debuisse, inter prodigia animi humani duco*: And *Milo* himselfe to have beene indebted seaven hundred hundred thousand Sesterces, I cannot but ranke it among the prodigies of humane wit. *Curio* the sonne ranne in debt, as witnesses *Valerius*, *Sestertium sexcenties*, six hundred hundred thousand Sesterces, *Lib. 9. 1.*

....Decies centena dedisses *Hor. l. 1 Sat. 3.*
Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus
Nil erit in loculis.
Ten hundred thousand were you pleas'd to give
Vnto the sparing man, so well content
With little, yet might he but dayes live,
In five daies all would be consum'd and spent,

Saith *Horace* of *Tigellius*. And *Martiall* of *Cinna*;

Bis quartum decies non toto tabuit anno, *Lib. 9. Ep. 84.*
Dic mihi non hoc est Cinna perire citò
An hundred thousand eighteene times
Lesse then one yeare did spend:
Tell mee, O *Cinna*, is not this
To come soone to an end?

And of *Matho*,

Centenis ludit Matho millibus, Ole quid ad te? *Lib. 7. epigr. 8.*
Non tu propterea, sed Matho pauper erit.
For hundred thousands *Matho* playes,
Olus, what's that to thee?
Not thou by meanes thereof I trow
But *Matho* poore shall bee.

CHAP. 10.

Of the Romanes extreame arrogancie and confidence in admiring and commending themselves together with their grosse and base flattery, specially to their Emperours: and lastly their impudent, nay impious vain-glory and boasting of their owne Nation & City, together with a briefe view of their ingratitude towards their best deserving Citizens.

SECT. I.

Of their extreame arrogancie in admiring and commending, and even deifying themselves, as also in hunting after applause from others.

THus have we seene the *Covetousnesse* & *Cruelty*, but specially the *prodigious Luxurie* of this *Nation* (so renowned in *History* for their *Vertues*, as if they had beene the onely *patternes* and *Masters* of *morality*) in part displayed: Neither were these three vices the onely ones which they were generally and notoriously subject unto, I might instance in many more, but will onely touch by the way their extreame

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arrogancie and *confidence* admiring and commending themſelves & their owne perſonall abilities, their groſſe and baſe *flattery* to others, ſpecially their Emperours both living and dead; and laſtly their impudent, nay impious *vain-glory* and boaſting of their owne *Nation* and *City*. For the firſt of thoſe, ſo farre they were from *humility*, that their greateſt *Moraliſts*, no not the *Stoicks* themſelves any where in their writings remember it as a vertue, it being indeed the proper vertue of *Chriſtian* Religion. Nay ſo farre they were from ranging it among the *Vertues* that they held it a *Vice*.

Faciunt animos humiles formidine Divûm.

To feare the gods doth much abaſe the minde.

How greedily they hunted after applauſe in part appeares by the *recitation* of there owne writings, ſpecially of their poems, and that not in private only among their freinds, but in publique to the people; whereunto the epigrammatiſt alludes,

Quèm recitas meus eſt o Fidentine libellus,
Sed malè dum recitas incipit eſſe tuus.

And ſo doth the Satyriſt,

Semper ego auditor tantùm, numquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties rauci Theſeide Codri?

To theſe recitations they invited men by ſetting up tickets, thereby to make knowne the time the place and the perſons. And to this purpoſe if their owne houſes were to little, they hyred fayrer and larger; nay they hyred ſome to applaud them with loud voyces and clapping of hands, ſoe to ſet others on worke to doe the like; or thereby to make the muſick more full, and theſe they beſtowed in places moſt commodious to that end; which *Iuvenall* hath well expreſſed.

Scit dare libertos extremâ in parte ſedentes
Ordinis, & magnas comitum diſponere voces.

The uſuall acclamation of theſe men was, καλῶς σοφῶς; for which good ſervice they were ſometimes rewarded with dinners or ſuppers which *Martiall* often points at. And in this reſpect doth *Pliny* the younger in his epiſtles wittily call them Sophocles and laudicænos.

Lib. 3. ep. 14.

No marvell then that whereas wee finde the pen-men of holy Scripture publiſhing to the world, and regiſtring to poſterity their owne infirmities, thoſe men on the other ſide vaunt every where of their worth and ſufficiencie. Not ſo much but old *Ennius* bragges of himſelfe, that being yet alive he was growne ſo famous that hee needed no mourning for him after his death.

Nemo me lacrymis decoret, neque funera fletu
Faxit, cur? volito vivus per ora virum.

Martial, if he have nothing elſe to brag of, will ſtand upon his ſingular gift in trifling.

Ad Avitum. l. 1.

Ille ego ſum nulli nugarum laude ſecundus.

In praiſe for toyes I ſecond am to none.

Ovid thus boldly concludes his *Metamorphoſis*

Iamque opus exegi quod nec Iovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

Now

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Now have I finiſhed the worke, which nor Joves ire,
Nor ſword aboliſh ſhall, nor ravening time, nor fire.

And in another place:

Mantua Virgilium laudat, Verona Catullum,
Peligna gentis gloria dicar ego.
Let *Mantua Virgill* praiſe, *Catull Veron*,
Pelignaes glory let me be tearm'd alone.

And *Horace* is no way behind him,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique ſitu Pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Poſſit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum ſeries & fuga temporum.
A monument then braſſe more laſting, I,
Then Princely Pyramids in ſight more high,
Have finiſhed, which neither fretting ſhowres,
Nor bluſtring windes, nor flight of yeares and houres,
Though numberleſſe can raze. *Carm. l. 3. od. 30*

And though it be true that they divined aright, yet doubtleſſe, ſuch arrogant confidence, or rather confident arrogancie touching the fruites of their owne braines, would better have ſounded out of other mens mouths, and more modeſty (the very grace and crowne of other vertues and gifts) have much better beſeemed them. What a *vainglorious* unſavory verſe was that of *Tullies* owne making, touching the good government of the ſtate during his *Conſulſhip*:

O fortunatam natam me Conſule Romam!
O happy Rome and fortunate
Through me, and through my Conſulate!

But their Emperours went farther; *Diocleſian* calling himſelfe the brother of the Sunne and Moone, and in ſalutations, not admitting any to farther familiarity then to the kiſſing of his toe. Nay *Auguſtus*, ſo much magnified by them, made a ſupper, in which *Suetonius* witneſſeth, *Deorum Dearumque habitu diſcubuiſſe convivas & ipſum pro Apolline ornatum*, that his gueſts ſate downe in the habite of Gods and Goddeſſes, and himſelfe attired like *Apollo*: But this was but a play, though ſuch as *Auguſtus* himſelfe bluſhed to heare of. *Domitian* (as before hath beene touched) went to it in good earneſt, ſending out his writtes with this forme, *Dominus & Deus noſter ſic fieri jubet*, Our Lord and God ſo commands it to bee: *unde inſtitutum poſthac ut ne ſcripto quidem ac ſermone cujuſquam appellaretur aliter*, from thence forth it was ordained, that he ſhould neither by the writing not ſpeech of any man bee otherwiſe named: Yet theſe were but words, *Caligula* proceeded to deedes. *Cap. 70.* *Sueton. cap. 13.*

---Divûmque ſibi poſcebat honores,

Aſſuming and challenging to himſelfe, not the name onely but the honours due to the Gods: Hee therefore perſecuted the *Iewes*, becauſe they refuſed to worſhip him as a God; as witneſſeth *Ieſephus* in his book *de legatione ad Caium*. Hee cauſed the ſtatues of the Gods, among

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which was that of *Iupiter Olympicus* to be brought out of *Greece*, and taking off their heads, commanded his owne to bee set on insteed thereof, and standing betweene *Castor* and *Pollux*, exhibited himselfe to bee worshipped of such as resorted thither, *Templum etiam numini suo proprium & Sacerdotes & excogitatissimas hostias instituit*, he farther erected a Temple, and instituted both Priests, & most exquisite sacrifices to the service of himselfe. In his Temple stood his image of gold taken to life, which every day was clad with the same attire as was himselfe, his sacrifices were Phænicopters, Peacockes, Bustards, Turkeyes, Pheasants, and all these were daily offered, and at nights in case the Moone shined out full and bright, hee invited her to imbracements and to lie with him, but the day hee would spend in private conference with *Iupiter Capitolinus*, sometimes whispering and laying his eare close to him, and sometimes againe talking aloud as if hee had beene chiding: Nay being angry with heaven, because his enterludes were hindred by claps of thunder, and his banqueting by flashes of lightning, *ad pugnam provocavit Iovem*, hee challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him, *& quidem sine intermissione Homericum illum exclamans versum*, and without ceasing roared out that verse of *Homer*.

Sueton. cap. 22.

Seneca de Ira. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἤ τις σεῖο ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος,

None is, ô *Iupiter*, more mischievous then thou.

Insteed of which verse of *Homer*, some copies have this *Hemistichium*.

ἢ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγώ σε.

Dispatch thou mee
Or I will thee.

Whereupon *Seneca* inferres (as well he might) *Quanta dementia fuit? putavit aut sibi nocere ne à Ioue quidem posse; aut se nocere etiam Iovi posse*: what extreame madnesse was that, to thinke that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him, or that himselfe could hurt *Iupiter*? Good God! who would imagine that pride and selfe-love should so farre intoxicate and infatuate a man (captivated to sinne and sensuality) as to make him utterly to forget himselfe to bee a man, and command others to worship him as a God, or which is more, above God? But surely herein I must confesse, they be somewhat the more to be pitied, and therather to bee pardoned, for that the Gods whom they worshipped, had not onely beene men, but like themselves, too notoriously wicked: And withall I am perswaded, the grosse flattery of their subjects, but specially the *Poets*, drew them on to the acting of that, which perchance of themselves they were inclinable enough unto.

SECT. 2.

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SECT. 2.

Of their grosse flattery, specially toward their Emperours both living and dead.

HOw notably doth *Martiall* play the Parasite with *Domitian*, telling him, that if the Gods should sell all they had, they would not be able to satisfie their debt to him, but would be forced to turne banke-rupts.

Grandis in Ætherio licet auctio fiat Olympo,
Coganturque Dei vendere quicquid habent
Conturbabit Atlas, &c.

These verses of *Martial* are upon another occasion, formerly alleaged and englished.

And againe,

Expectes & sustineas Auguste necesse est,
Nam tibi quod reddat, non habet arca Iovis.

But this in *Martiall* a professed flatterer, is more tollerable then in *Virgill* and *Lucan*, who carry the name of grave and sad Poets, yet the one divides the *Empire* betweene *Iupiter* and *Augustus*.

Divisum imperium cum Iove Cæsar habet.
'Twixt *Iove* and *Cæsar* th'Empire shared is.

Nay more then so he calls him his God, promising to erect altars and offer sacrifice unto him,

O Melebœe deus nobis hæc otia fecit, *In Tytyro.*
Namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
Sæpe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.

And againe in another Ecloge,

Ipsa sonant arbusta deus, deus ille Menalca *In Daph.*
Sis bonus ô fœlixque tuis, en quatuor aras
Ecce duas tibi Daphni, dunque altaria Phœbo.

The other professes, that all the outrages committed in their *civil* wars, were nothing displeasing unto them, but rather acceptable and advantagious in regard they helpt to prepare a way for *Nero's* comming to the Empire.

His Cæsar Perusina fames mutinæque labores, *Lib. 1.*
Accedant fatis, aut si quid durius istis:
Multum Roma tamen debet civilibus armis
Quod tibi res acta est.

Adde *Cæsar* to these fates, *Modena* broyles,
Perusin famine, or else harder toyles:
Yet *Rome* to civill armes thou art in debt,
Since all this worketh to thy benefit.

Quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni *Ibid.*
Invenere viam,
Iam nihil ô Superi querimur, scelera ista nefasque
Hac mercede placent.

If other way the fates could not invent
For *Nero's* comming, then we rest content,

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This villanie ô Gods, this foule offence
Miſlikes us not with ſo great recompence.

And when *Domitian* challenged to himſelfe *divine worſhip*, how ready were they to ſooth him in it? *Magiſteria Sacerdotij diuiſſimus quiſque & ambitione & licitatione maxima vicibus comparabat*, Every one as he was richeſt by great ſutes and bribes, got him a turne in the Magiſtracie of the Prieſt-hood; nay, *quidam eum Latialem Iovem conſalutârunt*, there wanted not ſome among them, who ſaluted him by the name of *Iupiter Latialis*. But this I muſt acknowledge, as it was fouleſt in the higheſt degree, ſo was it unuſuall: For though (as noteth *Proſper*) in their petitions to their Princes, they uſually ſtiled them, *Numini veſtro, Perennitati veſtræ*, to your divine power, to your eternity: *Quæ vanitas non veritas tradidit, atque execrabilia ſunt*, which vanity not verity hath found out, and are indeed abominable: Nay the *Emperours* themſelves in their *Reſcripts*, ſhamed not to write, *Perennitas noſtra, æternitas noſtra, numen noſtrum &c.* And we ſometimes reade, *Oracula Auguſti* for *Edicta*; Yet *Deorum honor Principi non antè habetur, quàm agere inter homines deſierat*, ſaith *Tacitus*, wee doe not commonly give the honour of the Gods to our Princes as long as they live; thereby implying that aſſoone as they were deceaſed they did it. Though *Valerius Maximus* in his prologue prefixed to his booke of *memorable ſpeeches* and *deedes*, doubts not to invoke *Tiberius* then living, as a power divine, and withall to juſtifie himſelfe therein, in as much as the moſt ancient Oratours alwayes began with the invocation of *Iupiter*, and the moſt excellent Poets of ſome deitie, which they worſhipped; nay, that himſelfe had more reaſon ſo to do, in as much as their Gods ſtood but in opinion, his, in ſenſible effects. And at laſt concludes *Deos reliquos accepimus, Cæſares dedimus*, other Gods we have received, the *Cæſars* we have made. *Auguſtus* likewiſe while hee was yet living, was worſhipped as a God, not at *Rome* perchance & *Italy* (for that he refuſed) yet abroad in the *Provinces*: Whereupon temples were erected unto him, and a *Colledge of Prieſts* both men and women; and coynes were ſtamped with rayes or beames about his head: whence the *Poet*,

Præſenti tibi maturos largimur honores.
To thee while thou doſt live
Honours divine wee give.

Now the Ceremonie of the *Apotheoſis* or deifying their Emperours, (as appeares in *Herodian* and others) was briefly thus. After the Princes death, the body being ſumptuouſly and honourably interred, they framed an image of waxe, reſembling in all reſpects the party deceaſed, but paliſh and wanne as a ſicke man; and ſo being laid at the entry of the palace in an yvorie bed, covered with cloth of gold, the Senate and Ladies aſſiſting in mourning attire; the Phyſitians daily reſorted to him to touch his pulſe, and conſider in Colledge of his diſeaſe, doctorally at their departure, reſolving that hee grew in worſe and worſe tearmes and hardly could eſcape it. At the end of ſeaven dayes (during which time, ſaith *Xiphilinus*, there ſtood a page with a fanne of peacockes feathers to keepe off the flies from the face, as if hee had beene but

Sueton. cap. 22.

In dimidio Temporis, c. 7.

Annal. lib. 15.

Lib. 4.

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but asleepe) they opened and found by their learning, (the *crisis* belike being badde) that the patient was departed. Whereupon some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principall Gentlemen taking up the bed upon their shoulders, carried it thorow *Via sacra* into the *Forum*, where a company of young Gentlemen of greatest birth standing on the one side, and maides on the other, sung hymnes and sonnets the one to the other in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a solemne and mournfull note, with all kinde of other musicke and melodie, as indeede the whole ceremony was a mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeares by *Seneca* at the consecration of *Claudius*: who thus flouts at it. *Et erat omnium formosissimum (funus Claudij) & impensâ curâ plenum, ut scires Deum efferri, tibicinum, Cornicinum, omnisque generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus Conventus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.* It was the goodliest shew and the fullest of sollicitous curiosity, that you might know a God was to be buried; so great was the rabble of trumpetters, cornetters and other Musitians, that even *Claudius* himselfe might have heard them. After this, they carried the herse out of the Citie into *Campus Martius*, where a square tower was built of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receive wood & faggots sufficiently, outwardly bedeckt & hung with cloath of gold, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Upon that tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windowes and doores standing open, wherein the herse was placed, & all kinde of spiceries and odours, which the whole world could yeeld heaped therein: And so a third and fourth turret, and so forth, growing lesse and lesse towards the top: The whole building representing the forme of a lanthorne or watch-tower, which giveth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the Gentlemen first rode about it, marching in a certaine measure: then followed others in open coaches with roabes of honour, and upon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and honourable personages of ancient times. All these Ceremonies thus being performed; the Prince which succeeded taketh a torch, and first putteth to the fire himselfe, and after him all the rest of the company, and by and by as the fire was kindled out of the toppe of the highest turret, an Eagle was let flye to carry up his soule into heaven, and so hee was afterward reputed, and by the *Romanes* adored among the rest of the *Gods*. Marry before the consecration it was usuall, that some Gentlemen at least, should bestow an oath to prove their *Deitie*, *Nec defuit vir Praetorius qui se effigiem cremati eumtem in cœlum vidisse jurasset*, saith *Suetonius* of *Augustus*: Neither was there wanting one who had beene *Praetor* (*Dion* names him *Numerius Atticus*) to sweare, that hee saw his *Effigies* mounting into heaven. The like was testified of *Drusilla*, sister and wife to *Caius*, by one *Livius Geminius* a Senatour, of which *Dion* thus writes. One *Livius Geminius* a Senatour sware that hee saw *Drusilla* ascending up into heaven, and conversing with the Gods, wishing to himselfe and his children utter destruction if he spake an untruth, calling to witnesse both sundry other *Gods*; and specially the *Goddesse* her selfe of whom he spake. For which oath he received

In ludo de morte Claudij.

Pharsal.

Cap. 100.

Lib. 59.

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received a million of Seſterces, which makes 7812l 10s Sterling. What a deale of *fopperie* and *impiety* was here mixed together? Yet this leſſon (as Sr *Henry Savill* from whom I have borrowed the greateſt part of this laſt narration conjectures) they may ſeeme to have learned of *Proculus Iulius*, who tooke an oath not much otherwiſe for *Romulus deitie*, whom the Senate murdered and made a *God*; from whence this race of the *Romane Gods* may ſeeme to have taken beginning. And I doubt not, but many of the wiſer ſort of the *Romans* themſelves ſecretly laughed at this follie, ſure I am that *Lucan* durſt openly ſcoffe at it.

Annot. in Tac. l. hiſt. 1. c. 1.

Lib. 7.

---Cladis tamen hujus habemus
Vindictam, quantum terris dare numina fas eſt;
Bella pares Superis facient civilia divos,
Fulminibus manes, radiſque ornabit & aſtris.
Inque Deûm templis jurabit Roma per umbras.

Yet of this ſlaughter ſuch revenge we have
As heavenly powers may give, or earth can crave:
Gods like to thoſe above theſe civill warres
Shall make, and Rome with lightning, beames, and ſtarres
Shall then adorne, and in the temples where
The Gods doe dwell, ſhall by their ſhadowes ſweare.

It is true, that in our time after the death of the late *Charles* in *France*, his image was laid in a rich bed, in triumphant attire, with the crowne upon his head, and the coller of the order about his neck, and forty dayes at ordinary houres, dinner and ſupper was ſerved in with all accuſtomed ceremonies, as ſewing, water, grace, carving, ſay-taking, &c. all the Cardinals, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, & Officers attending in far greater ſolemnity, then if he had beene alive. Now this I confeſſe, was a peece of *flattery* more then needed, but not comparable to that of the *Romans*, in making their Emperours *Gods*, which they might well have conceived, was neither in the power of the one to give, nor of the other to receive. Yet was not this honour conferred upon the *Emperours* alone; *Tully*, as wiſe as he would be held, would needes have his daughter *deified*, and the ſame did *Adrian* by *Antinous* his minion, which no doubt might as well be juſtified, as *Caligula's* making his horſe a Prieſt, or the ſame *Adrians* erecting monuments to his dead dogs.

Dio. Caſſ. l. 39. pag. 397. &c.

Caligula equum ſuum, Incitatum nomine, ad cœnam adhibuit, hordeum in auro appoſuit, poculis aureis vinum ei propinavit, conſulem ſe eum facturum eſſe pollicetur, in ſacerdotio collegam ſibi adſcivit & ſacerdotem fecit.

SECT. 3.

Of their impudent, nay impious vain-glory, and boaſting of their owne nation and citie.

YEt their *inordinate prepoſterous Zeale* in extolling every where their *Empire* and City beyond meaſure, and modeſty, & truth, ſeemes to have exceeded this toward their Emperours, & from hence I beleeve hath chiefly growne in the world ſo great an admiration

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tion of them in many things beyond all succeeding ages, and their deserts: But certaine it is, that never any people under the Sunne, more daringly challenged to themselves the toppe of all perfection. *Nulla unquam Respub. nec major nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*, saith *Livy*, Never was there any Common-wealth more ample or holy, or rich in good examples. *Gentium in toto orbe præstantissima una & in omni virtute haud dubiè Romana extitit*, saith *Pliny*. The *Romane* Nation hath beene doubtlesse of all others in all kinde of vertue the most excellent. *Nulla gens est quæ non aut ita subacta sit, ut vix exstet; aut ita domita, ut quiescat; aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra imperioque lætatur*, saith *Tully*: There is no Nation which either is not so utterly vanquished, as it is extinguished, or so mastered, as it is quieted; or so pacified, that it rejoyceth in our victory and Empire; and *Claudian*, Lib. 1.

Hæc est exiguis quæ finibus orta tetendit
In geminos axes, parvâque à sede profecta
Disperſit cum sole manus.
Small were her confines when shee first begun;
Now stretcheth to both poles; small her first seat;
Yet now her hands she spreadeth with the Sunne.

This seemed not enough unto *Catilius*, against whom *Arnobius* writes, for he saith, that the *Romanes* did, *Imperium suum ultra solis vias propagare*: They enlarged their dominion beyond the course of the Sun. And *Ovid*, he commeth not a steppe behinde them in this their exaggerated amplification. For he saith, that *if God should looke downe from heaven upon the earth, he could see nothing their without the power of the* Romanes.

Iupiter, arce sua, totum cum spectet in orbem;
Nil, nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet. Fastor.

And againe,

Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo;
Romana spatium est urbis & orbis idem. 2. Fastor.

Yea, and (as *Egesippus* recorded) there were many that thought the *Roman Empire* so great, and so largely diffused over the face of the whole earth, that they called *orbem terrarum, orbem Romanorum, The globe of the earth, the globe of the Romanes, the whole world, the Romane world. Hyperbolicall* speeches, which though *Lypsius* put off with an *animosè magis quam superbè dicta*, as arguing rather magnanimitie then ostentation; yet *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* somewhat more warily limits them thus: *Romana urbs imperat toti terrâ quæ quidem inaccessa non sit*, the Citie of *Rome* commands the whole earth; where it is not inaccessible: But *Lypsius* himselfe more truly, *Quicquid opportunum aut dignum vinci videbatur, vicit*, it overcame whatsoever it could well overcome, or thought worthy the overcomming. And *Macrobius* (though himselfe a *Romane*) ingenuously acknowledgeth, *Gangem transnare, aut Caucasum transcendere, Romani nominis fama non voluit*. The fame of the *Romanes* as great as it was, yet was never so great as to be able to swimme over the river *Ganges*, or climbe over the mountaine *Caucasus*, so that even their fame came short of their swelling amplifications used by their Oratours and Poets, but their dominion came much shorter, as is expressely affirmed by the De Somn. Scip. 2. 10.

Ibid. same Author, *Totius terræ quæ ad cælum puncti locum obtinet minima quædam particula à nostri generis hominibus possidetur.* Though the whole Earth compared with the Heavens bee no bigger then a Center in the midst of a Circle, yet scarce the least parcell of this little earth, did ever come into the hands of the *Romanes*: And *Ortelius* no babe in Cosmography, as is well knowne, doubts not to preferre the present *Spanish* Empire before the ancient *Romane* for largenesse of territory, and greatnesse of dominion.

So doth *Lipsius de mag. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

Yet how could a man well devise to say more then *Propertius* hath said of that Citie.

Omnia Romanæ cedant miracula terræ,
Natura hîc posuit quicquid ubique fuit.
All miracles to Rome must yeeld, for here
Nature hath treasur'd all what's every-where.

Except *Martiall* perchance out-vie him.

Lib. 12. 8.

Terrarum Dea gentiumque, Roma,
Cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum.
Of Lands and Nations Goddesse, Rome, and Queene,
To whom nought peere, nought second yet had beene.

Libro de aquæductibus. Which *Frontinus* seemes to borrow from him, but with some addition of his owne, *Roma urbs indiges terrarumque Dea, cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum.* Now saith *Crinitus*, alleaging those words of *Frontinus*, *Eos dicimus fere indigites, qui nullius rei egeant, id enim est tantum Deorum*, wee usually call those *indigites*, which want nothing, for that is proper to the Gods. *Hubertus Goltzius* in his *treasure of Antiquity*, hath effigiated two peeces of coyne, the one with a *Greeke* Inscription ΡΩΜΑ ΘΕΑ, the other with this in *Latine*, *ROMA. DEA*, the meaning of both being that *Rome* was a *Goddesse*, neither was this figuratively, but properly understood, she having advanced her selfe into the number of the *Gods*, as witnesseth *Dion* in *Augustus*; nay erected Temples, and addressed sacrifices to her selfe, as testifie *Victor* and *Onuphrius* in their descriptions of *Rome*, which *Prudentius* a *Christian Poet* both glances at, and deservedly derides,

De hone. disc. lib. 1. c. ult.

Cap. 1. & 3.

Lib. 1. cont. Symmachum.

---Colitur nam sanguine & ipsa
More Dea, nomenque loci seu numen habetur,
Atque Vrbis Veneriſque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.
Shee Goddesse-like is worshipped with bloud,
A places name is hollowed for a God:
As high as *Venus* Cities Church doth rise,
And joynt to both they incense sacrifice.

And *Lucan*, as to a *Goddesse* directs his prayer solemnely unto her,

Lib. 1.

---summique ô numinis instar
Roma fave cœptis.
---And thou as greatest power divine,
Favour, O Rome this enterprise of mine.

Her Temple was situate upon mount *Palatine*, as appeares by that of *Claudian*, bringing in the Provinces as suppliants to visit the *Goddesse*.

Conveniunt

Conveniunt ad tecta Deæ, quæ candida lucent *Lib. 2.*
Monte palatino.
They meete at th'Goddesse Temple which doth shine
So white and glorious on mount Palatine.

But this was in truth such a mad drunkennesse with pride & selfe-love, that *Lypsius* himselfe cannot hold from crying out, *O insaniam ædificijs & inanimato corpori non vitam solum attribuere, sed numen!* O strange madnesse, to ascribe unto houses and stones and a dead body, not life onely, but a deity! And being now a *Goddesse*, shee might well take to her selfe that of old *Babylon*, a type of her pride, *I sit as a Queene, and am no widdow, and shall see no sorrow*, and challenge to her selfe *eternity* as most blasphemously she did, as is to bee seene in the coyne of the Emperour *Probus*, in which we have *Rome* set forth sitting in her Temple in a victorious triumphant manner, having on the one side this inscription, *Conserv. urbis suæ*, and on the other, *Roma æterna*, and so is it expressely named both by [a] *Symmachus*, and [b] *Ammianus Marcellinus*. And *Suetonius* testifies in the life of *Nero* (*cap.* 11.) that of all their severall kindes of playes, *pro æternitate imperij susceptos appellari maximos voluit*, those which were exhibited for the eternity of the Empire should bee had in greatest state, in which persons of all orders and sexes played their parts. This eternity which *Iupiter* himselfe in the Poet made both to propheſie and to promise,

His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono; *Virgil.*
Imperium sine fine dedi.

Whereby S. *Hierome*, not without good reason expounds these words in the *Revelation*, *I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy*, and so doth *Prosper Aquitanicus*, *æterna cùm dicitur quæ temporalis est, utique nomen est blasphemiæ*, in that she is called *eternall*, being transitory; it is doubtlesse a name of blasphemy.

Isay. 47. 8. Revel. 18. 7.
Hubertus Goltzius rerum Antiq. c. 4.
a *Apud Ambr. ep.* 30.
b *Lib.* 15. *c.* 6. *&* 16. 6.
De Magist. Rom. 3. 6.
Ep. ad Algasiam qu. 11.
In dimidio temporis. c. 7.

SECT. 4.

Of the monstrous ingratitude of the Romanes *toward their best deserving Citizens.*

IT cannot but seeme very strange, that this people should be so wonderfully zealous of the renowne of their nation, and glory of their Citie, and yet withall so injurious, and ingratefull toward their best patriots, and most deserving Citizens, in which kinde might easily be produced a great number of instances out of *Livie*, *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Appian*, *Valerius*, and others; but I will content my selfe with a few, as I finde them gathered to my hand by *Valerius Maximus*, in his fifth booke and third Chapter, though himselfe a *Romane*, descended from the *Valerian* and *Fabian*, two very noble families, and exceeding tender of the honour and reputation of his Countrey. To let passe then the great ingratitude of *Sextilius* toward *C. Cæsar* the Oratour, as also that of *Pompey* the Great, toward *Cn. Carbo*, it is most certaine, that *Popilius* shewed himselfe most prodigiously ingratefull toward *Marcus Cicero*, who had

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deſerved exceeding well, not onely of the ſtate in generall, but of him in particular, by defending his life in a very doubtfull caſe, with no leſſe care then eloquence, & ſending him home to his houſe in ſafety, when himſelfe in a manner deſpaired thereof; yet this man, even this very man, after all this, being no way wronged by *Cicero*, either in word or deed, ſues to *Antony* of his owne accord, that he might be imployed in the proſecution and murder of *Cicero* then proſcribed; and having obtained a commiſſion or warrant for the acting of this deteſtable execution, even dancing for joy, he gets him in poſt haſte to *Caieta*, and there inſtantly commands a man not only of eminent ranke and high deſert, but the authour of his breathing, and even meriting in private veneration at his hands, to yeeld his throate to the ſtroake of his ſword, and forthwith ſecurely and in cold bloud, chops off, not onely the right hand of the *Romane* peace, but the head of the *Romane* eloquence, and with that burden as with rich ſpoyles, triumphantly returnes into that Citie, which by it had beene preſerved more then once, neither in the carriage thereof did the villaine call to minde that hee then bore in his armes, that head which not long before had pleaded and prevailed for the ſafety of his. But truely theſe lines are too weake to paint out, and in lively colours to ſet forth this monſter; and ſufficiently to expreſſe and bewaile this lamentable death of *Cicero*, we ſhould need the tongue or pen of *Cicero* himſelfe, there being none other left in the world of abilitie to performe it.

But this was the act but of a private man. I now come to thoſe in which the State, that is the Citie, or at leaſtwiſe the Senate were ingaged. The Senate then it was which being by *Romulus* advanced to the higheſt pitch of honour, tore him in peeces in open Court, not doubting or fearing to imbrew their hands in the bloud of their founder, and ſo to bereave him of life, who firſt breathed an immortall ſpirit of life into the *Romane* Empire, neither can the greateſt pietie or moſt reverent reſpect of poſteritie towards antiquitie, by any meanes either diſſemble, or excuſe ſo foule a peece of impiety.

Likewiſe *Furius Camillus* being the chiefeſt meanes both for the happy increaſe & ſure defence of the *Roman* power, could not in that Citie maintaine his owne ſafety, the ſafety whereof himſelfe had well ſetled, and much advanced the felicity, for being impeached and indited by *L. Apuleius* Tribune of the people, as having ſecretly imbeazled a part of the *Veientan* ſpoyles, he was by an hard & cruell ſentence adjudged to baniſhment, and that truly, at that very time, when being robbed of a ſonne of excellent hope, he was rather to be cheriſhed with comfort, then oppreſſed with new miſeries; yet *Rome* altogether unmindefull of the deſerts of ſo great a man, to the funerals of the ſon added the condemning of the father: but you will perchance ſay that the Tribune found wanting fifteene thouſand *æra* or *aſſes*, for ſo much was laid to his charge: Certes a poore & unworthy ſumme, that for it, *Rome* ſhould be content to bereave her ſelfe of ſo worthy a Captaine & Patron.

With *Camillus* may well be coupled *Scipio Africanus* the elder, who did not onely reſtore the Common-wealth ſorely bruiſed and torne by the

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the armes of the *Punicke* warre, but brought in a manner the Queene of *Africa* upon her knees, and even to deaths doore; whose most renowned acts, the people of *Rome* rewarded, by forcing him to inhabite a base obscure village standing upon a forlorne lake; neither did hee die altogether silent, as being insensible of the bitternesse of this banishment, but at his parting gave order that upon his sepulcher should bee ingraven this memorandum.

Ingrata patria, nec ossa quidem mea habes.

Ungratefull Countrey, thou art not owner
Of so much as my bones.

And what I pray you could be either more unworthy then that want? or more just then that complaint? or then that revenge more moderate? he denied his ashes to that Citie, which by his wisedome and valour he had preserved from being turned into ashes.

Now that greivous accident which in the same kinde befell his brother might happily, being compared with his, in some sort seeme a kinde of comfort, who having vanquished *Antiochus*, & thereby annexed *Asia* to the *Romane* Empire, and thereupon preparing for a glorious triumph, under a pretence of robbing the common treasury, he was accused and cast into prison.

Africanus the younger, was to these in vertue nothing inferiour, nor in his end lesse unhappy: for having utterly razed two Cities, *Numantia* and *Carthage*, which threatned ruine to the *Romane* Empire, this notwithstanding, he found one at home ready to robbe him of his life, but in the court of justice none to revenge his death.

Who knowes not that *Scipio Nasica* deserved as much by the gowne, as did either of the *Africani* by armes? who rescued the Commonwealth out of the jawes of *Tiberius Gracchus*; yet his vertues too being most unjustly undervalued and disesteemed by his fellow-citizens, under pretence of an embassage, hee retired to *Pergamus*, and there spent the relidue of his life, his ingratefull Countrey not so much as finding him wanting, or desiring his returne.

I am still upon the same name, neither have I yet done with the *Cornelian* familie. For *P. Lentulus*, a famous man, and most dearely loving his Countrey, when in mount *Aventine* he had frustrated the wicked attempts of *C. Gracchus*, and in a valiant and pious fight, having first received many dangerous wounds, put the traytours armie to flight: of this victorie hee bare away his reward, that hee was not suffered to die in that Citie, the lawes, and peace, and liberty whereof he had by this meanes setled, in as much as being thereunto forced by envy and slander, he obtained from the Senate an employment abroad, & in his farewell Oration, praying the immortall Gods, that he might never returne againe to so ingratefull a people, hee got him into *Sicilie*, and resolutely setting up his rest there, he made himselfe partaker of his vow. *Quinque igitur Cornelij totidem sunt notissima ingrata patria exempla*; so as no lesse then five of the *Cornelian* familie alone, may well serve as so many notorious examples of a most ingratefull nation.

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SECT. 5.

Of two rare examples of this latter age, such as cannot bee parallelled either among the Romans, *or any other of the Ancients; the one of incomparable gratitude in the* L. Cromwell, *the other of admirable friendship betweene* Barbadicus *and* Tarvisanus, *two Gentlemen of* Venice: *whereunto is added another of rare gratitude taken out of* Thuanus.

THat the base ingratitude of the *Romans* towards their best Citizens may yet appeare the more odious, I will here set beside it, the unparallel'd example of gratitude in the *L. Cromwell*, toward *Francis Frescobald*, a *Florentine* Merchant, as I finde it reported by M. *Foxe* out of the history of *Bandello* an *Italian*.

Not many yeares past, saith the Authour, there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whose name was *Francis*, descended from the Noble and ancient family of the *Frescobalds*: This Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, unto whom also, through prosperous successe, and fortunate lucke in his affaires and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that hee grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heapes of much treasure; Hee according to the custome of Merchants used his trade into many Countreys, but chiefly into *England*, where long time he lived, sojourning in *London*, keeping house to his great commendation and praise. It happened that *Francis Frescobald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poore young man asking his almes for Gods sake; *Frescobald* as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tatter'd attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardnes and vertue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pitty, demanded of what Countrey hee was, and where he was borne. I am (sir quoth he) of *England*, and my name is *Thomas Cromwell*, my father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloath-shearer. I am strayed from my Countrey and am now come into *Italy* with the campe of *Frenchmen* that were overthrowne at *Gatylion*, where I was the Page to a footman, carrying after him his pike & burganet. *Frescobald* partly considering the present state of this young man, & partly for the love he bare to the *English* nation, of whom hee had received in times past sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such curtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure when he was minded to returne to his Countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparell, & 16 duckates of gold in his purse, to bring him into his Country. *Cromwell* rendring his harty thankes tooke leave of his host & returned into *England*. This *Cromwell* was a man of noble courage and heroicall spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberall, & a grave Counseller, &c. But to our purpose. At what time *Cromwell* was so highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, *Francis Frescobald* (as it many times happeneth unto Merchants) was by many misfor-

Note that this cloath-shearer was his father in law.

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misfortunes and great losses cast backe & become very poore. For according to conscience and equity, hee paid whatsoever was due to any other from himselfe, but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no meanes obtaine: yet calling farther to remembrance, that in *England* by certaine Merchants, there was due to him the summe of 15000 Duckats, he so purposed with himselfe, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himselfe, and no longer deale in the trade of Merchants, but quietly passe over the rest of his dayes. All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards *England*, at last arrived at *London*, having utterly forgotten what courtesie hee had long before shewed to *Cromwell*, which is the property alwayes of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath shewed to other, but to keepe in minde continually what he hath received of other. *Frescobald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earnestly about his businesse, it chanced him by the way to meete with this Noble-man as he was riding toward the Court; Whom as soone as the Lord *Cromwell* had espyed, and had earnestly beheld, hee bethought with himselfe that hee should bee the man of *Florence*, at whose hands in time past, hee had received so gentle entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his armes hee gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to restraine teares, hee demanded if hee were not *Francis Frescobald* the *Florentine*: yea sir (hee answered) and your humble servant; my servant (quoth *Cromwell*)? no, as you have not beene my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwise then my great and especiall friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be sorrie, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should bee) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land, which knowne unto me, truly I should have paid part of that debt which I confesse to owe you: but thankes bee to God I have yet time. Well sir in conclusion you are hartily welcome. But having now waighty affaires in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarrie with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithfull minde of a friend, that you forget not to come this day at my house to dinner, and then remounting on his horse hee passed to the court. *Frescobald* greatly marvelled with himselfe who the Lord should bee, at last after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same whom long before (as you have heard) hee had releived in *Florence*, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recover his debts. The houre of dinner drawing neare, he repaired to the house of this honourable Counsellour, where walking a while in his base Court, he attended his comming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but hee againe imbraced this Gentleman, with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall and all the noblemen of the Court being then in his company did not a little marvell thereat. Which thing when the Lord *Cromwell* perceived, he turned towards them, & holding *Frescobald* fast by the hand:

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doe ye not marvell my Lords (quoth hee) that I seeme so glad of this man, this is he, by whose meanes I have atcheived the degree of this my present calling: & because ye shall not be ignorant of his curtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you: & so there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath beene recited unto you. His tale finished holding him still by the hand, hee entred his house, and comming into the chamber, where his dinner was prepared he sate him downe to the table, placing his best welcommed guest next unto him. The dinner ended and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought *Frescobald* to *London*. *Francis* in few words opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his onely portion to maintaine the rest of his life was 15 thousand Duckates which were owing him in *England*, and two thousand in *Spaine*. Whereunto the Lord *Cromwell* answering againe, said, touching the things Mr *Frescobald* that be already past, although it cannot now bee undone by mans power, nor by pollicie called againe, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world, altering to and fro: yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your selfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall love, I must also bewaile with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of just heavinesse, yet notwithstanding to the intent you may receive in this your heavy distresse some consolatiō for your old courtesie shewed unto me in times past, the like courtesie now requireth of me againe, that I likewise, should repay some portion of that debt, wherein I stand bound unto you, according as the part of a thankefull man bindeth me to doe, in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true freind, that during this life and state of mine, I will never faile to doe for you, wherein my authority may prevaile, to supply your lacke & necessity. And so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning, but let me delay the time no longer. Then takeing him by the hand he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the doore; Then opening a coffer, full heaped with treasure he first tooke out sixteene duckats, and delivering them to *Frescobald*, he said. Loe here, my friend, is your money which you lent me at my departure from *Florence*, and here other tenne which you bestowed in my apparell, with tenne more you bisbursed for the horse I rid away on. But considering you are a merchāt, it seemeth to me not honest to returne your money without some consideration, for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these 4 bags, and in every of them is 400 duckates, these you shall receive and injoy from the hands of your assured friend. *Frescobald* although from great wealth hee was brought to a low ebbe and (almost) an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest minde, after gentle thankes given to the Lord *Cromwell*, for exceeding kindenes shewed, curteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it. This done hee caused

Frescobald

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Freſcobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the ſumme that from every one of thē was owing him, this ſchedule he delivered to one of his ſervants, unto whom hee gave charge diligently to ſearch out ſuch men, whoſe names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the Realme; and then ſtraitly to charge them to make payment within fifteene dayes, of thoſe ſummes, or els to abide the hazard of his diſpleaſure. The ſervant ſo well performed his maſters commandment, that in very ſhort time they made payment of the whole ſumme: and if it had liked *Freſcobald* ſo to have demanded, they ſhould have anſwered to the uttermoſt ſuch commodity, as the uſe of his money in ſo many yeares would have given him profite: but hee contented with his principall would demand no further. By which meanes hee got both harty love and great eſtimation, and the more for that hee was ſo deare to the Lord *Cromwell* and ſo highly eſtemed of him. And during all this time *Freſcobald* continually lodged in the houſe of the Lord *Cromwell*, who ever gave him ſuch entertainment as he had right well deſerved, and oftentimes moved him to abide in *England*, offering him the loane of 60000 Duckates, for the ſpace of foure yeares if he would continue and make his banke in *London*. But *Freſcobald* who deſired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the reſt of his life, with the great favour of the Lord *Cromwell*, after many thankes for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his deſired home, where richly arriving, he gave himſelfe quietly to live; but this wealth hee ſmall time enjoyed, for in the firſt yeare of his returne hee dyed.

To this rare example of *Cromwell* may be added another of another *Engliſh* man related by *Thuanus*, though his name hee expreſſ not, the ſtory he thus ſets downe. *Praxedes* an old commander in the warrs with 300 choiſe *Spaniſh ſouldiers* held the towne of *Credune*, which when hee obſtinately defended, *Aumontius* a man to be equalled with the ancient *Heroes*, who ſtraitly beſeiged the place gave charge that to none of the garriſon ſhould bee given any quarter, and if any were taken priſoner he ſhould bee convented before him to receave judgment; but it ſo fell out that the towne being now taken, and the greateſt part of the garriſon, togeather with *Praxedes* himſelfe, being put to the ſword, a certaine *Engliſhman* hunting up and down the towne for booty, by chance fell upon a *Spaniard* by whoſe meanes himſelfe had bin formerly ſaved in the *Netherlands*, contrary to the like ſevere edict of the Generall; and embracing the man he ſaid, Bee of good courage, I will make it appeare that the good turne which thou didſt mee, was not in vaine beſtowed; for I will firſt looſe my life which I owe unto thee, then I will ſuffer thy life to be taken from thee: whereupon being accuſed by ſomewho bore him no good will, that he had concealed a *Spaniard* whom he had taken, and being commaunded by *Aumontius* to bring forth his priſoner, hee boldly anſwered, that he had promiſed him his life, and being charged for breaking the Generals edict, If nothing ſaith hee of the ſeverity of that edict may bee remitted, I am ready to ſuffer for him, conditionally that his life may be ſafe, and that he know it bee ſaved by my meanes; *Lib. 5.*

Which

Which when all that were preſent wondered at, *Aamontius* demanded the reaſon how it came to paſſ, that an *Engliſh-man* ſhould ſo much affect a *Spaniard*, as to bee ready to lay downe his life for him; the *Engliſhman* told him the truth of the whole buſines how it had paſſed: which when *Aamontius* had well underſtood, he was therewith much mooved, and admiring the *Divine* providence which had offered ſo fayre an occaſion to a generous ſpirited man, of ſhewing his gratitude to one who had ſo well deſerved of him, hee ſent both away highly commended and loaden with gifts.

To theſe tranſcendent examples of gratitude, I will adde ſuch another of faithfull and conſtant freindſhip, as I thinke no former hiſtories either of the *Grecians* or *Romans* can afford, betweene *Barbadicus* and *Tarviſanus* two gentlemen of *Venice* fully and lively expreſſed in this enſuing inſcription, as I finde it in a copie printed at *Venice*, and allowed by publique authority, anno 1627.

Nicolai Barbadici, & Marci Tarviſani philophilia.

Regina Adriæ, orbis miraculum, intemerata virgo, propriâ virtute gravida, tandem peperit, at quidnam? miraculum ſeipſa majus:

Monſtra vitio carentia.

Barbadicum, & Tarviſanum, gemellos, quorum duo corpora una animat anima. Pylades & Oreſtes tranſeant inter fabulas, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in hiſtoria: commorientes deliria ſunt Poetarum ſomniantium: at iſti unanimes, digni quos operi intentus ſuo Deus reſpiciat: magna ingeniorum diſparitas:

Major geniorum paritas:

Non major unus, nec melior alter: ijdem & non ijdem, ipſi nec ipſi ſunt, Pereuntem Barbadicum ſervat Tarviſanus: Perditum Tarviſanum redimit Barbadicus,

Auri hic, ſanguinis ille prodigus.

De uno Tarviſano ſollicitus Barbadicus, conjugis, liberorum, nepotum, poſtponit curam: uni Barbadico ut placeat Tarviſanus, veneri aleæq; (delicijs ſuis) valedicit: vitam dedit huic ille: animam hic illi: utrique debetur cœlum, philomachiam iſtam vidit Adria, ſtupet orbis, admirabitur poſteritas.

Cum duo certarent, victor uterque fuit.

SECT. 6.

The ſame example more particularly deſcribed by meanes of another writing concerning that buſines which ſince the printing of the former is come to my hands.

THis latter example of the *Venetians* held ſo ſtrange that firſt *Giacomo Scaglia* one of the principall citizens publiſhed a narration thereof in *Italian* anno 1627, and ſince *Alexander* de *Gattis* a Churchman of that citty hath out of *Italian* tranſlated it into latine, and printed it the yeere following in venice, as was likewiſe the former; the title whereof, thus runs. *De monſtroſa amicitia reſpectu perfectionis quæ inter Nicolaum Barbadicum & Marcum Triviſanum venetæ filios, nobilitatis gloria digniſſimos intercedit, brevis ac veriſſima narratio cum procura-*

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tione generali, atque irrevocabili facta a primo in personam secundi: additum est etiam testamentum unius & testamentum & Codicillus alterius: quæ omnia ab ipsismet viventibus fuere publicata. And becauſe moſt men are curious to inquire into relations of this kind, and the bookes I doubt are hard to bee gotten either in *Italian* or *Latine*, I have hereunto annexed the latter part of the Epiſtle to the reader, together with the *Hiſtoricall argument* and the inſcription of *de Gattu* added in the end of the latine Copie, though I muſt confeſſe that (in my judgement) it came farre ſhort of that which I have already ſet downe upon the ſame ſubject.

AD CVRIOSOS AC IVDICIO prædítos Lectores.

NOſtris ſolum temporibus (taceant qui dicunt mundum ſemper in pejus ruere) habemus rarum, & ſingulare, non fabulis aut figmentis celebratum, amicitiæ perfectiſsimæ exemplum, in illuſtriſsimis Dominis Nicolao Barbadico, & Marco Triviſano Patriciis Venetis nobiliſsimis. Exemplum, non ad exemplum præteritorum amicorum, ſive veri ſint ſive fabuloſi) at exemplum ſine exemplo, quodque aliorum tanto magis antecellit, quantum a primæ adoleſcentiæ tempore quo familiariter, ac domeſticè ſimul verſari cæperunt, omnes cogitationes & omnes illorum actiones aliter non ſunt appellandæ, quam reciproca veræ atque incomparabilis amicitiæ opera, quæ pro ſingulari exemplo futura ſit cæteris, qui ſunt, quique pòſt alijs erunt in annis. Quanquam vera ab initio oculis invidiæ animoq; perverſo hujuſmodi operationes perperam viſæ & in deteriorem partem accepta fuerunt, tandem tamen ipſarum lux ita clara, ac ſplendida facta eſt, ut ipſam & invidentia, & malevolentia confuſa penitus obtorpuerit. Atque ita egregiè hoc clariſsimum Amicitiæ exemplum triumphat, ut laudes ſemper & encomia hinc inde exaudiantur. Additis titulis ſupra communem uſum illuſtribus nuperis & mirabilibus poematum heroicarum inventionibus, quæ ad horum gloriam ſingularium Heroum adhuc viventium, compoſita ſunt a celebrioribus ſcriptorum recentium calamis, exiſtimantium ſe poſſe immortalitatem acquirere, ſi gloriam celebrent horum, nunquam ſatis celebratorum amicorum; imo non ſolum homines ſingulares, ſed Vniverſitates integræ nobilium totius Italiæ Academiarum publico decreto ſunxerunt, ut ſuo nomine ſcribantur & exaltentur tanti caſus prærogativæ, atque ut in eorum vitæ libris tam illuſtris memoria æternitati commendata perſeveret. Verbi Dei concionatores maximè celebres, in ſacris ſuis ſermonibus ponunt ante oculos tanquam ſpectaculum perfecti amoris, mutuaque inter homines dilectionis, ac tanquam imaginem ſupremæ amoris & ſummæ Dei charitatis hanc perfectam & ſacroſanctam amicitiam. Principes etiam remotiores ad quos fama tantæ Vnionis pervenit, ſicut illam cum admiratione audivere, ita ſummis laudibus eandem extollunt. Hiſtorici noſtri temporis ac futuri, certè inter hujus ætatis memoriâ digniora clariſsimum hoc exemplum, ad ſolam & veram amicitiæ Ideam collocabunt. Quos inter Illuſtriſsimus & Excellentiſsimus D. Nicolaus Contarenus Senator præſtantiſsimus, ob ſummam ejus prudentiam & doctrinam ab hoc ſapientiſsimo Senatu electus ad hiſtorias glorioſiſsimæ ſuæ reip. ſcribendas,

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das, publicè professus fuit ac pollicitus est, se inter heroicas actiones hujus sæculi digniores relaturum, hoc tanquam civilis virtutis exemplum, omnium quæ unquam visa fuerunt nobilissimum. Itaque patria hac fœliciſsima ibit per Barbadicos & Triviſanos gloria onuſtior, quam per Horatios, Mutios, Brutos, & alios cives generoſos, Roma vetus; quorum tamen memoria adhuc viget, & in æternum vigebit. Quod, ſi fabulæ à Poetis & Oratoribus inventæ, Patrocli & Achillis, Theſei & Perithoi, Pyladis & Oreſtis, Nyſi & Euriali, Titi & Gyſippi, & aliorum ejuſdem generis, tantam adferunt admirationem, tantamque voluptatem legentibus; quanto majorem, vera narratio certæ atque incomparabilis horum Venetorum Heroum amicitiæ, circumſtantijs, & conditionibus mirabilibus aſſociatæ, ferre debebit? Sed ut perſpicuè videatur præcipuum hujus actionis fundamentum, omnibus linguis, omnibus calamis, hominum omni exceptione majorum tantoperè celebratæ, curioſè perlegite vos omnes, qui amorem & admirationem actionum laudandarum profitemini, perlegite, inquam, brevem hanc narrationem; quâ paucis comprehenſam veritatem & probationem infallibilem, poteritis perſpicere Heroica hujus ac immortalis amicitiæ, quæ nititur incorruptibili, perpetuæ, & immutabili virtuti. Vivite fœlices, ac memoria ſæpius repetite, mortem omnibus ex natura æqualem, oblivione apud poſteros, vel gloria diſtingui; & poſtquam diu nobis vivere non licet, ſaltem aliquid relinquendum, quo nos vixiſſe teſtemur.

Tacitus. Plinius Secun.

Argumentum Hiſtoricum.

Contraxere jam inde ab adoleſcentia ſuaviſsimam ſimul amititiam illuſtriſſimi Domini, Nicolaus Barbadicus & Marcus Triviſanus, Patricij Veneti, ac tum ob propriæ virtutis meritum, tum etiam ob familiarum ſplendorem, tum denique ob dignitates & officia egregiè à Iuventute exercita in Repub. ſpectabiles. Solida hæc cordataque Amicitia omni tempore mutuis officijs culta eò pervenit, ut Triviſanus, propter redundantes in rebus neceſſarijs expenſas, in itineribus, atque in ijs voluptatibus quæ hodiè propriæ ſunt liberæ ac magnanimæ Iuventutis, præter quandam in aleis adverſam fortunam, & alios humanæ vitæ caſus, incidiſſet in admodum diſſimilem a ſuis Natalibus, ac generoſis cogitationibus conditionem, ære forſitan alieno ſuperante fortunas ſuas, & ab omnibus, atque adeò ab ipſiſmet etiam fratribus derelictus eſſet, ab amico fideli amico Barbadico, Nobili viro ditiſsimo (præter quoddam mutuum quatuor millium ducatorum antea gratis conceſſum) in domum deinde propriam fuerit introductus, remiſſoque debito, quod cum illo habebat, atque ſolutis duobus alteris millibus, quæ in magnam ſummam cum alijs contraxerat; tandem extraordinaria, generali & irrevocabili Procuratione, bonorum omnium ſuorum, mobilium & ſtabilium Præfectum & Adminiſtratorem conſtituerit, ut de ijs ad arbitrium ſuum diſponeret. Neque his rebus Barbadicus ſatiatus, ut amici commoditatibus, ſi fortè ſibi obire contigiſſet, & optimæ adminiſtrationi ſuarum facultatum, ac beneficio filiorum provideret, in ſuo Teſtamento diſponit, ut, licèt conjugem, & fratrem habeat, Triviſanus ſolus Commiſſarius ſuorum omnium bonorum remaneat; atque ad illum pertineat filias in matrimonium collocare, neque ulla unquam tempore cogi poſsit ad reddendam rationem adminiſtrationis, ſeu alterius rei peculiaris, quæ ad hanc pertineat hæreditatem. Eidem præterea donationem quandam legat, quâ ampliorem non poteſt ſuſtinere

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ſuarum facultatum amplitudo: & multò majorem legaverat; ſed coactus fuit modum donationi facere, ne in filiorum præjudicium vires patrimonij excederet. Ad quæ munera concedenda Barbadicus iſtè fuit provocatus, èo quòd viderit Triviſanum, ſimulatque domum ſuam ingreſſus eſt, modeſtia animi ſingulari factum parcum alient, ſi profuſior ac ſui prodigentior antèà fuerat; cum eodem momento temporis alearum luſum omninò dimiſerit, & alia quælibet ſolatia juvenilia: quin ad conſuetudinem hominum eruditorum ac ſapientum, atque ad meliores & graviores legendos Authores convertens animum, eidem oſtendit, magnanimæ ejus liberalitati, animo ſincero, integris moribus & candidâ fide, ſe reſponſurum: quam fidem ſæpenumero antè, ac poſt hujuſmodi beneficia, Barbadicus eſt expertus in dilecto, atque conſtantiſsimo Amico: Cum unus ipſe, ut Barbadici vitam atque honorem tueretur (quorum utrumq; idem Barbadicus acceptum ſe referre Triviſano palam fatetur) in illius magnis anguſtijs, gravioribus periculis tum manifeſtis, tum occultis, litibus injuſtis, perſecutionibus iniquis, calumnijs falſo impoſitis, ac diabolicis, toti urbi cognitis (quæ ipſi etiam Triviſano communes ſunt factæ: quod ſæpius ſolet accidere, cum ſemper voluerit veri, & unici amici innocentiam ſuſtentare, neque quod toti urbi notiſsimum eſt, peſsimam ipſius fortunam deſerere) non ſolam interruperit ſibi curſum ad præcipua munera majoreſque ſuæ patriæ gradus, ad quos ſtupentibus omnibus fæliciſsimè ferebatur; ſed etiam illos perdiderit, atq; amiſerit; contraxerit etiam cum pluribus, quorum aliqui prius eidem fuerant ſodales, graves & periculoſiſſimas inimicitias ſolâ tantum ratione ejuſdem Amici, quod omnibus manifeſtiſsimum eſt; ſpreverit honorem illum extrinſecum, qui ab opinione gentium ſtultarum, & ratione carentium dependet; ac tandem vitam etiam propiam ſæpius periculis manifeſtiſsimis expoſuerit, quemadmodum in quacunque propoſita occaſione nunc etiam exponeret: cum multos annos vixerit, hodieque vivat Triviſanus, ob hanc Barbadici incomparabilem grati animi ſignificationem lautè, ſplendidè, & ſingulari auctoritate, miſericors in afflictos, humaniſsimus in amicos, ac præcipuè Mæcenas maximus virtute præditorum: honorificè etiam ab Amici filiabus habeatur, non aliter, ac ſi illarum Pater eſſet: atque ab ipſa illius conjuge læto vultu acceptus, & loco fratris veritùs honoretur; tum quod ejus merita in maritum cognoſcat; tum propter optimum ejuſdem naturæ genium, tum etiam ob non obvias ejus alias qualitates, quæ ipſum amore dignum & omnibus admirabilem reddunt.

Taceant, ſileant Oratores Omnes,
Poëtæ omnes:
Quis immenſum complectitur?
Quis infinitum definiet?
Quis infandum fabitur?
Animi duo in uno ſpirant pectore!
Animus unus in duplice corde vivit!
Apinæ ſunt & tricæ:
At rape, clepe, harpaga inimicitiâ.
Sunt etiam Gemini in cœlo,
Sunt etiam Gemini in terra:
Illi ignes & ſydera:
Hi amores honeſtiſsimi.

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Duo inter aſtra ſunt majora lumina Sol & Luna,
At ſunt etiam in terris duo lucidiſſimi Soles
Veneti firmamenti.
Tanta miracula ac talem metamorphoſin facit,
Non Nicolai Barbadici, & Marci Triviſani,
Sed Nicolai Triviſani, & Marci Barbadici
Concordia & amicitia individua.
Nam ſi corda ſint promiſcua,
Quid nomina non communicabit?
Ego interim
Alexander de Gattis
Altiſſimas Pyramides, ac ſumptuoſiſſima Mauſolea,
Erigam ſtruamque
In memoriam Amicitiæ hujuſmodi ſempiternam.

SECT. 7.

Of rare examples of conjugall piety and affection in ſome Chriſtian women of latter ages, beyond any of the ancient Romans.

TO theſe examples of conſtant freindſhip, may not improperly bee annexed two or three others of rare affection in ſome Chriſtian women toward their husbands, not to bee matched with any examples in the like kinde among the ancient *Romans*. I will firſt beginne with that of *Clara Cervenda* the wife of *Bernard Valdaura*, reported by *Ludovicus Vives* whom himſelfe knew and was well acquainted with; This excellent woman, being of the citty of *Brugeſſe* in the *Netherlands*, a virgin young and faire, married with *Valdaura*, being then about the age of 40 yeares; and the firſt night of their marriage found his legs to bee ſwathed with linnen roles, and from thence perceived that ſhee had gotten an unſound and ſickly husband; yet for all that ſhe thought nothing the worſe of him, neither did ſhe loath him whom as yet ſhe ſcarce began to love. Not long after *Valdaura* falls into a greivous ſicknes, inſomuch as all the Phyſitians utterly deſpaired of his life; yet ſhee with her mother attended about his bed with ſo great care and diligence, that neither of them changed their cloths by the ſpace of ſix whole weeks, ſave only to ſhift their linnen; Neither did they ſleep any night above an houre or two and that in their apparell, paſſing many nights without any ſleep at all; the ground of his diſeaſe was that which we call here the French pox, no leſſe daungerous then infectious; the Phyſitians perſwaded her, not to touch him, or come ſo neere him; her friends likewiſe counſelled her the ſame; and beſides ſome women of her owne rank told her, that in Chriſtian piety her husband was not with ſuch anxiety to bee troubled, (ſo they called it,) being now about to pay his debt to the deſtinies, and a great part of death being already receaved into his body; that ſhee ſhould rather take care for his ſoule, then trouble herſelfe about his body except it were to thinke of his funeralls: with theſe ſpeeches ſhee was nothing diſcouraged; indeed ſhee provided thoſe things which were fit

Lib. 2. de Chriſti fam.

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fit for his ſoule, but in the meane time ſhee was likewiſe moſt carefull of his medicines, and broths, and for the changing of his linnen, hee being much troubled with a flux & filthy matter iſſueing out of his ſoares: inſomuch that ſhe ran up & downe all day, ſupporting her weake body by the ſtrength of her affection, not able to endure ſo great labour had ſhee not beene in ſuch manner ſupported. Thus did *Valdaura* eſcape a moſt daungerous ſicknes; the Phyſitians ſwearing that his wife by meere force had reſcued him out of the jawes of death. Others more merrily then chriſtianly, ſaid, that God had decreed to kill *Valdaura*, but that his wife was obſtinately reſolved not to let him depart out of her hands. After this, a hott humor falling frō his head, the inner part of his noſtrills began to be fretted & eaten with it; the Phyſitians for this preſcribed a powder, with which the ulcer was to bee ſprinkled by a gentle blowing of it thorough a quill; and when none could be found who refuſed not that office, all men abhorring ſo foule a worke, his wife undertooke it and did it; pimples ariſing and diſperſing themſelves in his cheeks and chin, when as noe barber conveniently could or would ſhave away his haire, his wife with a paire of ſiſers handſomely did it every eight day. After this againe hee fell into another tedious ſicknes, which held him ſeven yeares togeather; ſhe all this while with unwearied diligence provided him meat, though ſhee had two ſervant maids, and a daughter of ſufficient age & ſtature, ſhe alone dreſſed his foule ulcers, & handled his loathſome legs, every where iſſueing forth corrupt matter. Every day ſhe applyed new tents and pulteſſes to them, and bound them up with ſwathing cloaths, that a man mightwell thinke ſhe rather hādled muske, then a thing of ſo intollerable a ſavour; and beſides ſhee ſwore, that his breath which none could endure by the ſpace of ten paces, was moſt ſweet, and ſhee was, ſaith *Vives*, angry with mee in good earneſt, becauſe once I ſaid it was unſavoury, affirming that it ſeemed to her as the ſent of ripe and pleaſant apples. And during this long time of his lingringe ſicknes, the charge being great for the attending of a man in that caſe, who had gottē nothing for many yeares together, nor had any certaine revenues, ſhe ſold or pawned her rings, her chaines, her jewels, her apparrell, her plate, & this ſhe did moſt willingly, leaſt her husband ſhould want any thing was fit for him, contenting her ſelfe with any kinde of dyet, that ſo ſhee might provide whatſoever was conducible for his afflicted body. Thus did hee draw out the thred of his life by his wifes care in a body halfe dead, or to ſpeake more properly in the ſepulchre of his ſoule, by the ſpace of ten yeares from his firſt ſicknes; during which time ſhee brought him two children, having had ſix before; And having bin married by the ſpace of 20 yeares, ſhee was never infected with her husbands moſt contagious diſeaſe, nor was touched with any the leaſt ulcer; as neither were any of her children, but had all of them ſound bodies and cleere skins. At laſt her old ſickly husband dyed, or rather departed then dyed, being ſo freed from his daily torments; yet with ſo exceſſive greife of Clara his wife, that they who well knew her affirme that never any younge husband of a ſound body, faire and rich, ever left to his deare wife by his death ſo great lamentation & ſorrow.

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Many of her freinds to comfort her told her, that she had more reason to rejoice then greive, whom she even curſed, wiſhing that her husband ſuch as hee was might be reſtored to her againe, though it were with the loſſe of all her children. And though she were not faire advanced in yeares, yet vowed she never to marry againe, becauſe she doubted shee ſhould never finde againe another *Bernard Valdaura.*

Now though it may ſeeme but ordinary & to little purpoſe whatſoever may be ſaid after this, yet I will inſtance in one exãple more homebred and of our owne nation, I meane in *Eleanor* the wife of *Edward* the firſt, who as *Rodericus Toletanus* writes, followed her husband into the holy land, where when by the treacherie of a Moore he was wounded with a poyſoned knife, and his wound by the remedies applyed rather grew worſe then better, ſhee found out a new kinde of medecine, yet full of affection & piety, ſucking his wounds every day and licking them with her tounge, as if it had bin ſome precious liquor, by which meanes she drew out the poyſon and cured him, her ſelfe remaining untouched; Whereupon the Author of the ſtory breaks forth into this exclamation; *Quid igitur hujus mulieris fide rarius audiri? quid mirabilius eſſe poteſt? ut uxoris lingua fide & dilectione maritali peruncta, venena à dilecto marito expulerit, quæ ab electo medico trahi non valuerunt: & quod plurima exquiſitaque non effecerunt medicamenta, una uxoris pietas explevit.*

Lib. 1.

Theſe I confeſſe are examples of ſingle women, I will therefore add hereunto the multitude of a whole towne called *Weniſburgh* in *Suevia*, which when *Conrade* the third Emperour of that name beſieged, & could not upon any terms bee perſwaded from ſacking the towne and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword, at laſt by the importunity of the womẽ who ruſhed out of the towne and caſt themſelves at his feet, he granted them that they ſhould depart untouched and carry forth with them as much as they could beare & no more; who all agreeing together carried forth their husbands, their children their parents their brothers upõ their backs and ſhoulders, from which ſight the Emperour conceived ſo great pleaſure, that burſting forth into teares of joy, he not only layd aſide his former feircenes and fury, but ſpared the towne, and entred a league of friendſhip with them. By the narration of which ſtory *Laurentius Medices*, as *Bodin* reports, was recovered from a daungerous ſickneſs, without the helpe of any other Phyſick; as were likewiſe *Alphonſus* and *Ferdinandus* Kings of *Spaine* and *Sicilie*, the one by the reading of *Titus Livius*, and the other of *Quintus Curtius.*

CHAP. II.

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CHAP. 11.

Wherein the objections brought in behalfe of the Romanes touching their pretended Iustice, prudence, and fortitude, are examined and fully answered.

SECT. 1.

The first objection touching the pretended Iustice of the Romans, answered out of Lactantius.

BUt happily it may be said, that as fertile grounds abound as well in weedes as wholesome hearbes: so the *Romanes* had many *vertues* no lesse commendable, then odious & detestable *vices*, which to be ignorant of were childish simplicity, to dissemble or suppresse envious partiality. The principall of these vertues are pretended to bee their *justice*, their *prudence*, and their *fortitude*. But if there be a chaine of all the Vertues, (as both *Aristotle* and their owne great *Oratour* have taught) so that he who truly possesseth one, is owner of all, and hee that wants but one, upon the matter hath none at all, but shadowes insteed of substances, then certainly the *Romans*, whom we have proved to bee excessively *cruell*, *covetous*, *luxurious*, *ambitious* and *vaine-glorious*, could not properly be said to bee either *just*, *wise*, or *valiant*, but rather formall then *just*, crafty or cunning then *wise*, adventurous or daring then *valiant*. And I would willingly learne, how they who with such an insatiable thirst of gaine and glory (as hath beene shewed) robbed, spoyled, oppressed, not the provincials onely, but their owne fellow Citizens, can be said to be *just*, or how they who admitted so many so base *Gods* and *Goddesses*, and honoured them with such beastly prophane services, can be said to be *wise*; or lastly how they who were wholly drowned in softnes and in delicacy, could bee truly valiant; And I will never doe that wrong to *Christian* Religion, as not to beleeve, but that it hath yeelded more *just*, more *wise*, more *valiant*, then *Pagan Rome* ever did. And therein if *Tertullian* in his *Apologetique*, *Cyprian* against *Demetrianus*, *Lactantius* in his Institutions, and *Augustin* in his bookes *de Civitate dei* erre not, I am sure I am right.

I will first then take a view of their *Iustice*, *Nec est difficile dicere, cur Deorum cultores justi & boni esse non possint* (saith *Lactantius*, striking indeed at the very roote of their injustice) it is not hard to say, why the worshippers of such Gods cannot be either just or good: he goes on and particularizeth in the severall branches of their injustice. *Quomodò enim sanguine abstinebunt, qui colunt cruentos Deos Martem atq; Bellonam? quomodò aut parentibus parcent, qui expulsorem patris sui Jovem, aut natis ex se infantibus, qui colunt Saturnum? quomodò pudicitiam tuebuntur qui colunt Deam nudam & adulteram, & quasi apud Deos prostitutam? quomodò se à rapinis & fraudibus abstinebunt qui Mercurij furta noverunt, docentis non fraudis esse decipere sed astutiæ? quomodo libidines coercebunt qui Iovem, Herculem Liberum, Apollinem, cæteroſq; venerantur, quorum adulteria & stupra in mares & fœminas non tantùm doctis nota sunt, sed exprimuntur etiam in Theatris,* Lactant. Instit. l. 5. c. 10.

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tris, atque cantantur ut sint omnibus notiora. Possuntne inter hæc justi esse homines, qui etiamsi naturâ sint boni ab ipsis tamen Dijs erudiantur ad injustitiam? ad placandum enim Deum quem colas, ijs rebus opus est quibus illum gaudere ac delectari scias, sic fit ut vitam colentium Deus pro qualitate numinis sui formet: quoniam religiosissimus est cultus imitari. How should they abstaine from blood who worship bloody Gods as *Mars* and *Bellona*? how should they either spare their Parents who worship *Iupiter*, or their children who worship *Saturne*? How should they have a care of their chastity who worship a naked and adulterous *Goddesse*, as it were the prostituted strumpet of the *Gods*? How should they abstaine from rapine and cosenage who are acquainted with the thefts to *Mercury*, teaching, that to deceive was not fraude but wylinesse? how should they bridle their lust who adore *Iupiter*, *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo* and the rest, whose adulteries and incontinencies both with males and females are not onely knowne to the learned, but are acted and sung in their Theaters, that so they may bee knowne to all. Is it possible for men in this case to be just? who though they were naturally well disposed, yet by the exãples of their very Gods are they taught injustice. For to please the God you worship, it is requisite you do such things as you know he is delighted with, and may give him content: so as according to his owne quality and condition he formes and conformes the lives of such as worship him, in as much as imitation is the most religious kinde of worship.

Yet notwithstanding all this, it seemes by the same godly *Father*, that they stood much upon their owne just & upright dealing, reproaching the *Christians* with the contrary, which gives him occasion in another place thus to expostulate the matter with them. *Lib: 5. c. 9.* *Audent igitur homines improbissimi justitiæ facere mentionem qui feras immanitate vincunt?*

---Lupi ceu
Raptores atra in nebula quos improba ventris
Exegit cæcos rabies.

Like ravening wolves whom in a gloomie day,
Their bellies rage drives forth to seeke their pray.

Verùm hos non ventru, sed cordis rabies efferavit, nec atra in nebula, sed aperta prædatione grassantur: nec eos unquam conscientia scelerum revocat, ne sanctũ ac pium nomen justitiæ ore illo violent, quod cruore innocentium tanquam rictus bestiarum madet. Doe these most dishonest men dare mention justice who exceede the savage Beasts in cruelty? &c. But these not so much the fierceneesse of their stomakes, as of their owne wicked hearts hath inraged, neither doe they slinke in the darke, but make havocke & lay waste by open violence. Neither are they ever touched with any remorse of Conscience for prophaning the holy & divine name of justice with those mouthes, which like the chaps of beasts, are dyed with the blood of Innocents. And lest we should conceive he thus speakes by reason of their cruelty towards the *Christians*, he goes on in the same Chapter, and tels us, *Non de nostro sed ex illorum numero semper existunt qui vias obsideant armati, maria prædentur, vel si palam grassari non licuit, venena clam temperent, qui vxores necent ut dotes earum lucrentur, aut maritos*

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ut adulteris nubant qui natos ex se pueros aut strangulent, aut si nimium pij fuerint, exponant: qui libidines incestas, nec à filia, nec à sorore, nec à matre, nec à sacerdote contineant; qui adversus cives suos patriamque conjurent. Qui denique sacrilegia committant, & Deorum quos colunt templa dispolient. They are not of ours, but yours, who rob by the high wayes, and turne pyrats by Sea. Or if open violence will not serve the turne, they prepare poyson, who make away their wives, that they may gaine their dowries, or their husbands, that they may marry with their Adulterers, who either strangle their infants, or if they bee very devout, expose them; who forbeare not incestuous lustes with their owne daughters, their sisters, their mothers, no nor with their consecrated Priests, who treacherously conspire against their owne Country; Lastly, who commit sacriledge, and robbe the Temple of those very Gods whom they worship.

And least wee should imagine, that he speakes of the *Gentiles* in generall, and not rather of the *Romanes* in particular, he referres us to the testimonies of *Seneca* & *Lucilius*. *Qui volent scire plura, Senecæ libros in manum sumant, qui morum vitiorumque publicorum, & descriptor verissimus, & accusator acerrimus fuit.* They who desire to understand more hereof, let them take into their hands *Seneca's* bookes, who both most truly describes, and most sharply censures the publique manners and vices. And to the testimonie of *Seneca*, he addes that of *Lucilius*: *Sed & Lucilius tenebrosam istam vitam circumscriptè breviterque depinxit his versibus:* *Lucilius* also hath briefely and pithily painted out that base kinde of life.

Nunc vero à mane ad noctem festo atque profesto,
Totus item pariterque die populusque patresque
Iactare, indufori se omnes, decedere nusquam,
Vni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere, & arti,
Verba dare ut cautè possint, pugnare, dolosè
Blandiri, certare, bonum simulare virum se,
Insidias facere, ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.

From morne to night on dayes profane or festivall,
They meete at th'common place commons and fathers all,
There they bestirre themselves, thence will they not depart,
One selfe same study all attending and one art,
How closely they may cheate, strive, flatter cunningly,
Contend, and as good men pretend sincerity,
Yet undermine, as each were others enemy.

Nostro autem populo quid tale potest objici? Cujus omnis religio est sine scelere & sine macula vivere? But now unto those of our profession what can be objected in this kinde? whose religion consists wholy in this, to live without wickednesse and pollution? Nay so much he stands upon the powerfulnes of *Christian* Religion, that he makes it beyond all the rules of Morall Philosophy, strongly effectuall to expell vice, and plant in men all kinde of vertue: *Da mihi virum qui sit iracundus, maledicus, effrœnatus: paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum quàm ovem, reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem, jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, & pecuniam suam pro-* Lib. 3. c. 26.

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prijs pleniſque manibus largientem. Da timidum doloris ac mortis: jam cruces & ignes & Phalaridis taurum contemnet. Da libidinoſum, adulterum, ganeonem; jam ſobrium, caſtum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, & ſanguinis appetentem; jam in veram clementiam furor ille mutabitur. Da injuſtum, inſipientem, peccatorem; continuò & æquus, & prudens, & innocens erit. Ad quod efficiendum non mercede, non libris, non lucubrationibus opus eſt. Gratis iſta fiunt, facilè, cito: pateant modo aures, & pectus ſapientiam ſitiat. Give me a man that is wrathfull, full-mouthed, unruly; with a few words of Gods booke, I will make him as gentle as a lambe. Give me one that is cloſe-fiſted, covetous, greedy of money: I will ſend him backe unto thee, liberall, bountifully diſtributing his money with his owne hands. Give me one that is fearefull of torments and death, he ſhall ſoone deſpiſe croſſes and fires, and *Phalaris* his bull. Give me a lecher, an adulterer, a haunter of brothell-houſes; you ſhall ſee him ſober, chaſt, continent. Give me one that is cruelly diſpoſed, and thirſting after bloud, that fury of his ſhall be changed into true clemency. Give me one who is unjuſt, unwiſe, a ſinner; he quickely ſhall be juſt, wiſe, upright. For the effecting whereof, there is no need of a reward, of bookes, of watchings, thoſe things are done gratis, eaſily, ſuddainely: onely let the eares be open, and the heart long for wiſedome. Thus writes *Lactantius*, and much more to this purpoſe, attributing a quickning efficacie to the divine oracles of *Gods* word, in the reformation of manners, which was not to be found in the writings of any of the Heathen

SECT. 2.

The ſame anſwer farther confirmed by the teſtimony of S. Auguſtine.

SAint *Auguſtine* preſſes them farther, that their *Gods* never taught them to be good, or at leaſt-wiſe that their *Prieſts* never publiſhed any precepts tending that way in the name of their *Gods*. *Dicatur in quibus locis hæc docentium Deorum ſolebant præcepta recitari, & à Cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri; ſicut oſtendimus ad hoc Eccleſias inſtitutas, quaquaverſum religio Chriſtiana diffunditur.* Let it be ſhewed in what place ſuch precepts, given by direction of their Gods, were wont to bee read and heard of the people, who came frequently to worſhip them; as we ſhew that among us, temples are to that purpoſe erected, as farre as *Chriſtian* Religion is ſpread: Where (ſaith he in another place) out of the *Prophets*, the *Goſpells*, the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, the *Epiſtles*, many things are read to the people being aſſembled, againſt covetouſneſſe & luxury, ſo excellent, ſo divine, as if they were rather thundrings from Heaven, then wranglings from the Philoſophers Schooles. And for the particular point in matters of juſtice, he floutes at *Saluſt* for ſaying, that *jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quàm naturâ valebat*, right & equity did as much prevaile with them, through the goodneſſe of their Nature, as by the force of the Lawes: *Ex hoc jure ac bono credo raptas eſſe Sabinas; quid enim juſtius & melius quàm filias alienas fraude ſpectaculi indu ctas non à parentibus accipi, ſed vi ut quiſque poterat auferri?* From this love of

De Civit. Dei. l. 2. c. 6.

Cap. 19.

Cap. 17.

Raptas ſine mœre Sabinas, Vir. Æn. 8.

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of right I trow it was that the *Sabin* women were raviſhed. For what can be more juſt, then not to receive from their parents hands, but to take and carry away by violence other mens daughters, drawne on under the pretence of beholding a ſpectacle? From the ſame love of this right too belike *Iunius Brutus* being *Conſull*, cauſed *Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus* husband to *Lucretia*, an innocent and good man and his Colleague, to quite both his office and the Citie, only becauſe he bore the name, & was of kinne to the *Tarquins*: *Quod ſcelus favente vel patiente populo fecit, à quo populo Conſulatum idem Collatinus ſicut etiam ipſe Brutus acceperat*: And this moſt unjuſt act he did by the favour or connivence of the people, from whom *Collatinus* had received his *Conſulſhip* as well as *Brutus*. From the love of this right, it likewiſe came to paſſe that *Marcus Camillus*, who had done his Countrey ſo great ſervice, being queſtioned through the inſolencie of the Tribunes, & the envy of his great vertues, *tam ingratam ſenſit quam liberaverat Civitatem, ut de ſua damnatione certiſſimus in exilium ſponte diſcederet, & decem millibus aris abſens etiam damnaretur, mox iterum à Gallis vindex patriæ futurus ingratæ*: He found that Citie which hee had ſaved ſo ingratefull, that being fully aſſured hee ſhould have ſentence paſſe againſt him, he put himſelfe into voluntary baniſhment, & being abſent, they laid a mulct upon his head of 10000 *aſſes*, though he were afterward re-called to free his unthankefull countrey from the forces of the *Gaules*. To theſe examples of injuſtice in other places hee addes the unjuſt putting to death of *Rhemus* by his brother *Romulus*, their unjuſt warre upon the *Albans* the mother of *Rome*, the unjuſt exile of *Scipio Africanus* at *Linternum* in *Campania*, where he ended his dayes, giving ſtrait charge, *ne ſaltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret*, that being dead, his funerals ſhould not be ſolemnized in his ungratefull Countrey. Nay *Saluſt* himſelfe he confutes, by teſtimonies drawne from his owne writings, where he tells us, that *diſcord, covetouſnes, ambition*, and other miſchiefes which were wont to waite upon proſperity, *poſt Carthaginis excidium maximè aucta*, after the fall of *Carthage* mightily increaſed, and from that time, *Majorum mores non paulatim ut antea, ſed torrentis modo præcipitati*, the ancient manners not by degrees as before, but like a torrent were carried downe headlong. By which confeſſion of *Saluſt*, it appeares that it was not ſo much the goodneſſe of their Nature, as the emulation and feare of *Carthage* that bridled them, and kept them in order. S. *Auguſtines* concluſion in the fore alleadged chapter is: *Multa commemorare jam piget fœda & injuſta quibus agitabatur illa Civitas: Cum potentes plebem ſibi ſubdere conarentur, plebſque illis ſubdi recuſarent, & utriuſque partis defenſores magis ſtudiis ageret amore vincendi, quàm æquum & bonum quicquam cogitarent.* So many were the foule and unjuſt acts with which this Citie was burdened, that it grieveth me to recount them; whiles the Nobility ſought to trample upon the Commons, and theſe againe refuſed to obey them, & the chiefe abettours on both ſides were rather carryed with faction then love of juſtice.

Simulatis ludis equeſtribus, virgines quæ ad ſpectandum venerunt rapuere. Florus, l. 1. c. 1.

Lib. 3. c. 21.

2. 18.

2. 17.

Nuſquam tuta fides,----

Faith is no where to bee found,

Virgil.

It

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Is the complaint of one of their Poets; and of another,

--- Qua terra patet fera regnat Erinnys,
Ovid. *In facinus juraſſe putes.*
As farre as land doth reach doth fierce *Erinnys* rage,
A man would thinke they ſworne had to all outrage.

And of a third,

Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen:
Juvenal. *Simplicity*, whoſe name
I dare not ſpeake for ſhame.

SECT. 3.

Another anſwere, that none can be truly juſt which are not truly religious, nor any truly religious which profeſſe not the Chriſtian Religion.

Hooker, 5. 1. AND to ſpeake a truth, ſo naturall is the union of *true religion* with *juſtice*, that wee may boldly deeme there is neither, where both are not: For how ſhould they be unfainedly juſt, whom Religion doth not cauſe to bee ſuch? or they religious, who are not found ſuch by the proofe of their juſt actions? If they which imploy their labour and travell about the publique adminiſtration of *Juſtice*, follow it only as a trade with unquenchable and unconſcionable thirſt of gaine, being in heart not perſwaded that *Juſtice* is Gods owne worke, and themſelves his Agents in the buſineſſe; the ſentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themſelves his Prieſts to deliver it: formalities of juſtice doe but ſerve to ſmoother right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good is through ſhamefull abuſe, made the cauſe of common miſery. It is moreover the proper effect of true Religion to qualifie all ſorts of men, and to make them in publique affaires the more ſerviceable, Governours the more apter to rule with conſcience, inferiours for conſcience ſake the willinger to obey. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus,* (ſaith the good Emperour *Theodoſius*) *ſcientes magis religionibus quàm officijs & labore corporis, vel ſudore Rempub. noſtram contineri*: We will alwayes rejoyce and glory in our faith, as well knowing that our Empire conſiſts rather by Religion, then any other meanes. And doubtleſſe the *Chriſtian* Religion hath herein the ſtart of all others, that it ſtrikes ſo much upon the ſoule, whereby it is brought to paſſe, that men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually then by poſitive lawes, reſtrained from doing evill, in as much as thoſe lawes have no farther power then over our outward actions onely, whereas unto mens inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, *Chriſtian* Religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wilde, and cruell then man, if he ſee himſelfe able, either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-beare the lawes whereunto he ſhould be ſubject? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſſe to offend; it behooveth that men ſhould bee held in awe, not by a vaine ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of that which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. *Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia*

2 Cron. 19. 6.

C. Th. l. 16. tit. 2.

Cardan de ſapient. l. 3.

ob

ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos: The chiefe ſafegard of a kingdome is juſtice againſt open diſorders, and religion againſt ſecret. And our beſt writers of the *Primitive Church* forgat not to preſſe this againſt the *Ethnicks*, *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus*, ſayes *Minutius Fælix*: You puniſh wicked acts committed, with us to thinke wickedly is a ſinne, you feare to be convinced of guiltineſſe, we feare the guiltineſſe of our conſcience, which wee alway carry about with us, and without which wee cannot be. But above all, *Tertullian* notably urgeth this point. *Tanta eſt prudentia hominis ad demonſtrandum bonum, quanta authoritas ad exigendum, tam illa falli facilis, quàm iſta contemni. Age ideo quid plenius dicere, non occides? aut docere, ne iraſcaris quidem? quid perfectius? prohibere adulterium, an etiam ab oculorum ſolitaria concupiſcentia arcere? quid eruditius? de maleficio, an & de maleloquio interdicere? quid inſtructius? injuriam non permittere, an nec vicem injuriæ ſinere?* Such is the wiſedome of man to direct what is good, as is his authority to exact it, the one may as eaſily bee deceived, as the other contemned. Which commands more fully? either hee who ſaith, thou ſhalt not kill, or he who charges not to be angry? which of the two is more perfect, to forbid adultery, or to reſtraine the eyes from concupiſcence? whether more wiſely done, to forbid evill deedes, or evill words? whether more like to doe good; the not permitting of injuries, or the not ſuffering the revenge of them? and beſides all this, the Ethnickes onely threatned the death of the body to malefactors, but we (ſaith the ſame *Tertullian*) feare to offend God, *& pro ſcientiæ plenitudine, & pro latebrarum difficultate, & pro magnitudine cruciatus, non diuturni, verùm ſempiterni*: in regard of the fulneſſe of his knowledge, the difficulty of being hid, and the greatneſſe of the puniſhment, not for a long time, but for ever. And thus wee have ſeene that the Ancient *Romans*, neither were, nor indeed had the meanes to be ſo juſt as is pretended; or as the *Chriſtians* were, whom they perſecuted. But it will bee ſaid, that howſoever they might bee defective in matter of *juſtice*, yet they excelled in *wiſedome* and *courage*: Let us then take a view of theſe, and firſt of their *wiſedome*.

In Octav.

Apolog. adverſ. Gentes, 45.

SECT. 4.

The ſecond objection, touching the pretended wiſedome of the Romanes, *anſwered, by taking a briefe view of their courſes, but eſpecially by the teſtimony of* Pliny.

IF we ſhould ſpeake of *true wiſedome*, it is onely that which ſerves to make us wiſe unto *ſalvation*, which without *true Religion* can never be attained, as *Lactantius* moſt divinely: *Omnis ſapientia hominis in hoc uno eſt, ut Deum cognoſcat & colat, hoc noſtrum dogma, hæc ſententia eſt: quanta itaque voce poſſum teſtificor, proclamo, denuntio, hoc eſt illud quod Philoſophi omnes in tota ſua vita quæſierunt, nec unquam tamen inveſtigare, comprehendere, aut tenere valuerunt, quia religionem aut pravam retinuerunt, aut totam*

Lib. 3.

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totam penitus ſuſtulerunt: All the wiſedome of man conſiſts onely in this, that he know and worſhip *God*, this is our doctrine, this our opinion, and this with as loud voyce as I can, I teſtifie, profeſſe, proclaime: This is it which all the Philoſophers during their whole life have ſought, and yet could never finde out, comprehend, or attaine unto, becauſe they either retained a corrupt religion, or wholy extinguiſhed it. I would willingly learne how they, who (as hath already beene proved) worſhipped ſtockes & ſtones; the workes of their owne hands, or ſuch a rabble of filthy, wicked odious *Gods*, and that in ſuch a beaſtly or cruell manner, like men voide of common reaſon, could be ſaid to be *wiſe?* Or how they, who ſuffered the moſt notorious vices of their Gods to be deſcribed by their Poets, acted by their Players, drawne to life by their Painters, whom they highly applauded and rewarded, as if thereby they meant to inſtruct their youth in vertue, could be ſaid to be *wiſe?* Or how they who waſted ſuch infinite maſſes of treaſure in ſuch vaine buildings, banquettings, and ſpectacles could be ſaid to bee *wiſe?* Or they, who by their ſword-playes, or wilde beaſts (onely to ſatisfie their beaſtly pleaſure) devoured ſo many millions of men, as might have ſerved to inlarge or preſerve their Empire, could bee ſaid to be *wiſe?* Or how they, who gave way to men to make themſelves away upon all occaſions as they thought fit, nay exhorted them to it, & commended them for it (which muſt needes bee a meanes to weaken their ſtate) could bee ſaid to be *wiſe?* Laſtly, how they, who profeſſed that they moſt deſired to traine up their citizens to a military courſe of life, and yet ſuffered them to wallow in all kinde of luxury, could be ſaid to be *wiſe?* What a great peece of *wiſedome* did they ever ſhew in the making of their *Lawes*, in their ſtratagems of warre, or treaties of peace, which hath not beene exceeded, or at leaſtwiſe equalled by the *Chriſtians* in latter ages? It is to this purpoſe a memorable paſſage which *Andreas Rey* a *Polonian*, in his preface to his *Politicall diſcourſes* hath left upon record. *Si Conſilia Romanorum, qualia partim à Livio, partim à Dione & alijs graviſſimis hiſtoricis deſcripta ſunt, conferantur cum ijs quæ ab annis centum in Hiſpania, Italia, & hujus parte Repub. Veneta, Gallia, Germania, Anglia, Polonia, alijſq; regnis, ſive ad pacem, ſive ad bellum inventa ſuſceptaq; à Comineo, Guicciardino, Sleidano, recentioribus item Gallica hiſtoria authoribus, Meterano, itemque alijs ex parte annotantur: fatendum erit ætatem hanc inveniendi prompto acumine, & judicandi exquiſita dexteritate, antiquitatem non tantum æmulari, ſed et ſuperare*, If the Counſels of the ancient *Romans*, as they are deſcribed partly by *Livy*, partly by *Dion* & other grave Authours, were compared with thoſe which within the compaſſe of theſe laſt hundred yeares have bin obſerved in *Spaine*, in *Italy*, & a part thereof the Common-wealth of *Venice*, in *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Poland*, & other ſtates, & reported in part by *Comineus*, *Guicciardin*, *Sleydan*, the late *French Hiſtoriographers*, *Meteranus* & others: it muſt be confeſſed that as in ſharpenes of wit, ſo likewiſe in depth of judgement this age not emulateth only but ſurpaſſeth Antiquity. But the notable folly of the whole body of this ſtate, notoriouſly appeared in one action of theirs, which I find thus at large deſcribed & cenſured by *Pliny* their Country-man, &

'a great

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'a great admirer of his owne Nation. Certes, when I consider & behold
'the monstrous humors of those prodigall spirits, my mind is drawne a-
'way still from the progresse of mine intended journey, & forced I am to
'digresse out of my way, and to annexe unto this vanity of *Scaurus* as *Lib. 36. c. 15.*
'great folly of another, not in Masonry and marble, but in Carpentry &
'timber. And *C. Curio*, it was he who in the civill wars betweene *Cæsar*
'& *Pompey* lost his life in the quarrell of *Cæsar*. This Gentleman desi-
'rous to shew pleasure unto the people of *Rome*, at the funerals of his fa-
'ther deceased, as the manner then was; & seeing that he could not out-
'goe *Scaurus* in rich and sumptuous furniture was put to his shifts, & de-
'vised to surpasse him in wit, since hee could not come neare him in
'wealth. And what might his invention be? Certes it is worth the know-
'ledge, if it were no more then this; that we may have joy of our owne
'conceites and fashions, and call our selves worthily as our manner is
'*Maiores*, that is to say, superiour every way to all others. This *Curio*
'then in emulation of *Scaurus* caused two Theaters to bee framed of
'timber, & those exceeding bigge; howbeit so as they might be turned
'about as a man would have them, approach neare one to the other;
'or bee removed farther asunder as one would desire; and all by the
meanes of one hooke a peece that they hung by, which bare the weight
'of the whole frame; the counterpoise was so even, and all the whole
'fabrique thereof sure and firme. Now he ordered the matter thus, that
'to behold the severall stage-playes and shewes in the fore-noone be-
'fore dinner, they should be set backe to backe, to the end, that the sta-
'ges should not trouble one another; and when the people had taken
'their pleasure that way, hee turned the *Theaters* about in a trice against
'the after-noone, that they affronted one another; and toward the lat-
'ter end of the day, and namely when the Fencers and sword-players
'were come in place, he brought both the *Theaters* nearer together (and
'yet every man sate still & kept his place according to his rank & order)
'in so much as that by the meeting of the hornes or corners of the both
'together in compasse, he made a faire round *Amphitheater* of it, & there
'in the midst betweene; hee exhibited indeed unto them all joyntly a
'sight and spectacle of sword-fencers, fighting at sharpe, whom he had
'hired for that purpose. But in truth a man may say more truly, that he
'carried the whole people of *Rome* round about at his pleasure, bound
'sure enough for stirring or removing.

'Now let us come to the point and consider a little better of this
'thing: what should a man wonder at most therein, the deviser or the de-
'vise it selfe? The workeman of this fabrique, or the Master that set him
'a worke? Whether of the twaine is more admirable, either the ventu-
'rous head of him that devised it, or the bold heart of him that under-
'tooke it? To command such a thing to be done, or to obey, and yeeld,
'and goe in hand with it? But when wee have said all that wee can, the
'*folly* of the blinde and bold people of *Rome* went beyond all, who tru-
'sted such a tickliſh frame, and durst sit there in a seate so moveable; loe
'where a man might have seene the body of that people, which is Com-
'mander and ruler of the whole earth, the Conquerour of the world, the

'diſpoſer of Kingdomes and Realmes at their pleaſure, the divider of 'Countries & Nations at their wils, the giver of lawes to forraine ſtates, 'the vicegerent of the immortall *Gods* under heaven, and repreſenting 'their image unto all mankind, hanging in the aire within a frame at the 'mercy of one onely hooke, rejoycing, and ready to clap hands at their 'owne danger: What a cheape market of mens lives was here toward? 'what was the loſſe at *Cannæ* to this hazard? how neare unto a miſchiefe 'were they, which might have hapned hereby in the turning of a hand? 'Certes, when there is newes come of a Citie ſwallowed up by a wide 'chink, and opening of the earth, all men generally in a publique com- 'miſeration doe grieve thereat, and there is not one but his heart doth 'yearne, & yet behold the univerſall ſtate and people of *Rome*, as if they 'were put into a couple of barkes, ſupported betweene heaven & earth, 'and ſitting at the devotion onely of two pinnes or hookes. And what 'ſpectacle doe they behold? a number of Fencers trying it out with un- 'rebated ſwords? Nay I wis, but even themſelves rather entred into a 'moſt deſperate fight, and at the point to breake their neckes every mo- 'thers ſonne, if the ſcaffold fayled never ſo little, and the frame went 'out of joynt.

I will conclude this *Section* with their vanity in hiding of treaſure under ground, which Sir *Thomas Moore* in the ſecond booke of his *Vtopia* thus wittily cenſures. *Aurum quo nunquam ſint uſuri, fortaſſis nec viſuri amplius abſcondunt, & ſolliciti ne perdant, perdunt: quid enim aliud eſt uſibus demptum tuis & omnium fortaſſe mortalium telluri reddere, & tu tamen abſtruſo theſauro velut animi jam ſecurus latitia geſtis: quem ſi quis furto ſuſtulerit, cujus tu ignarus furti, decem poſt annos abieris: toto illo decennio quo ſubſtractæ pecuniæ ſuperfuiſti, quid tuâ retulit ſurreptum an ſalvum fuiſſet? Vtroque certè modo tantundem uſus ad te pervenit.* They hide gold which perchance they ſhall never uſe, no nor ſee againe, and ſo loſe it outright, for feare of looſing it; for what is it elſe by burying of it, to bereave thy ſelfe, and perhaps all other men too of the uſe thereof, and yet thou by treaſure thus hid, hugg'ſt thy ſelfe as being now ſecure: and if any happen to ſteale it away, and thou being ignorant thereof dyeſt ten yeares after; all that ſpace of time, in which thou out-livedſt the ſtealing away of thy money, what advantage was it to thee whether it was ſafe or ſtolne? Surely both wayes the uſe thereof was alike to thee.

SECT. 5.

The third objection touching the pretended fortitude of the Romanes anſwered, in as much as their Empire is by their owne writers in a great part aſcribed to Fortune, and by Chriſtians may bee referred to Gods ſpeciall providence for the effecting of his owne purpoſes, rather then to any extraordinary worth in them.

NOw that which is moſt of all ſtood upon, as well by the *Romans* themſelves, as by their Proctours & Patrons is their great *fortitude* & *courage*, as appeares in their ſubduing the greateſt part of the

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the knowne world: and in truth, placing their chiefe happineſſe in the honour and glory of their names; and withall ſuppoſing that there was for the purchaſing thereof no readier meanes, then the ſacrificing of their lives for the inlarging & advancement of their *Empire*, they were in this regard for the moſt part, even prodigall of their bloud: But ſhall we call that *fortitude*, which neither aimed at *Iuſtice*, nor was guided by *true wiſedome*, or rather obſtinacie and adventurous boldneſſe? It is very true, that they were often in their warres very ſucceſſefull: but

---Careat ſucceſſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.
May that mans actions never well ſucceede,
Who by th'event doth cenſure of the deede.

By the confeſſion of their owne Writers they owed as much to *Fortune* as their valour, whom therefore they made a *Goddeſſe* and placed in heaven.

Te facimus Fortuna Deam Cœloque locamus.
Thee, Fortune, wee a Goddeſſe make,
And grant thee place in Heaven to take.

Theſe two *Fortune* and *Fortitude*, *Ammianus* ſo chaineth and linketh together, as neither of them could well be wanting in the raiſing of their Empire: *Roma ut augeretur ſublimibus incrementis, fœdere pacis æterna virtus convenit atq, fortuna, quarum ſi altera defuiſſet, ad perfectam non venerat ſummitatem*: That *Rome* ſhould riſe to that height and greatneſſe, *Fortitude* & *Fortune* made a league of eternall peace, ſo as had either of them beene wanting, it could never have riſen to that perfection. Both of them performed their parts herein, ſeeming to ſtrive which ſhould preceede the other, which *Plutarch* diſputes at large in his booke *de fortuna Romanorum*, and *Florus* hath briefly, but roundly and clearely expreſſed: *Ad conſtituendum Romanum Imperium virtutem ac fortunam contendiſſe videri*, that to the ſtabliſhing of the *Roman* Empire, *Fortitude* and *Fortune* ſeemed to contend which ſhould be more forward. Now if themſelves attributed as much to *Fortune* as to their *Fortitude*, wee may well conceive that the latter was ſhort of the former, rather then otherwiſe.

And ſurely, if by *Fortune* wee ſhould underſtand *Gods Providence*, we may ſafely ſay, that for the effecting of his owne purpoſes (though happily unknowne to them) rather then for any extraordinary worth or merit in them, he conferred upon them the *Empire* of the world. As *Auguſtus Cæſar* was by Gods ſpeciall providence directed in taxing the world, that ſo every man repairing to his owne Citie, *Chriſt* by that meanes might bee borne at *Bethleem*, as was fore-told by the Prophet *Mica*: ſo likewiſe was he by the ſame hand and power ſetled in the Empire, that hee might thorow the world ſettle an univerſall peace, when the *Prince of Peace* was to bee borne in it, as was fore-told by another *Prophet*, *They ſhall beate their ſwords into plough-ſhares, and their ſpeares into pruning hookes*. And may we not wel conceive, that the world was therefore by the divine Providence brought under the yoake of the *Romane* government, made ſubject to their Lawes, and acquainted with their

Luc. 2.

5. 2.

Eſay. 2. 4.

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language, that so when the Emperours themselves should become *Christians*, as afterwards they did, the propagation of the *Gospell* of *Iesus Christ* might finde an easier passage? The *Romans* then perchance might challenge, that as due to their owne worth in the conquering of the world, which is rather to be ascribed to the hand of Heaven, disposing these earthly *Monarchies* for the good of the *Church*, or for the chastising of his enemies: To which purpose he gave to *Nebuchadnezzar* such great victories and large dominions. *Thou O King art a King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a Kingdome, power, and strength, and glory*, which was not for any extraordinary worth or vertue that we reade of in *Nebuchadnezzar*, but only to make him as a staffe or a rod in his hands for the scourging of other rebellious nations, an instrument for the accomplishment of his owne designes. Answerable whereunto is that memorable speech of S. *Augustine*. *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperij potestatem, nisi Deo vero qui dat fœlicitatem in regno cœlorum solis pijs, regnum verò terrarum & pijs & impijs, sicut ei placet cui nihil injustè placet*; Let us not referre the power of conferring Kingdomes, but onely to the true God, who gives happinesse in the Kingdome of heaven onely to the godly, but these earthly kingdomes, both to the godly and ungodly, as pleases him whom nothing pleases that is unjust. I conclude this point with that of *Salomon*, *The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor riches to the understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance hapneth to them all.* The meaning is, that the successe of these outward things is not alwayes carried by desert; but by chance in regard of us, though by Providence in regard of God.

Jer. 43. 10.

Dan. 2. 37.

De civ. dei. 5. 21

Eccles. 9. 11.

SECT. 6.

Secondly, the Romanes *having no right or just title to those Nations they subdued, wee cannot rightly tearme their strength in conquering them, Fortitude.*

Secondly, sicut non martyrem pœna, sic non fortem pugna, sed causa facit, as the torture doth not make a martyr, so doth not the conquest, but the justnesse of the cause make a valiant man, if the *Romanes* then cannot shew us by what right they conquered the world, we will never call their strength in conquering it, *Fortitude*, or crowne it with the name of *Vertue*, unlesse withall, wee shall call the out-rage of robbers and cut-throates, who with fire and sword spoyle and lay waste all they can, *Courage* and *Valour*. *Remota itaque iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?* saith S. *Augustine*, take away the justnesse of the cause, and tell me what is the acquisition of Kingdomes, but great robberies? unlesse we should say, that the killing and robbing of one is a sinne, but of many a vertue, as S. *Cyprian* wittily speakes, *homicidium cùm admittunt singuli crimen est, virtus vocatur cum publicè geritur, impunitatem sceleribus acquirit, non innocentia ratio, sed savitiæ magnitudo*: when one single man commits a single murther that's a grievous offence, when it is commonly

De Civ. Dei. 4. 4

Ad Donatum.

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ly and publiquely done, that's a vertue: They purchaſe impunity not by reaſon of their innocency, but the greatneſſe of their cruelty. When a Pyrate was convented before the great *Alexander* for robbing upon the Seas, and demaunded what he meant ſo to doe, or by what right he did it? his anſwer to that *Emperour* was by way of recrimination; by the ſame right (ſaith hee) as you robbe the world, which was *elegantèr & veraciter reſponſum*, (they be the words of S. *Auguſtine*) a trimme and true anſwer: for what was *Alexander*, if we ſhould tearme him aright, but *Nonnius Marcellus ex Cicerone lib. de Repub. 3.*

Fœlix terrarum prædo, non utile mundo
Editus exemplar?
A robber of the world, yet proſperous,
And to mankinke example dangerous?

Or rather as the ſame *Poets* ſpeakes,

Terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque quod omnes
Percuteret populos, pariterque & ſydus iniquum
Gentibus.
Earths fatall evill, a thunder-bolt of warre
Striking all Nations, an unluckie ſtarre.

And *Seneca* profeſſeth both of him and his father *Philip*, that they were to mankinde no leſſe plagues, *quàm inundatio quâ planum perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio quâ magna pars animantium exaruit*, then a land-floud which drownes all the champian, or a burning drought wherewith the greateſt part of cattle periſh. *Nat. quæſt. præf. lib. 3.*

Now that which hath been ſpoken of *Alexander*, by the *Romans*, may as properly bee applyed to themſelves, *Fœlix ſcelus virtus vocatur*, unjuſt attempts if they be fortunate in the event are called vertues; & ſome actions there are of that nature, *quæ nunquâ laudantur niſi peracta*, which are never commended till they are ended; and ſurely ſo it was with the *Romans*, & for proofe that their attempts were indeed for the moſt part unjuſt, wee need goe no farther then that of *Mithridates* in *Saluſt*, *Romani arma in omnes habent, in eos acerrima, quibus victis ſpolia maxima ſunt*, the *Romanes* made warre upon all, and that upon them moſt fiercely, from whom being conquered they hope for the greateſt booty. And againe, *Romanis cum nationibus, populis, Regibus, cunctis una & vetus bellandi Cauſa eſt, Cupido profunda impery & divitiarum.* The *Romans* have an old and common quarrell with all nations, people, kings, an unquenchable thirſt of Empire and riches: with whom *Galgacus* in *Tacitus* fully accords, *Raptores orbis poſtquam cuncta vaſtantibus defuere terræ, & mare ſcrutantur: ſi locuples eſt hoſtis avari, ſi pauper ambitioſi, quos non oriens non occidens ſatiaverit*; Robbers of the world they are, and after that they have laid all places waſte, land wanting for them to ſpoyle, they ſearch into the Sea, if the enemy bee rich, their covetouſneſſe moves them to invade him, if poore their ambition, ſo as neither Eaſt nor Weſt can ſatisfie their inſatiable appetite. And though wee ſhould perchance ſuſpect the teſtimonies of *Mithridates* and *Galgacus*, as being their enemies, yet againſt that of *Lactantius* we cannot well except. *Epiſt. ad Regem Arſacen.* *In vita Iulij Agricolæ.* *Lib. 1. c. 18.* *Iſti qui everſiones urbium, populorumq; ſummam gloriam computant, otium publicum non*

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ferent, rapient, ſævient, & injurijs inſolenter illatis humanæ ſocietatis fœdus irrumpent, ut habere hoſtem poſsint, quem ſceleratius deleant, quàm laceſsierint: But they who account the ſubverſion of Cities and States their greateſt glory, will not endure the publique peace, they will rob and ſpoyle, and moſt inſolently offering wrongs, will violate the league of humane ſocietie, that they may have an enemy whom they may more injuriouſly vanquiſh, then they have unjuſtly provoked.

I am not ignorant that *Cicero* in defence of his owne Nation tels us, *noſter populus ſocijs defendendis terrarum omnium potitus eſt,* our people by defending their aſſociates, became Maſters of the world: but I would willingly be informed whether or no they did not often ſet their aſſociates to complaine without a cauſe, or abet them in unjuſt quarrels; and I deſire that *Cicero* or any other *Roman* ſhould tell mee truely, what juſt reaſon of warring they had upon the *Carthaginians* in the firſt Punicke warre. I know there is a pretence coyned that it was undertaken in defence of the *Mamertins*, whom the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſians* intended to chaſtiſe, for their villanous treachery committed upon *Meſſana* a Citie in *Sicily*, where they lay in garriſon, putting to the ſword all the Inhabitants, and dividing the ſpoyle among themſelves, and *Decius Campanus* a *Roman* Prefect with his Legion, conſiſting of 4000 Souldiers being received into *Rhegium*, for the ſafeguard thereof againſt *Pyrrhus*, by the example and aſſiſtance of the *Mamertins* did the like. Now it is true the *Romans* at the inſtance of the people of *Rhegium* did juſtice upon their owne Country-men; yet the *Mamertins* guilty of the ſame foule fact, and that in a higher degree, they tooke into their protection, & made it the pretence of their firſt warre upon the *Carthaginians*, their ancient friends and allies. But it is certaine that no company of *Pyrats, Theeves, Outlawes, Murderers*, or other ſuch *Malefactours*, can by any good ſucceſſe of their villany obtaine the priviledge of *Civill Societies* to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre, but are by all meanes as moſt pernicious vermine to be rooted out of the world. Wherefore we may ſafely eſteeme this action of the *Romans*, ſo farre from being juſtifiable by any colour of confederacy made with them, as that contrarywiſe by admitting this neſt of murtherers and theeves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to bee warred upon themſelves: Yet after this warre ended, and a peace ſolemnly concluded, when the *Carthaginians* made a doubtfull warre upon their rebellious *Mercenaries* of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage* beyond their hope had recovered her feet againe, began to ſtrike at her head: On the ſuddaine they denounced warre againſt this enfeebled and impoveriſhed Citie, under a ſhameles pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia* were made indeed againſt *Rome* it ſelfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themſelves at that time unable to reſiſt, and therefore yeelded to the *Roman* demaund, renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*: But this was not enough, they would have 1200 talents in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alleadge) of the great feare which they had endured of an invaſion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently ſought occaſion of warre: but neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience;

Specie quidem ſocios juvandi, re autem ſollicitante prædâ. Florus 2. 1.

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tience; and the money was payd how hardly soever it was raised. Let not *Rome* then complaine of the Punicke faith in the breach of Covenants, she her selfe hath broken the peace allready, which *Amilcar* purposed to make her dearely repent, but what *Amilcar* lived not to performe, was accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne. I will conclude this Section with the words of *Florus*, touching the *Romans* unjust invading the *Isle* of *Creet*; *Creticum bellum* saith he *si vera volumus noscere, nos fecimus sôlâ vincendi nobilem insulam cupiditate*; if wee desire to know the true ground of our warre with the Cretians, it was undertaken by a covetous desire of conquering a noble *Island*. 3. l. 22. cap.

SECT. 7.

Thirdly, that the Christians in suffering for Religion surpassed the Romans fortitude.

THirdly, if true fortitude consist as well in suffring, as in doing nay rather in suffering chearefully & constantly, then in doing valiantly, as the *Prince* of *Philosophers*, and *great Master of morality* hath taught us, *Ex eo fortes appellantur, quod res molestas atq; asperas fortiter ferant*, from thence are they tearmed manfull, that they manfully indure bitter and sharpe brunts; and from him the *Poet*, Eth. 3. 12.

Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.
He it is doth valiantly,
That can miserable be.

Then I will be bold to say, that the *Christian Religion* hath yeelded more undaunted invincible spirits, then ever *Pagan Rome* did, nay, then all the *Pagan Religion* ever did: so as I cannot sufficiently wonder what should induce *Machiavell* to conceive or affirme that the *Christian Religion* served to make men cowards, and that *Paganisme* was in that respect to bee preferred before it. Surely hee that shall advisedly reade the *Ecclesiasticall* Story, what incredible multitudes; with what alacrity, and what exquisite torments they endured, will soone I thinke bee of another minde; they were so farre from shunning death, that they ranne to meete it halfe way, kissed it, imbraced it, in what ugly terrible shape soever it appeared; in so much that our writers of the Primitive *Church* dare match them, as well they might, with the most hardy and resolute of the *Romans*, yea and to preferre them before these, *Nostri autem* (saith *Lactantius*) *(ut de viris taceam) pueri & mulierculæ tortores suos taciti vincunt & expromere illis gemitum nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, & Mutio glorientur aut Regulo; quorum alter necandum se hostibus tradidit quòd captivum puduit vivere, alter ab hostibus deprehensus cum videret mortem se vitare non posse, manum foco injecit ut pro facinore suo satisfaceret hosti quem voluit occidere, eâque pœnâ veniam quam non meruerat accepit*: Those of our profession (not to speake of the men) even boyes and tender young women do with silence conquer their Executioners, from whom not the fire it selfe can wring so much as a groane. Let the Romanes go then, and boast of their *Mutius* and *Regulus*, Div. l. 11. 12. 13. 14. Lib. 5. c. 23.

See for this point *Laurent. Valla* in his 2. booke *de voluptate.*

gulus, of which the one offered himselfe to death by the hand of the enemy for that he was ashamed to live in captivity; the other being attached by the enemy, when hee saw hee could not avoid death, burnt his hand in the fire, that so for his wicked attempt hee might make satisfaction to the enemy, whom he sought to dispatch, and by that penance purchased he an undeserved pardon: But with us behold those who are for their sexe infirme, and weake for their age, suffer themselves wholy to bee torne in peeces, and burnt not through any necessity, for they might avoyd it if they would, but willingly and readily because they trust in God. *Eusebius* takes a larger scope and makes a bolder challenge, including not the *Romans* alone, but the *Grecians*, and any other not *Christians*. *Ex omnibus qui unquam vel apud Græcos vel apud Barbaros propter animi magnitudinem illustres, & hominum sermone celebrati sunt, nullus cum divinis & eximijs nostri temporis Martyribus, Dorotheo & suis sodalibus Imperatorum ministris comparari potest*: Among all those who either among the *Grecians* or *Barbarians* have beene renowned for their magnanimities, none of them all could be matched with those divine & heroi-call Martyrs of our time *Dorotheus* and his Companions the Emperours servants. After these, in time, but in learning and zeale nothing inferiour unto them: S. *Augustine* confidently maintaines the same truth: *Hoc secuti sunt Martyres qui Scævolas, & Curtios, & Decios non sibi inferendo pœnas, sed illatas ferendo: & virtute vera quia vera pietate & innumera multitudine superarunt*: This rule our Martyrs followed, who not by laying violent hands on themselves, but by patiently enduring others exceeded the *Scevolæ*, the *Curtij*, the *Decij*, both in true fortitude, because joyned with true piety, and besides in multitudes innumerable. And lastly, before all these, *Tertullian* both saw, and publiquely taught the same truth: *Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris & mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in fortuitis, ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Callimachus, nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos quantos Christiani factis docendo*: Many among you exhort men to a constant and patient enduring of griefe and death, as *Cicero* in his *Tusculanes*, *Seneca* in his remedies against fortune, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callimachus*; yet their writings and words finde not so much Schollers, as do the *Christians*, teaching by their deedes and deaths.

Lib. 8. c. 6.

De Civ. Dei. 5. 14.

Apolog. 50. ad Gentes.

But because the *Romans* stand so much upon their valour in suffering for their countrey, it were not hard to instance in many *Christians*, who might justly bee paralled with the chiefest of them in that kinde, I will content my selfe onely with one example, and that of the Burgesses of 'Calais, as I finde it reporteth by *Pasquier*. The towne of *Calais* during 'the raigne of *Philip de Valois* being brought to those straits, that now 'there was no more hope left, either for succour or victuals; *Iohn Lord* 'of *Vienna*, who there commanded for the King, began to treate about 'the rendring of it, desiring onely that they might give it up with safety 'of their lives and goods; which conditions being offered to *Edward* 'King of *England*, who by the space of eleven moneths had straitly 'besieged it; he being exceedingly inraged, that so small a towne should 'alone stand out against him so long, and withall calling to minde that 'they

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'they had often galled his ſubjects by Sea, was ſo farre from accepting 'of their petition, that contrarywiſe hee reſolved to put them all to the 'ſword, had hee not beene diverted from that reſolution by ſome ſage 'Counſellours then about him, who told him, that for having beene 'faithfull and loyall ſubjects to their Soveraigne, they deſerved not to 'be ſo ſharpely dealt with: Whereupon *Edward* changing his firſt pur- 'poſe into ſome more clemencie, promiſed to receive them to mercy, 'conditionally that ſixe of their principall Townſ-men, ſhould preſent 'him the keyes of the Towne bare-headed & bare-footed, & with hal- 'ters about their neckes, their lives being to be left to his diſpoſition: 'Whereof the Governour being advertiſed, he preſently gets him into 'the market-place, commanding the Bell to bee ſounded for the con- 'venting of the people; whom being aſſembled, hee acquainted with 'the articles which hee had received, touching the yeelding up of the 'Towne, and the aſſurance of their lives which could not bee granted 'but with the death of ſixe of the chiefe of them: With which newes 'they being all of them exceedingly caſt downe and perplexed, on the 'ſuddaine their riſes up one of their company called *Stephen S. Peter*, 'one of the richeſt and moſt ſufficient men of the towne, who thus ſpake 'aloud: Sir, I thanke God for the goods hee hath beſtowed on mee, but 'more that he hath given me this preſent opportunity to make it known 'that I prize the lives of my Countrey-men & fellow Burgeſſes above 'mine owne: At the hearing of whoſe ſpeech and ſight of his forward- 'neſſe, one *Iohn Daire* & foure others after him made the like offers, not 'without great abundance of teares and prayers for the common peo- 'ple, who ſaw them ſo freely and readily ſacrifice all their particular 'reſpects for the weale of the publique, and inſtantly without any more 'adoe they addreſſe themſelves to the King of *England* with the keyes 'of the Towne, with none other hope but of death: to which (though 'they held themſelves aſſured thereof) they went as chearefully as if 'they had beene going to a wedding. Yet it pleaſing God to turne the 'heart of the *Engliſh* King at the inſtance of his Queene and ſome of the 'Lords, they were ſent backe againe ſafe and ſound. Now who can 'ſay that our *France* hath not her *Horatij*, *Quintij*, *Curtij*, and *Decij*? We 'have ours as well as the *Romans* had theirs: but a certain kinde of baſe- 'neſſe in us more ready to apprehend & admire the worth of ſtrangers, 'then of our owne Nation, makes us happily not to beleeve ſo: Now that which *Paſquier* writes of his Nations, and truly as I thinke, in com- pariſon with the *Roman* valour in ſuffering for their country, we may as confidently ſpeake of ours, as others perchance of theirs.

I will inſtance only in one more out of the *Spaniſh* hiſtory written by *Mariana*, which was this. *Zanchius* king of *Caſtile*, having take the towne of *Tariffa* or *Cartheia* from the *Moores*; but being doubtfull of keeping it, by reaſon of the vicinitie of the enimie, and the great charge required thereunto; *Alphonſus Pereſius*, a man renowned both in warre and peace, great in wealth, and yet greater in the right uſe of it, of his owne accord offered himſelfe for that ſervice, promiſing to defray a part of the charge himſelfe: The King in the meane time being buſied about other

De reb. Hiſp. lib. 14. cap. 16. Anno Chriſti. 1293.

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others matters. Within a while after *Iohn* the Kings brother passeth over to the King of *Morocco*, and having receaved forces from him, on the suddaine he beseigeth *Tariffa*; the besieged feared nothing, trusting in their owne and their Captaines valour, their mindes were lifted above any apprehension of daunger; only they were somewhat dismaid with an unexpected accident, which was the taking of *Alphonsus* his only sonne whom the *Moores* made shew of before the walls, threatning to put him to a cruell death before their eyes, except they speedily rendred the towne. With these words his father was nothing moved, but rather hardning himselfe against all private affection in regard of the publique good, hee constantly said, that if the *Moores* had in their power a hundred of his sonns that hee would not depart a jot from that trust which was put in him; nay saith hee to his enimies, if you have so great a desire of dispatching him, behold here a sword for the purpose, and withall threw his owne downe from the wall; and so with a countenance unmoved went away to dinner. Hee was scarce gon, before a lamentable outcry was raised among his souldiers, which drew him back againe to the walls, and demanding what the cause might bee of so great a tumult, was told that his sonne was by his brother *Iohn* in a barbarous manner put to death. Was this all the matter, saith hee? I thought the citie had bin taken by the enimie; and so in a calme and a quiet manner hee returned againe to his dinner and his wife; The enimies being astonished at this his invincible fortitude, brake up the siege and departed *libet hic exultare*, saith *Lansius*, *libet hic interrogare*, *sit ne factum in omni antiquitate fortius vel laudabilius?* and *Strada* in his imitation of *Lucan* taking this story for his subject, thus concludes it.

Orat pro Hispania.

O ingens anime! ô fato insuperabile pectus!
Digna erat hæc scribi sub Bruti nomine virtus;
Ni foret Alphonsi, moresque referret Iberos.

SECT. 8.

That as the Christians have surpassed the Romans in the passive part of fortitude, so have they matched them in the active, & that the partiall overvaluing of the Roman manhood by their owne historians, is it chiefely which hath made the world to thinke it unmatchable.

Fourthly and lastly, as the *Romans* were thus surpassed in the *passive* part of fortitude: so were they matched in the *Active*, many times meeting with those, that either put backe their forces without losse, or with victory put them to the worst. *Iulius Cæsar* their great experienced and most renowned Captaine after all his valiant acts and triumphs, what adoe did hee make, to doe any thing worth the remembrance upon this Iland then inhabited by naked *Brittaines*, and those divided? And though *Cæsar* himselfe tell us of foure Kings of *Kent* by him subdued, and many other matters here performed, and *Velleius Paterculus* the Court Historiographer beares us in hand, *bis penetratam Britanniam à Cæsare*, that Brittany was twice throughly invaded by *Cæsar*; yet *Lucan* tels us another tale,

Territa

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Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis:
To th'Britons whom he sought his coward backe he turnd,

And *Tacitus* a grave Authour, *Britanniam tantum ostendisse non tradidisse Romanis*, that he only shewed, but delivered not *Britannie* to the *Romans*. And sure he did so little, that both *Horace* and *Propertius* agree in it that he left them untouched, or at least unconquered:

Horat. Epod. od. 7.

Intactus aut Britannus, ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via:
Or that the Britons, yet untouched, may
Be led in chaines along the sacred way.

Sayes the one: And the other,

Remanet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.
---Unconquered Britannie,
By Romane armes reserved is for thee.

And *Seneca* of *Claudius*,

In Octav.

Cuique Britanni
Terga dedere, ducibus nostris
Ante ignoti jurisque sui.

And againe

En qui ora Tamesis posuit jugum!

Yet even in the time of this *Claudius* who was here himselfe in person, *Bunduica* or *Boodicia* as shee is commonly called being then the Commandresse of the *Brittaines*, in one battle cut in peeces of the *Romans* 70 or as *Dion* hath it 80000 of their men.

Camden in Essex.

The *Gaules* in their contention with them they found so stout and hardy, as *Salust* himselfe confesseth, that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for dominion, but with the *Gaules* for preservation of their owne safety, who once under the conduct of *Brennus*, entred the City of *Rome* it selfe, sacked it and burnt it. And the same in effect doth *Velleius Paterculus* in a manner confesse, touching their long and doubtfull warre with the *Spaniards*. *Per ducentos annos*, saith hee, in *Hispanijs multo mutuoque ita certatum est sanguine, ut amissis populi Romani Imperatoribus exercitibusque, sæpe contumelia, nonnunquam etiam & periculum Romano inferretur imperio.* And going on upon the same straine, *Patrum ætate* saith he *per quinquennium dijudicari non potuit, Hispanis Romanisve in armis plus esset roboris, & uter populus alteri pariturus foret.*

See Pasquier in his epistle to Monsieur Sybilet.

Hist. l. 2.

Pyrrhus King of the Epirots encountred them in *Italy* it selfe, & vanquished them in two severall battells, in the former of which they were through feare strickenwith such a consternation and forgetfulnes of their discipline, that they tarried not so much as to defend their campe, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*, though the Consull himselfe were then in the field with a select army. But *Hannibal* was indeed the man, who made the *Romans* know that they were but men made of like mettall as others are. Like a haile storme hee came thundring downe from the *Alpes* and *Pyrenean* mountaines upon *Italy*. At *Ticinum* now called *Pavia*, after a long tedious journey, having scarce refreshed his wearied army, consisting of severall Nations; and therefore the harder to bee held together

gether and commanded, hee beate *Scipio* the Consull, and sent him (with the losse of almost all his horses) wounded out of the field: And within a while after, fighting with both the Consuls *Scipio* and *Sempronius* at *Trebia*, there escaped of six and thirty thousand of the *Romans*, but tenne thousand of all sorts horse and foote. Not long after this, againe hee encountred with *Flaminius* another Consull at the lake of *Thrasymene*, who was slaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carkases of his Countrey-men. And *Cetronius* being sent by *Servilius* the other Consull to the ayde of *Flaminius*, his strength only served to increase the misadventure, being charged and the greatest part of them cut in peeces by *Maharball*, the rest yeelding themselves to mercy. The *Romans* being put to these straights, choose a *Dictator* that was *Fabius Maximus*, who like a cloud hung upon the toppes of the hils, but durst not come downe into the plaines to fight with *Hannibal*, though he saw the countrey fired & spoyled by him before his eyes. Whereupon two new Consuls are chosen, *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*. For the dispatch of the warre great forces are leavied, and at *Cannæ* they come powring upon him with assurance of victory. The whole summe of *Hannibal's* army in the field this day was, tenne thousand horse and forty thousand foote; his enemies having two to one against him in foote, and he five to three against them in horse: But heere againe he routed and foyled them, in so much as the *Romans* were all in a manner either slaine or taken prisoners: Of men of speciall note there died in the great battell, besides *Paulus* the *Consull*, two *Questors* or *Treasurers*, one and twenty *Colonells* or *Tribunes* of the souldiers, foure score *Senatours*, or such as had borne office; out of which they were to bee chosen into the Senate, and many of these were men of marke, as having beene *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Consulls*, among whom was *Servilius* the last yeares *Consull*, and *Minutius* late Master of the horse: besides all this, the number of the *Roman* Knights that lay slaine on the place, & of the common souldiers was almost incredible: Whereas on the side of *Hannibal* there died but foure thousand *Gaules*, fifteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse or there abouts, a losse not sensible in the joy of so great a victorie, which had hee pursued as *Maharball* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome* then destitute both of men and money, it is little doubted but that the warre had presently beene at an end: But hee beleeved not so farre in his owne sufficiencie and good fortune, and was therefore told that he knew how to get, not how to use a victorie: Yet had not his supplies promised & expected from *Carthage*, partly by the malice of *Hanno*, and partly by the sloath & parsimonie of the *Carthagi-nians*, beene too long deferred, it is to be thought the *Romans* would never againe have recovered that blow. For after this, he performed in *Italy* many noble & worthy exploits, marching home even to the gates of *Rome* it selfe; and had he beene supplied with victuals, in all likelihood, had carried it. So true is that which *Silius Italicus* though no lesse in nation and faction, then in name an *Italian*, in his first booke *de bello Punico* hath left upon record.

Certatumque

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Certatumque diu quâ tandem poneret arce
Imperij fortuna caput.

Now that which hath made the world conceive the *Roman Magnanimity* to be unmatchable, is the partiall overvalving of their manhood by their owne *Historians*, and the too much sleighting of all others in comparison with themselves. *Romanorum virtus plurimum scriptoribus debet*, saith *Meursius*, and *Wenceslaus Clemens* no less truly, *veteres illi quos tantopere admiramur, plerumque scriptoribus magnitudinem suorum operum debent.* *Athen: Bat: ep. ded: epist. ante. excus. Aug.*

I will instance only in two or three passages. *Livie* to disgrace *Hannibal* writes, that a little before the striking of the battle at *Cannæ*, *de fuga in Galliam dicitur cogitasse*, hee is said to have bee thought himselfe of flying into Gaule; which was in truth very incredible, the difficulties considered which *Hannibal* before had passed, and the tearmes he then stood in. This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in the life of *Hannibal* takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. My second instance is this: *Fabius* an ancient *Roman Historian* (from whom *Livie* borrowes much) sayth of *Amilcar* the father of *Hannibal*, and his men at *Erix* a towne in *Sicill*; that having cleane spent their strength, and being broken with many miseries; they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*: But *Polybius* a grave writer, censures this report of *Fabius*, as fabulous and partiall in as much as the contrary thereunto is to bee found in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Æmilius Probus*, confessing that *Erix* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not beene any warre. Though then wee may not reprehend in that worthy Historian *Livie*, the tender love of his countrey, which made him give credit to *Fabius* and others: Yet must we not for his sake beleeve those lyes, which the unpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned in the writers that gave them originall. My third and last instance is; that the great Captaine *Fabius* or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Cneus Scipio*, which neither *Scipio* nor *Livie* for him doth answere, that if *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*, and sonne of *Amilcar* were vanquished; as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spaine*, strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extreamely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And it is indeed an incredible narration, that *Asdrubal* being inclosed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of the battell, save only by a steepe descent of rocks over a great river that lay at his back, ranne away withall his monie, Elephants, and broken troups over *Tagus*, directly toward the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*, upon which hee fell with more then threescore thousand Souldiers. Wherefore wee can but be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of their warres with *Rome* (if there were any) being utterly lost, wee can know no more thereof, then what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it were no wisedome to give too much credit. *Albericus Gentilis*, by nation an *Italian*, late professour of the *Civill Lawes* in the Vniversity of *Oxford*, well versed in the Roman story, hath written two learned bookes *de*

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armis Romanorum; In the former of which hee clearely proves, that the *Romans* got the reputation of ſo great juſtice, and wiſedome, and valour, only from the teſtimony of their owne writers, who were in their relations moſt partiall: notwithſtanding, ſaith hee, *Sunt vel in his ipſis plura & diſiecta paſsim, & quaſi in amplo naufragio diſsipata quæ per ſedulam operam collecta, vincere, vulgi opinionem, conſenſum hominum inveteratum ſuperare, perſuaſionem de virtute Romanorum bellicâ tollere poſſunt*, Even in them are many paſſages to bee found ſcattered heere & there, as it were after ſome great ſhipwrack, which being diligently collected and put together, might ſerve to vanquiſh the vulgar opinion, to roote out the inveterate & common conſent, to weaken the ſtrong perſwaſion of men touching the warlike manhood of the *Romans*. And alleaging that place of *Cicero* in his Oration for *Murena*, *virtus militaris populo Romano nomen, urbi Romæ æternam gloriam peperit*; The military vertue of the *Romans* wanne to themſelves fame, and to their City eternall glory, *imo nonita eſt M. Tulli*, ſaith he, *ſed fraus, avaritia, audacia, crudelitas illud vobis imperium pepererunt; orbem terræ reliquum ſimpliciorem, juſtiorem, humaniorem, faciliorem, moderatiorem ſubegerunt. Tullie* it is not ſo, but *fraud, covetouſneſſe, impudence, cruelty* got you the *Empire*, and ſubdued the reſt of the world more innocent, more juſt, more courteous, more mercifull, more moderate, more peaceable then your ſelves: and this he doth not barely affirme, but ſubſtantially makes it good through that booke, though in the next, he ſeeme to have ſpoken in the perſon of another.

I will conclude this long, though I truſt not tedious diſcourſe of the *Romans*, with a diſpute of Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* handling that probleme, propoſed and diſcuſſed by *Livie*, whether the great *Alexander* could have prevailed againſt the *Romans*, if after his *Eaſterne* conqueſt he had bent all his forces againſt them. Where having delivered his opinion againſt *Livy* for *Alexander*, together with his reaſons inducing him thereunto, hee goes on preferring the *Engliſh* both before the *Macedonian* and the *Roman*: wherein if he ſpeake reaſon, let him be heard, if not, let him bee cenſured: But for mine owne part I muſt confeſſe, I know not well how to anſwere his arguments, ſo preſſing & ponderous to me they ſeeme, whether affection have clouded my judgment heerein, I leave it to others to judge. His words then are theſe

SECT. 9.

The Engliſh not inferiour to the Roman in valour and magnanimity, by the judgment of Sir Walter Rawleigh.

NOw in deciding ſuch a controverſie, ſaith he, me thinkes it were not amiſſe for an *Engliſh-man* to give ſuch a ſentence betweene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* & *Aricini* that ſtrove about a peece of land; ſaying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themſelves. If therefore it bee demanded, whether the *Macedonians* or the *Romans* were the beſt Warriours? I ſhall anſwere, the

Hiſt. of the world, l. 5. part 1. cap. 1. Sect. 1.

Engliſh-

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English-man. For it will ſoone appeare to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; againſt no ſavage or unmanly people; the enemy being farre ſuperiour unto us in numbers, and all needefull proviſions, yea as well trayned as wee, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of Warre.

In what ſort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed againſt ſuch armies as it commonly encountred: any man that hath taken paines to read the fore-going ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never or very ſeldome able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies: which were embattelled in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nations beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe both offenſive and defenſive were of greater uſe, then thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fierie inſtruments of gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe, wee finde that they who did over-match her in numbers, were as farre over-matched by her in weapons; and that they of whom ſhee had little advantage in armes, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſſe, that ſhee was never over-laid with too great warres at once.

Heereby it came to paſſe, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having wonne the eſtate of *Alba*, againſt which ſhee adventured her owne ſelfe, as it were in wager upon the heads of three *Champions*; and having thereby made her ſelfe *Princeſſe* of *Latium*, ſhee did afterwards by long warre in many ages extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well nigh oppreſſed her, but their ſouldiers were *Mercinarie*, ſo that for want of proper ſtrength they were eaſily beaten at their owne doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe to beate the ſame *Ætolians*. The warres againſt *Antiochus* and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gave to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece* fell into her hands by vſing her ayde to protect them, againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeake of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhee had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many, or ſo famous victories: I am not idle. This I ſay, that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement may ſeeme overpartiall, our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the World beſides) had never ſo brave a Commander in warre as *Iulius Cæſar*; and

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that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which ſerved under the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe it is apparant that this gallant Army which had given faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheleſſe utterly diſheartned when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinarie in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe under ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a warre. Now let us in generall compare with the deedes done, by thoſe beſt of the *Roman* ſouldiers in their principall ſervice, the things performed in the ſame countrey by our common *Engliſh* ſouldiers, levied in haſt from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall, ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleeve *Cæſar* in relating the Acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſſe what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules* a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French* by whom they were ſubdued; even when the *Romans* gave them aſſiſtance. The Countrey of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lorſhips: Some of which were governed by petty kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it applyable to the neareſt neighbour. The factions were many and violent, not onely in generall through the whole Countrey, but betweene the petty States, yea in every City, and almoſt in every houſe. What greater advantage could a Conquerour deſire? yet there was a greater: *Arioviſtus* with his *Germans* had over-runne the Countrey, and held moſt part of it in a ſubjection, little different from a meere ſlavery: yea ſo often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had ſometimes beene the better ſouldiers) did hold themſelves no way equall to thoſe dayly invaders. Had *France* beene ſo prepared unto our *Engliſh* Kings, *Rome* it ſelfe by this time, and long ere this time would have beene ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his warre upon *France*, he found the whole countrey ſetled in obedience to one mighty King: a King whoſe reputation abroad was no leſſe then his puiſſance at home, under whoſe Enſigne the King of *Bohemia* did ſerve in perſon, at whoſe call the *Genowayes* and other neighbour States were ready to take Armes: Finally a King unto whom one [a] Prince gave away his Dominion for love: [b] another ſold a way a goodly City and Territory for money. The Country lying ſo open to the *Roman*, and being ſo well fenced againſt the *Engliſh*, it is note-worthy, not who prevailed moſt therein (for it were meere vanity to match the *Engliſh* purchaſes with the *Roman* Conqueſt) but whether of the two gave the greater proofe of military vertue therin. *Cæſar* himſelfe doth witneſſe, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardineſſe was over-maſtered by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towres and Engines of battery raiſed and planted againſt their wals, as more then humane workes. What greater wonder is it that ſuch a people was beaten by the *Roman*, then that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worſe by ſmall

[a] The Dolphine of *Vienna*.
[b] The King of *Majorca*.

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ſmall numbers of *Spanyards* ? Beſides all this wee are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any part of men to one head, that with joint forces they might oppoſe their aſſailants, as alſo the much more difficulty of holding them long together : For hereby it came to paſſe that they were never able to make uſe of opportunity: but ſomtimes compelled to ſtay for their fellowes, and ſometimes driven to give or take battell upon extreame diſadvantages, for feare leſt their company ſhould fall aſunder : as indeed upon any little diſaſter they were ready to breake and returne every one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little leſſe then all this) great oddes in weapon, gave to the *Romanes* the honour of many gallant victories. What ſuch helpe ? or what other worldly helpe then the golden mettall of their ſouldiers, had our *Engliſh* Kings againſt the *French*? were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of warre ? yea did they not thinke themſelves therein our ſuperiours ? were they not in armes, in horſe, and in all proviſion exceedingly beyond us ? Let us heare what a *French* writer ſaith of the inequality that was betweene the *French* and *Engliſh*, when their King *John* was ready to give the onſet upon the *Black Prince* at the battell of *Poictiers*. *John* had all advantages over *Edward*, both of number, force, ſhew, country, and conceit, (the which is commonly a conſideration of no ſmall importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choiſe of all his horſemen (eſteemed then the beſt in *Europe*) with the greateſt and wiſeſt Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he wiſh more? *Iohn de Serres.*

I thinke it would trouble a *Roman Antiquary* to finde the like example in their Hiſtories; the example, I ſay, of a King, brought priſoner to *Rome* by an army of eight thouſand, which hee had ſurrounded with forty thouſand, better appointed, and no leſſe expert warriours. This I am ſure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe ſcullions, as *Livy* rightly tearmes them, nor thoſe cowardly kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Creſsie* & *Agincourt*, will beare me witnes, that I doe not alleage the battle of *Poictiers*, for lack of other as good examples of the *Engliſh* vertue : the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of *France*, then ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man imputé theſe victories of ours to the long-Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more ſtrongly, and quicker of diſcharge then the *French* Croſſe-Bow ? my anſwere is ready ; that in all theſe reſpects, it is alſo (being drawne with a ſtrong arme) ſuperiour to the musket; yet is the musket a weapon of more uſe. The Gun and the Croſſe-bow are of like force when diſcharged by a boy or woman, as when by a ſtrong man : weakenes or ſicknes, or a ſore finger makes the long-bow unſerviceable. More particularly, I ſay, that it was the cuſtome of our *Anceſtors* to ſhoot for the moſt part, point blanck: and ſo ſhall hee perceive that will note the circumſtances of almoſt any one battell. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the diſtance of a butts length, one flight of arrowes or two at the moſt can be delivered before they cloſe. Neither is it in generall true, that the long-bow reacheth farther, or

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that it pierceth more ſtrongly then the Croſſe bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme: whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man ſhall aske: How then it came to paſſe that the *Engliſh* wanne ſo many great battelles, having no advantage to helpe him? I may with the beſt commendation of modeſty, referre him to *Iohn de Serres.* the *French Hiſtorian*: who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant* where they paſſed a bridge in the face of the enemy, uſeth theſe words; The *Engliſh* comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was acuſtomed to gaine every where without any ſtay: hee forceth our Guard placed upon the bridge to keepe the paſſage. Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tells how the *Britons* being invaded by *Charles* the 8th, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparell a thouſand and two hundred of their owne men in *Engliſh* Caſſacks: hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red Croſſe would bee enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French Hiſtorians* (all which, excepting *De Serres* and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation) the propoſition which firſt I undertooke to maintaine, That the military vertue of the *Engliſh* prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to bee preferred before that of the *Romanes*, which was aſſiſted withall advantages that could be deſired. If it bee demanded, why then did not our King finiſh the Conqueſt as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwere may be (I hope without offence) that our kings were like to the race of the *Æacide*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Belli potentes ſunt magè, quam ſapienti-potentes*, they were more warlike then politique. Who ſo notes their proceedings may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conqueroür, ſave only King *Henry* the fift, the courſe of whoſe victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made: Why did not the *Romanes* attempt the Conqueſt of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæſar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all thoſe times they had good leiſure, & then eſpecially had they both leiſure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius* they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaule* had beene piteouſly waſted. Surely the words of *Tully* were true, that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion with the *Gaules* for the preſervation of their owne ſafety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conqueſt of *Gaule*, untill they were Lords of all other Countryes to them knowne. Wee on the other ſide held only the one halfe of our owne *Iland*; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (unleſſe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equall to our ſelves: A Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemies to us: So that our danger lay both before and behinde us, and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared a ſtronger invaſion by Land then wee could make upon *France*, tranſporting our forces over Sea.

It is uſuall with men that have pleaſed themſelves in admiring the matters which

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which they finde in ancient Histories, to hold it a great injurie done to their judgement, if any take upon him by way of comparison to extoll the things of latter ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our *Iland* hath given more noble proofe of it self, then under so worthy a Leader that *Roman* armie could doe, which afterwards could winne *Rome* and all her *Empire*, making *Cæsar* a Monarch: So hereafter by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance into our greatest helpe, the enemie that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that avoyding us, he had rather encountred as great a puissance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. Thus farre Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, comparing the *Roman* valour with the *English*: And if we should compare them to the *Turkes*, it is certaine that the *Romans* in the like space of time, never subdued the like quantitie of land, so excellently fertile, and abounding in warlike people as did they. In lesse then three hundred yeares, from *Ottoman* to *Mahomet* the third, they wanne all those goodly Countreys from *Tauris* in *Persia*, to *Buda* in *Hungarie*, lying East, and West, and North, & South, from *Derbent* neare the *Caspian* Sea, unto *Adena*, upon the gulfe of *Arabia*, each of which containes about 3200 miles. Nay *Mahomet* the second who tooke *Constantinople*, and tooke upon him the title of their first Emperour within the space of 32 yeares, by force possessed two Empires, twelve Kingdomes, and above two hundred Cities. *R. de Lusinge de inclin. imp. l. 3. cap. 3.*

It is likewise the observation of Mr *Meade* in his Commentary upon the *Revelation*, touching the wounderfull progresse of the *Saracens* in their speedy conquests: *Nulli unquam genti tam latè regnatum fuit, neque tam brevi temporis spacio unquam tot regna, tot regiones, subjugum missa. Incredibile dictu, verissimum tamen est, octoginta, aut non multo plurium annorum subjugarunt illi & diabolico regno Mahumidis acquisiverunt Palestinam, Siriam, Armeniam utramque, totam firmè Asiam minorem, Persiam, Indiam, Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam, totam ad nigrum usque fluvium Lusitaniam, Hispaniam. Neque hic stetit illorum fortuna aut ambitio, donec & Italia magnam quoque partem adjecerint ad portas usque urbis Romæ. Quinetiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, & reliquas maris mediterranei insulas.* Pag. 94.

Now because the valour of this present age is by some questioned, for that the conquests of our late Princes, are not thought to be so great as of those of ancient times: I will hereunto annexe the discourse of a learned *Venetian* Gentleman, wherein hee endeavours to prove, that though the conquests of the Ancient were of larger extent, yet the valour of the modernes was not therefore inferiour to them. His discourse is written in *Italian*, his owne language, and though the translation perchance doe not fully answere the worth of the originall, yet I thinke it not unworthy to bee presented to the view of the Reader as it is.

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SECT. 10.

The sixth discourse taken out of the second booke of Paul Paruta *a Gentleman of* Venice, *in his politicall discourses; translated out of* Italian.

The subject whereof is, wherefore our Moderne Princes have not performed enterprises like to those which the Ancients have accomplished, although they have beene in valour nothing inferiour.

SOme men there are, who onely commending matters performed by the Ancients, equally blame all the moderne, holding them in small or no esteeme, as if that by those things which arise in our times, the way were wholly excluded by meanes of excellent studies in most noble Sciences, to arrive unto any period of glory. Contrarily, others are of such disposition, that they endeavour to accumulate all commendation upon this our age, and to equall it with the most famous and extolled Ancient, affirming that the antique vertue hath resulted therein, no way inferiour or different in our men, except defect of that reverence, which Antiquitie is accustomed to conferre upon matters. The moderne wits are highly celebrated, for the perfection and excellencie whereunto they have conducted many noble disciplines and arts, having beene obscure and vile in the ignorance of former ages, but particularly touching the manner of warre, wherein in respect of so many new invented formes concerning fortification, and expugning of fortresses, the qualitie of engines, and other many certainely marvellous inventions, It seemes that the moderne industrie hath not onely equalled the Ancient, but in many parts farre exceeded it; and much more in our present age, the glory of many professors of most esteemed artes so resplendent, by how much that the profession belonging thereunto, is not onely greatly increased, but Picture, Sculpture, Architecture, together with many other noble sciences and disciplines, being ornaments of civill life, have beene extracted out of darkenesse, wherein for a long time they lay involved. Herein I altogether differ not from them in opinion, neither doe I conceive it to be requisite so farre to advance other mens affaires, that by reason of grosse modesty or ignorance, wee hold a base account of ours, so farre forth as in themselves they are worthy of any commendation. But concerning military actions, which as in themselves they are most conspicuous in the eyes of all men, so they attract the greatest part of blame or commendation, from the universall discourse of men: when in my selfe I revolve in my minde the enterprises accomplished in warre by those Ancient and Moderne, I seeme to behold that the one is so farre superiour to the other, as I can hardly make a just comparison betweene them, notwithstanding that as these our last ages, in comparison of some others former, have become fruitfull with excellent

lent wits in other disciplines, so they have flourished by the valour and generositie of some Princes truely great, no lesse in vertue then forces. But that which peradventure affords no lesse cause of wonder, and gives to this discourse particular matter, is to enter into consideration, from whence it proceedes, that our moderne Princes (though some of them have beene of generous dispositions, great experience and vertue in military affaires, of large state and potent forces) have nevertheless not beene able to conduct their enterprises to such ends, as by reason of their greatnesse, together with the shortnesse and facilitie of time, they may hold comparison equivalent to the Ancients. Among whom we see one onely *Alexander*, one *Pompey*, one *Cæsar*, have subjugated entire Provinces, and conquered many Nations. And to the end that we goe not farre off, seeking examples to paralell herein, seeing one onely age very neare unto ours, may most readily afford them: have there not beene Princes for all heroicall qualities very great and valorous, namely *Charles* the fift Emperour, *Francis* the first King of *France*, and (leaving apart the respect of errours in Religion) *Sultane Solyman* Great Signiour of the *Turkes*? In whom all the gifts of nature and fortune have concurred together, so that it hardly seemes there rests in any one of them, more to be desired for the making up a most potent Prince, and accomplished excellent Captaine for the undertaking of the greatest and most difficult enterprises. What matters did not *Charles* undertake with his invincible minde, undaunted against all dangers? Who was more desirous of praise and military honour then *Francis*? who was never seene neither wearied, nor satisfied in the travell of armes, & conducting of armies? But in *Solyman* there were such ardent spirits wholly disposed to the glory of warre, that his burdensome yeares of age were not sufficient to extinguish them, seeing he died at the age of 84 yeares in the field among his souldiers. These great Princes were for the number of their forces which they conducted in battle, militarie discipline, and for all preparations of warre so strong and remarkable, that in regard thereof the age wherein they lived had no reason, neither to admire nor envie any of the Ancients, though most famous. Notwithstanding whosoever shall particularly examine the enterprises accomplished by them, shall finde them farre short to be compared with those of the Ancients, not correspondent to the rumor and opinion of such Princes and so great forces, seeing that if we take into consideration those few formerly mentioned, omitting many others, how stupendious were the deedes of Great *Alexander*, who in so short a time conquered the most potent Empire of *Persia*, overrunne all the East victories, and stroke terrour of his armes into people formerly in a manner unknowne, & yet death seazed on him in his youthfull yeares? But for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, how many Cities (or rather Provinces) did they subdue to the Empire of *Rome*? the one in the East conquered *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Media*, *Hiberia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, and *Iudæa*, matters which after the deede done, seemed in a manner incredible; and the other, though he over-runne not such large Territories, yet in respect of the qualitie of those enemies whom hee over-

over-ran, performed as great matters, having vanquiſhed the fierce and warlike Nation of the *Swiſſe*, *French*, and *Germans*, performing ſo many and ſuch fortunate expeditions, that by his onely valour above 800 Cities were ſubdued to the *Romane* dominion. But for thoſe moderne Princes, what like matter can wee produce, to equall them to the aforeſaid in militarie glory? The Emperour *Charles* often times conducted potent armies upon ſmall enterpriſes, but for his moſt famous actions, what fruite did they produce? The greateſt and moſt valorous armie was that which hee oppoſed againſt *Solyman*, when hee attempted upon *Auſtria*, yet notwithſtanding he never departed therewith from the walles of *Vienna*, ſo that he gained no other honour and trophie of victorie, then that he was not overcome, his armie having not ſo much as beheld the face of an enemie. Certainely the courſes of *Germanie* were very difficult; notwithſtanding he interpoſed not himſelfe therein, againſt any Prince equall in force to him of his owne ſtrength, nor the occaſions were not by election, or hope of glory, or new conqueſts, but for neceſſitie and defence, as well for the Empire as his owne proper perſon intereſted therein, whereof ſummarilie the fruit could bee none other, then to returne the affaires of the Crowne to their former State, to the end that the Empires authority might not be diminiſhed. The contentions of warre continued for a long time (& no leſſe hatred then forces) betweene *Charles* the Emperour, and *Francis* King of *France*, who oftentimes weakned the forces of each other, but though *Cæſars* fortune for the moſt part prevailed againſt thoſe of the *French* Kings, yet the Empire of *Charles* became no way greater by his new Conqueſts, wherein it ſeemes he was ſet forward chiefly by his admirable fortune and felicity, which united in him onely by way of inheritance, ſo many great and ample States, more then by the meanes of armes, or warre. The enterpriſes of *Afrike*, *Tunis*, and *Algeres*, carried in themſelves greateſt appearance of generoſitie, being in qualitie very difficult, and attempted with great courage and much danger, wherein there was appearance of more glory then profit, notwithſtanding the unhappy ſucceſſe of the one, greatly diminiſhed the commendation and reputation obtained by the good event of the other, and the ſucceſſe of theſe enterpriſes were none other in concluſion, that by the fruit thereof they gained any more in *Afrike*, then one or two Cities of meaneſt qualitie; whereas *Scipio* alone, in the ſame Territorie conquered *Carthage*, head of that great Empire, ſubjecting to the *Romane* Common-wealth all thoſe Regions. The undertakings of *Solyman* were ſomewhat greater, yet notwithſtanding no way to bee equalled unto the Ancients, neither peradventure in reſpect of his great potencie, and long time of life, and raigne; they any way appeared to bee ſo great or remarkeable: Hee conſumed much time and huge forces in *Hungarie*, comming upon it by ſundry attempts; with all which adoe he onely conquered a part thereof, which in it ſelfe, is none of the greateſt Provinces. He vanquiſhed the Iland of *Rhodes*, but it was ſmall glory for ſo great a Prince to ſubdue a few Knights, weake in themſelves, and not aſſiſted by others, wherein notwithſtanding fraud prevailed more then force.

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force. He afterward beſieged the Iland of *Malta*, belonging to the Knights of the order, with mighty forces both by ſea & land; yet after a long ſiege his forces were ſhamefully repulſed with great loſſe both of men and honour: He paſſed with his armie into *Perſia*, but though he might ſay with *Caſar*, I came and beheld, yet hee could not make good that which hee did, I have overcome, for as he over-runne with much celeritie a great part of the *Perſian* Empire, arriving to the Citie of *Tunis*, ſo afterward without knowing or being able to ſettle in any place, or fixe upon any conqueſt, he retired within his owne confines, leaving in his enemies Territories, the beſt & greateſt part of his forces broken and diſſipated by ſundry accidents. Theſe matters then and many others like hereunto, give juſt occaſion of wonder, ſetting forward the curioſitie of mens wits to inveſtigate the true occaſions of ſuch diverſitie of ſucceſſes. *Veni, vidi, vici.*

Among the ſame therefore, the chiefeſt conſideration is, the different manner of warre from the former times to theſe, wherein paſſing to greater particulars which preſent themſelves in the uſe of fortreſſes, they being erected more frequent in this our age, then among the Ancients, ſeeing without all doubt the art of their fabricature is in farre greater perfection with us, then it was in their times. There is not at this day any State or Territorie without many ſtrong places & Cities, either aſſiſted by the ſituation of nature, or by the force of art, reduced to much ſecuritie, with ſundry preparations and inventions inveſtigated by the moderne Profeſſors of this art by meanes whereof every ſcituation is in a manner made capable of a fortified forme, being thereby inabled with a few, to maintaine it ſelfe againſt the forces of many. So that whoſoever hath a minde to enter with his armie into another mans Countrey to take poſſeſſion thereof, is firſt neceſſitated to conquer the fortreſſes placed upon the frontiers, for to goe forward, leaving ſuch places behinde, is no ſecure counſell, ſeeing thereby hee may bee prevented of his victuals, and ſuſtaine much prejudice otherwiſe, together with great diſturbance: Moreover, for a man to make himſelfe Maſter of the field, without reducing Cities and ſtrong places into his power, would bee to take a poſſeſſion with much labour for a few dayes, which being grounded upon no other forces then an army in the field, that being overthrowne, any other conqueſt done in what kinde ſoever, will conſequently fall to the ground; from whence it proceedes, that much time being conſumed for one fort, and great forces for the taking in of it, which often happen to faile in the attempt, the enterpriſes ſet on foote by moderne Princes, being incountered with theſe difficulties, cannot bee conducted to an end, neither with that facilitie nor celeritie which many of the Ancients accompliſhed without any ſuch impediments. And certainely, how is it poſſible to carry a full vouge of victory, being ſo often retarded by the difficulties which fortreſſes interpoſe? wherefore in the actions of thoſe Princes formerly mentioned, we may ſee evident examples. *Charles* the Emperour more then once undertooke warres againſt the King of *France* with mighty forces, as alſo great conceits and deſignes, which in

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in concluſion became all vaine, by reaſon of the incounter which hee found in ſtrong and well fortified Cities, ſo that with long labour and time hee could hardly get any one of them, by reaſon whereof it likewiſe happened, that though ſometimes his ſucceſſes in war were proſperous, they fell out not notwithſtanding to bee ſo retarded, that in a manner hee reaped no fruite thereby, or reall benefit; which appeares when after the expence of long time and much forces, conſumed about the fort of Saint *Deſire*, placed in the midſt of *France*, he being proſperouſly entered ſo farre, though he reduced the ſame into his power, yet he was neceſſitated to make accord with his enemy, finding his forces by reaſon of that conqueſt ſo much weakened, that hee could not then proſecute any other deſigne. The ſame, and for the like occaſion happened to the King of *France*, *Francis* the firſt, who having ſent the Dolphine his ſonne with a moſt potent army to the *Pyrenæan* mountaines, to the end that by thoſe reinforcements he might enter into *Spaine*, preſuming that it might ſucceed the more eaſily to him by reaſon of that ſuddain aſſault, and for having at the ſame time with other armies aſſaulted ſome of *Cæſars* States, but the Dolphine having in the beginning of his enterpriſe beleagered *Perpignano*, a fortreſſe placed upon thoſe frontiers, he incountered with ſo many difficulties, that this only affront was ſufficient to ſtop his forces, from entering farther. *Solyman* comming upon *Hungarie*, with a moſt potent armie to enter into *Auſtria*, he conſumed ſo much time in gaining the fort of *Breda*, that it proved the ſafety of that Territorie, and chiefly of the Citie of *Vienna*, where for that reſpect he arrived much the latter, by meanes of which delay, more time was given unto the defenders to provide and ſecure themſelves, which Citie being in it ſelfe ſtrong, may well bee ſaid that their aſſurance conſiſted not therein, but it was wholly preſerved both then and afterward, more then once by the forces of all *Auſtria*, and other Provinces of *Germany*. Likewiſe in the warre with the ſame *Solyman* moved againſt the *Venetians*, notwithſtanding that hee preſented himſelfe in perſon with mighty forces, both by ſea and land, his armie being repulſed from the fort of *Corfu*, which the *Turkes* attempted in vaine with greateſt furie, hee was conſtrained to raiſe his ſiege, where without the helpe and benefit of ſo ſtrong a fortification, conſequently upon ſo great preparations, the *Turke* had carried both the Iland of *Corfu*, and other places belonging to that State. By reaſon then of ſuch difficulties and occaſions, the enterpriſes performed by our moderne Princes prove farre inferiour both in glory and greatneſſe in the undertakings, then thoſe of the Ancients. As ſoone as *Alexander* overcame *Darius* in battle, the moſt potent King of *Perſia*, he readily made himſelfe maſter of his whole dominion, and penetrating farther into more remote Territories, as farre as the Ocean Sea, he found his way ſo open, that the difficultie was onely to overcome Rivers and maritine inlets, which Nature had given thereunto, whereupon thoſe who make mention of him, hardly ſpeake of two fortreſſes of importance, wherein among the *Indian* people, hee was any way inforced to ſpend much time, bravely to over-runne ſo ſpatious a Continent.

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tinent. But *Pompey* made such long journeys in the following of *Mithridates*, and placing in all places where he passed among so many Provinces of the East, so many trophies of his victories over the people brought in subjection by him, rather by command then fight, that it may well bee conceived, hee no where found impediment of fortresses, which could any way retard the course of his victorious armes. *Cæsar* undertooke somewhat a harder taske in his conquest of the *European* people, against whom he was to make warre, not so much for the qualitie of scituations, and fierceneſse of those people with whom hee incountered, as for a strong resistance made against him by fortified Cities; notwithstanding in the space of ten yeares he accomplished so many enterprises, that 300 people are reckoned up to have beene subdued by him. If then these so great Princes and most valorous Captaines, had incountered with such difficulties, as to spend moneths and yeares in the expugning of one onely fortresse, certainely their conquests would have become much lesse, and their glory farre inferiour to that which it arrived, which appeares manifestly by the examples also of other ages, whereby we may observe that so great progressions of warre, have chiefly beene effected in the Orientall parts, where in all times (considering the spatiousneſse of the Territorie) there have beene fewest fortresses in use: whereupon not onely *Alexander* the Great, and *Pompey* most famous Captaines beyond all others, but some *Romane* Emperours also, by meanes of their Generalls, in a short time subdued to the Empire large Territories. And in times of fresher date, by the same meanes *Selim Ottoman* conquered wholly the Empire of the *Soldane* of *Egypt*, for having in sundry battles the fortune of warre prosperous on his side, the whole Countrie subject to that dominion, being not strengthened with any fortresse, by all consequence must become a prey to the conquering *Turkes*, having command of the field. But such conquests as they are very easie, so ordinarily they are of small duration or assurance; by reason whereof, the *Roman* Emperours were not able to get dominion, of those extreame parts of the East, but that tumults were often raised either by the people themselves, or bordering Kings; so that they were inforced oftentimes to subdue the same Provinces. But notwithstanding that such difficulties to expugne fortresses, retarded the course of victories; so they ought not to diminish the commendation of our moderne Princes and Captaines; especially when their industrie and vertue in warre deserves the same, seeing that in the mannaging of such a warre, there is discovered great discipline, art, constancie, and tolleration. And as such conquests are more firme, and lesse subject to sundry accidents in the fortune, and change of warre, so it seemes that the few exploites done therein, may justly in respect of glory and praise, bee equalled with many of the former in ancient times, when such accidents and sundry respects have not concurred therein. But proceeding to examine other parts belonging to warfare, wee shall finde that by the diversitie of other

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affaires, diverſe effects have proceeded. Verily the invention of great Ordinance, as it is a matter new, ſo it may with good reaſon behold wonders, being beyond the ordinary uſe of all thoſe engines of warre, knowne or practiſed by the Ancients; I hold it very credible, that neceſſarily it hath made great alteration in the preſent exerciſe and practiſe of warre; and the inventions of fire workes are ſo farre increaſed in theſe our times, multiplyed and perfected in ſundry manners, that it may well be ſuppoſed; warres are now adayes managed, not with iron as was formely accuſtomed, but rather with fire. This then ſo formidable inſtrument of Artillerie, making ſo great and irreparable ſlaughter, is the occaſion wherefore Commanders proceed with more caution in joyning battle, ſeeking to prolong the warre, and reduce the enemie unto ſome neceſſitie, accuſtoming more art and leſſe hazard of fortune to bring their enterpriſes to an end with greater delay, but more ſecuritie; by reaſon whereof, wee ſee that in theſe times few battles are fought, wherein full armies incounter with their whole forces; whereupon it alſo proceedes from hence, that being not able ſo eaſily to roote out, or debilitate without much time the forces of thoſe who defend the Countrey invaded, which when it wants not convenient defence, ſmall progreſſion can bee made therein, except with time and induſtrie, more then open force, where likewiſe it ought to bee conſidered that the neceſſitie whereby now adayes armies are inforced to conduct with them great quantities of Artillerie, makes all their operations the more ſlow, without which they hold not themſelves well ſecured from the enemies annoyance, nor undertake any important enterpriſes, wanting thoſe inſtruments, whereof being deſtitute; they can neither take any Towne, nor place of importance. Let us now betake our ſelves ſomewhat to examine and conſider matters done by the Ancients; what long journeys did *Pompey* the great make in following of *Mithridates?* who certainely with his Armie over-runne ſo many Provinces, alwayes conquering and ſubjecting new Countries, that it might rather ſeeme a pleaſure to him who undertooke thoſe expeditions, then to make any warre. *Alexander* the Great when hee invaded *India*, cauſed his ſouldiers to leave behinde them ſuch booties as they tooke in *Perſia*, and all their bagage; who ſelecting his moſt nimble forces, hee therewith onely went forward to performe that tedious and difficult journey; for the accompliſhment whereof, ſuppoſing a few (but valorous ſouldiers) to bee ſufficient, hee ſent backe many of them, for in that age the maine of all affaires was onely decided by armes and vertue; whereupon thoſe Princes and Generalls of Armies, who found themſelves ſtrong and potent by a good diſcipline of warre, ſuch as were *Alexander*, and the *Romanes*, not finding neither impediment of fortreſſes, nor contradiction of any forces in vertue or experience equall to theirs, or any way inabled to withſtand their aſſaults, taking away with quicke diſpatch from thoſe Countries which

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which they invaded, all meanes of defence by the overthrowing of their Armies, wherein they repoſed all their greateſt ſecurity, they eaſily got dominion over them, both by the reputation which they gained to their owne forces, and the impreſſion of feare which tooke hold of their enemies, which hath left unto them none other more ſteadie refuge, one victory eaſily opened a way to another, by meanes whereof ſuch men might in ſhort time lay the foundation of the ſupreame Monarchie, which to this day amuzeth the whole world. Hereunto may bee added, that the moſt firme nerve of thoſe forces which the Ancients uſed, and made their armes the more proſperous, conſiſted wholly in the foote, which may with more eaſe and expedition turne to every part, and imploy themſelves for all ſtations, but another cuſtome being obſerved in the conduct of all great Armies, namely with their troopes, to aſſiſt and flanke their ſquadrons with a good number of horſe, ſome impediment falls out thereby, that they can neither begin nor proſecute any great enterpriſe, according to fitting opportunity, being for this cauſe obliged to reſpect opportune ſeaſons for the yeare, and the Countrey, together with other neceſſities, ſeeing horſes have neede of nutriment, which cannot be adminiſtred in all times and places. But ſeeing now the confines of the *Turkiſh* Empire are ſo farre ſeperated and diſtant, we may well hope, that other Potentates will be the more quiet and ſecure from their impreſſions, for this reſpect, that ſeeing his chiefeſt forces conſiſt in the abundance of horſe, maintained wholly in all thoſe Territories which hee hath conquered, chiefly from the *Chriſtians*, he cannot ſo eaſily and commodiouſly bring into the field his huge Armies, which may peradventure cauſe a doubt that this very conſideration may induce him the more diligently to apply himſelfe to ſea affaires. Hereunto is a matter worthy of no ſmall conſideration, the qualitie of times and Potentates, wherein a generous Prince deſirous of militarie glory, incounters; ſeeing if it ſo occurre that he is to make proofe of his armes and vertue, with another Prince equall or little inferiour to himſelfe in ſtate, valour, and militarie diſcipline, hee cannot hope with all his force to performe any remarkeable matter, ſeeing he ſhall finde a juſt counterpoiſe to his potencie, and valour, ſo that if he get ſome footing by his good ſucceſſe, hee cannot notwithſtanding bee well ſecured from incurring ſome contrary diſaſter, his corrivall and enemy being potent, though ſomewhat dejected. What did *Francis* King of *France* intermit, to gaine ſtate in *Italie*? how great Armies did hee conduct thither? what great heapes of treaſure did he ſpend? when was hee ever wearied or ſatisfied by imploying his whole time in armes? But becauſe *Charles* the fift Emperour was his Competitor, in whom their forces and vertue were equall, and a conſtant reſolution in the ſaid Emperour to keepe the *French* out of *Italie*, all the others indeavours became vaine, finding an extreame difficultie to get, and impoſſibilitie to make good his conqueſts, ſeeing the defence of that State was ſupported by Princes too great, which was the occaſion, that by reaſon of the reſiſtance which thoſe

two potent Princes made againſt each other, and their valour, which they well knew reſted in equall ballance, and they both having their eye upon the affaires of *Italie*, each of them laboured with great care and indeavour, to procure friendſhip and confederacie with the *Italian* Princes; and chiefly the *Venetian* Common-wealth, for ſeeing neither of them were able to effect in *Italie*, that they could there hold any ſtrong footing, their forces being weakened, by joyning with ſome other *Italian* Potentate, they hoped more eaſily to accompliſh, & chiefly in the States of *Savoy* and *Milane*. But in the end, they agreed upon a faire pacification, without any greater profit to either partie, having wearied out their forces of each ſide, though their hatreds and emulations were no way extinguiſhed, notwithſtanding that the felicitie of *Charles* the firſt, by an unexpected accident of the death of *Francis Sforza*, reduced all that State under his dominion. Finally from hence it hapned upon the like occaſion, that *Charles* and *Solyman* greatly fearing the forces of each other, they ſhunned all that might bee to come to blowes, and to hazard upon the uncertaine event of battles, that glory which they had obtained with ſo much labour. From hence it proceeded, that *Charles*, though a bold and valorous Prince, when his brother *Ferdinand* was hardly beſet in great dangers by the armes of *Solyman*, hee moſt unreaſonably reſolved to paſſe into *Africa*, for reſolving in himſelfe not to contend againſt the power of *Solyman*, he would manifeſt unto the world that he was not retained by labour or danger, for that he turned not his forces to the defence of *Hungaria* and *Auſtria*, then invaded by the *Turkes*, but becauſe he reputed the enterpriſe of *Africa* very requiſite, yet notwithſtanding when a greater neceſſitie ſhould ſo require, that they ſhould arme againſt each other, after that of each ſide moſt numerous armies were brought into the field, yet notwithſtanding they kept farre off from each other, both the feare and reſpect being alike, which one conceived of the others potencie and fortune, ſo that in the end ſo great a maſſe of men was diſſolved without of either ſide ſeeing the face of an enemie, ſeeing that *Caſar* would not conſent, that his Armie ſhould inlarge it ſelfe from the walles of *Vienna*, to hazard a day of battle, nor *Solyman* would not come forward to incounter him, though he publiquely affirmed at his departure from *Conſtantinople*, that he went to fight with *Charles* the Emperour within his owne doores; whereby it appeares, that the counter-ballance which they gave to each other, they being great Princes in neere paritie of yeares, held their armes reſtrained in certaine confines, which by reaſon of their valour, and other reſpects, were ſufficient to erect in ſundry remote Regions, more cleare trophies of victory.

Now contrarily let us examine the condition of thoſe times and Potentates, with whom thoſe ancient famous Captaines mannaged warr. *Alexander* found the Empire of *Perſia*, againſt which he proſperouſly performed his firſt expeditions, by the largeneſſe of dominion, very rich and potent, but deſtitute of good militarie diſcipline, and their forces commanded by Captaines of no experience or valour, which falls out to bee the condition of ſome other Kingdomes, it being the con-

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conſequence of long peace and ſecuritie, by reaſon whereof he going beyond the *Perſians*, both in practiſe of warre and vertue, though they farre exceeded him in numbers, a man may well ſay, that in actions of warre, he was farre their ſuperiour, and for that cauſe, willingly imbraced all occaſions to joyne battle with them: and concerning thoſe Princes and Orientall people, after he had conquered them, no man can bee ignorant how unwarlike and weake they were in themſelves, being not in league together for common defence, nor ſupported by fortreſſes, or the nerve of ordinary warlike diſcipline, ſo that it ſeemes the greater commendation of ſuch victories, ought to be attributed unto *Alexander* for his exceeding generoſitie of minde, for undertaking hazardous enterpriſes in deſert Countries, and in a manner unknowne; overcomming by meanes of his valour ſuch difficulties, and finiſhing them gloriouſly. Likewiſe the ſame may bee obſerved of *Pompey* in his Orientall conqueſts: True it is, that the exploites done by *Cæſar* in *France* and *Spaine*, were in themſelves ſubject to ſome more difficultie, ſeeing hee incountered with people of more warlike diſpoſitions in the managing of their armes, and formerly held unconquerable, which was the occaſion hee conſumed the more time; notwithſtanding thoſe Provinces were divided under the ſubjection of many Kings, and ſundry people, ſo that none of himſelfe was very potent, nor well ſecured to receive helpe from others, (ſeeing ſuch forces are never of the like vertue as a mans owne) ſo that they could not reſiſt an Armie of old ſouldiers, excellently well diſciplined, like to that which *Cæſar* commanded; whereby it ſeemes a man may with good reaſon conclude, that if theſe famous Captaines had incountered with other Armies, potent and valorous to equall them, ſupported by the conduct, experience, and vertue of great Commanders, certainely the fame of their remembrance would have beene farre leſſe remarkeable; neither could they have ſubdued ſuch large Territories, and erect their Trophies of victory in ſo many Regions as they did. But peradventure among theſe conſiderations, it will be held reaſonable not to contemne the art and meanes which thoſe valorous Ancients accuſtomed, beſides their practiſe of warre, to open the way more eaſily unto large conqueſts, and greater glory, ſeeing that whoſoever ſhall conſider their deedes, may thereby take notice by the evident examples, which they produced of ſuch a fervent deſire of glory and commendation in them, that it verily ſeemes, they onely propounded the fame as a reward of their labours and dangers, and the end of their enterpriſes; whereupon they have left ſo many noble examples, not onely of military valour, but of equitie, clemencie, temperance, & other egregious remarkeable vertues, which greatly availed them to gaine the favour of the people, together with the affection and benevolence of ſundry of thoſe Princes whom they conquered. In teſtimony whereof, it is writtten of *Alexander*, that he in *India* confirmed and increaſed the dominion of many Kings whom he had conquered, who being contented to receive from them obedience and ſupply of thoſe things, which were neceſſarie for his journey, he made it appeare that he aſpired rather unto the glory

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of new conqueſts, then for any benefit he intended to reape thereby. But *Pompey* not as a victorious Captaine in warre, but rather like a friend and arbitrator, compounded the differences among thoſe Orientall people, eſtabliſhing the Ancient Princes in their dominions, and to others who merited the ſame, he gave new States, ſo that from his liberalitie, *Furnaces* King of *Boſpherus* acknowledged his Kingdome; *Antiocus* of *Seleucia*, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Ariobarzanes* of *Cappadocia*, *Deictaurus* of *Gallitia*, reducing all thoſe Countries into Provinces, making them immediatly ſubject unto the Senate and people of *Rome*, finding them deſtitute of lawfull Princes; as it happened to *Syria*, *Iudea*, and other Regions. By ſuch kinde of honourable proceedings, it was occaſioned that many people and Princes, willingly obeyed the Empire of *Alexander*, and the *Romanes*; whereupon *Darius* being overcome by him, who admired his rare continencie and humanitie, hee prayed the Gods to grant unto him the greatneſſe and ſucceſſion of the Kings of *Perſia*, when it was deſtinated that the Empire thereof ſhould fall to the ground. And of the like heroicall examples performed by the *Romanes*, hiſtories are fully repleniſhed. But now adayes it ſeemes that Princes and Captaines take little care to imitate them, raiſing warres not for deſire of glory, as thoſe magnanimous famous perſonages have done, but with intention to ſatisfie ſome revenge with all cruelty, or in ſuch ſort to appropriate unto themſelves alone, the whole benefit of the victory; that they leave nothing ſafe or entire to the Inhabitants: whereupon it followeth, that whoſoever feareth theſe extreame evils, being enforced by deſperation, is reſolved to trie the utmoſt proofe of his forces, before he will put himſelf in the power or diſcretion of thoſe, whom he evidently ſeeth will bee his utter ruine. By which manner of proceedings, enterpriſes become the more ſlow, and every conqueſt difficult, ſo that this immoderate cupiditie for a man to attract unto himſelfe alone all the benefit, producing effects contrary to the intention; holds more reſtrained the confines of their dominion, and hereby that note of glory diminiſhed; whereunto they make ſhow ſo much to aſpire. If then our Princes and Captaines will follow the wayes of the Ancients, they ſhall finde juſtice, clemencie, and a moderate government, more ſtrong and ſecure engines to expugne fortreſſes, then peradventure thoſe are which now adayes they put in practiſe; and if there be not defective in them true reall vertues, there will appeare in their ſouldiers, valour and diſcipline to performe great enterpriſes, and to advance their names unto ſo ſublime a pitch of true glory, illuſtrating themſelves and their age, that every way they may bee equalled to the famous and extolled Captaines among the Ancients.

SECT. II.

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SECT. II.

Of Bozius his preferring the valour of Christian Captaines above that of the Ancients before Christ.

NOw becauſe the aſcribing of ſo incomparable valour to the Ancients before Chriſt, ſeemes not a little to derogate from the Chriſtian religion as if it yeelded none but cowards in compariſon of them, it ſhall not perchance bee amiſſ, to this diſcourſe of *Paruta*, to annex that of *Bozius*, taken out of his booke, *de robore bellico adverſus Machiavellum*; wherein he hath many chapters to this purpoſe, as namely, that the Chriſtians, or as hee calls them the Catholiques, have ſubdued many nations, whom the moſt warlike people in former times could not ſubdue, *cap.* 4. That the Chriſtians have enlarged the bounds of their territories by armes, beyond any of the *Pagans*, *cap.* 5. That they have preſerved, and by armes defended their conquered Empires, longer then the *Pagans*; *cap.* 6. But that which I intend eſpecially to inſiſt upon is, *cap.* 7. Where hee enters a compariſon betwixt the ancient Commanders in the warrs before Chriſt, with thoſe who have ſince embraced the Chriſtian religion, proving theſe latter to bee in militarie valour nothing inferiour but rather ſuperiour to the former; but let us heare himſelfe ſpeake;

Theſe things will yet be made more cleare, if wee caſt our eyes about upon the coaſts of Chriſtian Nations, and call to minde the ancient acts of the *Grecians*, the *French*, the *Italians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Portugalls*, the *Brittaines*, the *Germans*, the *Bohemians*, the *Hungarians* and the *Polonians*; in aſmuch as we ſhall not find, that ſince the worlds creation by the ſpace of 4000 yeares and more, ſo many valiant and politique Commanders in the warrs, to have riſen in theſe Nations, as have done ſince that time only they embraced the Chriſtian religion. For whom I pray you, can the ancient *Spaniards* oppoſe, to ſo many *Alphonſi* and *Ferdinandi* Kings? whom to that renowned *Cidus*, *Conſalvus* the great, *Petrus Navarra*, *Antonius Leva*, or *Ferdinando Duke* of *Alba*? Or whom can the ancient *Portugalls* oppoſe to ſo many *Henries* and *Alphonſi* Kings, or to *Vaſquius Gama* and *Alphonſo Alburqueio Captaines*? What ſhould I ſpeake of the *French*; hath antiquity any to compare with *Clodoveus*, *Dagobertus*, *Pippin*, *Charle-maigne*, *Robert*, *Philippus Auguſtus*, *Henrie* the ſecond, or *Charles* and *Robert* of *Naples*, or *Godfrey* King of *Hieruſalem*? Neither neede wee heere to ſtand reciting the names of ſuch Captaines, as *Carolus Martellus* the father of *Pippin*, and others of principall ranke; but this is certaine that foraſmuch as belongeth to the *Brittaines* and *Scots*, before they embraced the Chriſtian religion, there was none among them who was any way famous for militarie affaires; except we will hearken to fabulous reports; And for the *Germane* antiquity; whom hath it to compare with their *Othoes*, *Henries*, *Lotharij*, *Conradi*, *Frederici*, *Caroli*, *Rodulphi*, *Maximiliani*, *Ludovici*? Now for *Bohemia*, whom will it compare to their *Otthocari*, *Boleſlai*, *Wenceſlai*? Nei-

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ther need wee make any ſpeech of the *Polonians* and *Hungarians*, inaſmuch as their names were hardly knowne to the Ancients; but ſince they were Chriſtians, how renowned have their *Geyſas*, *Stephanus primus*, *Ludovicus primus*, *Mathias Corvinus* bin in *Hungarie*? What brave men in *Polonia* have bin the *Caſimiri*, *Boleſlai Vladiſlaus primus* and *Stephanus Battorius*?

But ſhall wee paſſe over *Norwey* and *Denmarke*? from whence came the *Normans*, who not only conquered *England* and *France*, ſince they ſubmitted themſelves to the yoake of *Chriſt*, but beating the *Grecians* and *Saracens* out of *Scicilie* and *Naples*, ſubdued the Kings of *Tunis* in *Africa*, and many citties in *Greece*; And for a long tyme did many valiant acts, ſetting up in *Italie* the moſt noble kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicilie*; as *Sigonius* in his books *de regno Italiæ* hath at larg reported it. Why ſhould I ſpeake of the *Normans* invading *Antiochia*, and taking to themſelves the principalitie of that dominion in the Eaſt, and their defending of it for a long tyme againſt moſt warlike Nations? Was not that *Margaret*, of the *Daniſh* bloud who led armies and gained to her ſelfe foure kingdomes? Was not *Canutus* the great likewiſe a *Dane*, who joyned togeather *Brittaine*, *Denmarke*, *Norway*, *Gothland*, *Sweden* under one goverment? And why ſhould wee paſſ over in ſilence the *Goths* and the *Swedes*? from whom iſſued thoſe Commanders whoſe royall bloud hath bin derived downeward even to our age, who atcheived ſo great conqueſts againſt the *Mahometanes* in *Spaine*, as we have ſhewed in *the ſigne of the happy proſperitie of the Catholique Church*, & by whoſe conduct a way was opened both to the eaſt and weſt *Indies*.

But happily ſome one will ſay, that *Italie*, or *Greece* never yeelded ſince they were Chriſtian, any Commanders, matchable with the ancient *Roman* leaders or with *Alexander* the great; and yet I know not why wee ſhould not preſume to ſet in the ſcale againſt him, *Belliſarius* or *Mauritius*, or *Baſilius* the *Macedonian*, for that *Alexander* waged warre with effeminate *Nations*, but *Belliſarius* with the *Vandalls* in *Africke*, the *Goths* in *Italie*, the *Sclavonians* in *Dacia*, *Meſia*, and *Illyrium*, with the *Perſians* in *Aſia*, all warlike people; whom hee vanquiſhed by fine force, though he led but ſmall forces in compariſon, but becauſe it was not his hap to have ſuch writers of his atcheivements, as *Alexander* had, nor had the ſoveraignty of goverment, therefore is his name more obſcure, though there were wanting in him nothing which belongs to the office and the commendation of the beſt Commanders. *Mauritius* likewiſe ſubdued *Perſia*, and after moſt noble conqueſts obtained, he tooke into his hands the reines of the *Orientall Empire*, *Africk* and *Italie*; neither wanted hee any thing required to the glory of a moſt excellent Generall; which may likewiſe not undeſervedly bee affirmed of *Baſilius* the *Macedonian*. And ſo much touching the *Grecians*.

Now for the *Italians*, it may perchance be truly ſaid, that in military powre and policie they declined ſince the *Empire* of *Auguſtus*, or the age of *Conſtantine*; yet *Matheus Palmerius*, in his *Chronicle* hath well obſerved, that *Italy* ſince about 200 yeares laſt paſt hath afforded ſingular Commanders in military affaires among theſe were *Attendolus Cotignola*

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or *Sfortia*, *Braccius Earle* of *Monton*, *Nicolaus Piccininus*, *Franciscus Sfortia*, *Philippus Scholarius* a *Florentine*, who being made Generall by *Sigismund* the *Emperour* of his forces, in twenty battles at severall times utterly vanquished the *Sarmatians*, and *Turks*, rushing in upon the Christians. To whom may bee added *Iacobus Piccininus*, *Guidantonius*, and *Fredericus Dukes* of *Vrbin*; *Dominicus Maletesta*, *Bartholomæus Coleo*, *Hercules Estensis Dukes* of *Ferraria*, *Robertus Severinus*, *Franciscus Maria Ruerius*, *Marcus Antonius*, *Prosperus Pompeius Columna*, *Alphonsius Davalus*, *Ferdinandus Gonzaga*, *Emanuell Philibertus Dukes* of *Savoy*, *Alexander Farnesius Prince* of *Parma*, *qui sanè priscis nulla re cedant*, who need not in any thing yeeld to the Ancients. But shall we here passe over in silence the *Vrsini*, the *Vitelli*, the *Baleoni*, the *Vicecomites*; or forget *Farinata Vbertus*, *Martinus Turrianus*, *Vguccio Fagiolanus*, *Castruccio Castracanis*, *Albericus Balbianus*, *Franciscus Bussonius Carmagnola*, *Gatumelata*, *Iulianus & Iohannes* of the house of *Medices*, *Bartholomæus Livianus*, *Iacobus Trivultius*, *Franciscus Gonzaga*, *Pyrrhus Stipicianus*; but here is the difference betwixt the ancients and ours, that the former had many faire occasions offered them to shew their valour and excellent writers, to commend their names to posterity; both which have bin wanting to the latter: *Cæsar* himselfe was well stricken in yeers, before hee was of any great account; becausе noe great occasion was offered for the making of his valour knowne to the world: but in the space of his last sixteen yeares, hee had notable occasions presented for shewing the same, which hee nobly performed, and had not these occasions bin presented nnto him, wee should have heard little of his name at this day; and that which herein wee affirme of *Cæsar*, may as truly bee verified of the rest; so as the *Italians* of this our age, or that before us, whom we have named, are not therefore to bee sleighted or lesse esteemed of us then the most renowned among the ancient *Romans*, because they did not so many and great acts, for had they fallen upon the like tymes, and encountred the like occasions, there is litle question but they would have performed as noble Acts. From hence it is that for the space of 500 yeares after the foundation of *Rome*, noe leader ever did more memorable things; then thosewhose names have bin by us recorded, & many others who might easily be named, since the driving out of the *Longobards* by *Charlemaigne*, for how could the commonwealth of the *Venetians* and *Genowayes* arise to soe high a pitch in so short a time, had they not abounded in most valiant men and most expert in warlike affayres; Wee see their Empire greater then was that of the *Romans* in their first 500 yeares; neither were either *Venice* or *Genoa* ever taken by their enimies, as was *Rome* by the *Gaules*. And for *Genoa*, amongst others it may well boast of these leaders, *Gulielmus Embriacus* who beside many other memorable acts tooke *Cæsarea* in *Palestina*; *Assaldus* and *Hugo* who sacked *Biblium*, as on the other side, *Assaldus Auria*, *Vbertus Turrius*, *Philippus Longus*, *Assaldus Piso*, and *Baldwinus Ingo* who recovered *Almeria* and *Derthusia* in *Spaine* from the *Saracens*; *Simon Vignotius*, joyned *Chios* and *Phocæa* to the dominion of the *Genowayes*; *Petrus Fulgosius* made *Cyprus* tributarie, *Renatus Grimaldus* tooke *Theodosia* scituate in the lake *Mæotis*; *Alphonsus*

Carretus

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Carretus Corſica; *Philippus Auria Calcis* in *Greece*, and *Tripolis* in *Africk*; *Raphael Adornius Meninga*; *Petrus Spinola Naxos* and *Andros* in the *Ægean* ſea, to ſay nothing of *Antonius* and *Andreas Auria*, with many others of this our age. And for the *Venetians* what ſhall we ſay of them? ſurely we ſhall be forced to paſſe over their valiant acts in ſilence, ſince in a few words they cannot bee unfolded, *Non minus igitur Itali nunc fortes, quàm fuerunt in temporibus ullis priſcis*, ſo as wee may ſafely affirme and truely conclude, That the *Italians* are now no leſſe valiant then in former ages; *ſed noſtris ſcilicet non eadem quæ illis adfuerunt facultates*, but here is the only difference that our men have wanted thoſe faire occaſions and meanes which were preſented unto them.

Now ſince mention is heere made of the *Genowayes* and *Venetians*, if wee ſhould affirme that they excell all the Ancients in navall affayres, we could not bee juſtly blameable; And if any man ſhall bee diſpoſed to defend the contrary, let him produce unto mee out of all antiquity, any one matchable with *Chriſtopborus Columbus* a *Genowaye*, or with *Marcus Paulus*, *Nicolaus* and *Zenus* and *Alloiſius Muſtus Venetians* who were not only expert in the art of navigation, but both in land and ſea fights. And for *Columbus*, hee not only opened a paſſage to the weſt *Indies*, which hee left to poſterity, but fought many battells. And for *Marcus Paulus* hee travailed thorough all thoſe vaſt regions, from the utmoſt part of *China* even to the *Perſian* gulph, curiouſly noting all that was to bee obſerved. *Nicolaus* paſſed thorough all the *Northerne* countries, and *Muſtus* thorough the ſoutherne even to the equinoctiall circle, in which ſpace, many barbarous people were to bee ſubdued by every one of them. And both theſe commonweales are of that condition, as neither in *Italie* nor any where elſe hath any bin knowne, which hath poſeſſed ſo large, & ſo long a dominion, in ſo great libertie. The *Roman* indeed extended farther, but laſted not ſo long after the expulſion of their kings; ſhe could not defend her liberty above 500 yeares or therabout, whereas theſe have defended theirs much longer, ſpecially the venetian. The excellency of which commonwealth in maritine affaires, ſpecially for warlike uſe, may bee ſeene in their *Arcenall*, *cui nunquam fuit aut eſt ſimilis in terris*, whereunto their neither hath bin nor is any thing in the world in that kinde comparable; it may likewiſe bee ſeen in their diverſe formes of ſhips, invented for more commodious ſea-fights.

But that we may decide this controverſy in a word, we are to know, that as the Ancients had their *Cæſar*, and *Alexander* the great: ſo have wee had three *Greats*, not in name only but in deed, ſuch as were *Conſtantine* the great, *Theodoſius* the great, and *Charles* the great; inſomuch as *Themiſtius* the *Philoſopher* although hee were no Chriſtian in profeſſion yet conſtantly affirmes, and makes it evident by many and ſtronge arguments, that *Theodoſius* excelled *Alexander* both in power and warlike policie. And I pray why ſhould our age ſtrike ſayle to the Ancients, ſithence they have performed no leſſ worthy acts then either *Cæſar* or *Alexander*? our *Charles* the 5. yeelding to neither of them. For why ſhould we ranke him behind any King, or Emperour, or Captaine? did

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did he not reduce all *Germany* and the moſt warlike *Princes* thereof under his owne power? did hee not bring under all the chiefe citties of *Italy*, *Venice* only excepted? did he not ſuppreſſ the rebellious *Spaniards*? did hee not take captive and keep priſoner the moſt couragious *Francis* King of *France*? did hee not force *Solyman*, invading *Germany* with a moſt powerfull army to retire for feare? did hee not take poſſeſſion of the Kingdomes of *Tunis* and ſome others, putting to flight the great armies of the *Moores*, the *Numidians*, the *Lybians* and the *Turks*? and beſides, did he not worke wonders in the weſt *Indies* by the hand of *Franciſcus Pizarrus*, and *Ferdinandus Corteſius*, and in the eaſt *Indies* by *Magellanus*, who ſayled round about the world, and layd it open not only by his maritine diſcipline, but by many battells happily fought with many Nations? *Quis igitur Carolo quinto æqualis in bellicis rebus?* whom then among the ancients ſhall we match with *Charles* the 5. for warlike affayres? As for *Alexander*, hee fought with the *Aſiaticks*, tender and effeminate Nations. And *Cæſar* with the *Gaules* who indeed were of a feirce diſpoſition, but rude in militarie matters; but for *Charles* the fifth, hee was to incounter with the moſt warlike *Germanes*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Turks*, *Africans*, and ſo largely extended his Empire, as none ever did the like. Neither could the Ancients by inventing fables to ſet forth the honor of their worthies, ever arrive to his height; that ſame *Hercules* placed among the Gods is highly commended, that hee touched upon the confines of *Spaine*, and ſet up pillars there with *Non ultra*, ingraven upon them; but *Charles* the fifth, how farre went hee beyond him?

And if we ſhould ſpeak of *Alphonſus Alburqueſius*, or *Ferdinandus Corteſius*, all the Ancients will be in no repute with vs, if wee ſhould compare their acts together. As for *Corteſius*, being followed but with one thouſand *Spaniards*, hee aſſaulted and tooke in many Provinces in the weſt *Indies*, together with innumerable cities, & thoſe of no ſmall note. Neither had hee to doe with unarmed and weake, but with ſtrong and valiant men. Many citties well fortified both by nature and art were to bee taken by him; many leagues were to bee made with ſome people againſt others; it had bin otherwiſe impoſſible to goe thorough ſo great matters with ſo ſmall forces; yet with thoſe did hee fight againſt a 100000 armed men. Finally within the compaſſe of a few yeares, he brought under his power ſo ſpacious countries, abounding in all kinde of riches, that he almoſt equalled all that *Alexander* the great conquered. But now for *Alphonſus Alburqueſius*, having ſcarce a thouſand men under his command, he vanquiſhed many cities of *Arabia*; together with the kingdome of *Ormus*, to which many regions both in *Arabia* and *Perſia* are ſubject; he alſo brought under the regions of *Goa*, together with the citties and *Ilands* adjoyning thereunto; and with an incredible boldnes marching thorough even to *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, he ſubdued the goodly Kingdome of *Malacha*; thus running thorough in a victorious manner, as large a tract of ground in longitude, though not perchance in latitude, as did *Alexander* with his Captaines. And beſides hee waged battell with thoſe very *Perſians* and *Indians* whom *Alexander*

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der did; for *Ormus* is a citie and *Iland* in the *Perſian* gulph; In which regard *Iſmael*, the moſt powerfull *Sophie* of *Perſia*, had *Allburqueſius* alwayes in great account and reputation; ſending him an honorable embaſſie & rich preſents. Now theſe two Captaines *Corteſius* and *Allburqueſius*, as they commanded very few ſouldiers in all their expeditions: ſo had they none or very little aſſiſtance from any friends; many unknowne countries were to bee marched thorough by them, many diſcords among their owne followers to bee compoſed; and laſtly many treacheries of their enimies to bee prevented. The acts of *Allburqueſius*, *Hieroxymus Oſorius*, *Lopezius* and *Petrus Maffeius* have committed to writing; and the acts of *Corteſius*, another *Lopezius* and ſome others have publiſhed, whoſe writings are to bee found among the books of the *Indian* navigations. And our purpoſe beeing here to ſpeake of famous leaders in the warrs, wee might deſervedly add unto theſe already named *Johannes Hunniades* and *George Caſtriot* the *Epyrote*, whoſe famous acts ſeeme to exceed all humane beleife, having few or none of the Ancients, unleſſe wee will hearken to fabulous reports, who may juſtly bee compared with them.

SECT. 12.

Of ſome excellent Princes of this latter age, not to bee matched with any in ancient times.

I Will conclude this chapter with the compariſon of ſome few Princes of this latter age, with thoſe of former times; neither need wee ſeeke farre for examples in this kinde, our owne countrey and the very age wherein wee live, hath afforded 3. ſuch, immediately in a manner ſucceeding each other (only one comming betweene, who raigned but a ſhort time) as I thinke no kingdome in the world, ſince the firſt creation thereof, can afford us the like: *Edward* the 6 I meane, *Queene Elizabeth*, and *King Iames*; rare I confeſſe in ſeverall kindes, and yet againe in thoſe ſeverall kinds, all of them ſo rare even to admiration, as whatſoever ſhall be ſpoken or written of them, will be found to bee ſhort of their juſt deſert. I will take a veiw of them in their order; *Edward* the 6. being ſcarce ten yeares old ſucceeded his father, and dyed in his ſeventeenth yeare, yet in this tender age of his, did hee ſhew ſuch ſparks of all royall vertues, as it aſtoniſhed all that knew him. Hee was borne with the death of his mother, from whence was made this *Epitaph* upon her.

Phœnix Iana jacet, nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duos:

Which was not more poetically then truly written; hee being, conſidering his yeares, an admirable Preſident for all ages, of piety, learning, clemency, magnanimity, wiſdome, and care in governing his people. Hee ſpake *French* perfectly, could declaime in latine *ex tempore*, and that

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that without any ſticking or ſtammering, hee underſtood *Greeke*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, a flowing kinde of eloquence hee had, yet grave and polite, ſuch as became a Prince, alwayes meaſuring his words by the things hee ſpake of. Hee was ſo inclinable to mercy and pitty, but ſpeciall in capitall puniſhments, that when *Ioane Butcher* a blaphemous heretique was to bee burnt, and a warrant for the doing thereof to bee ſigned with the kings hand, his Counſailors being not able to perſwade him thereunto, they ſent to him *Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* his Godfather, to deale privately with him for his ſubſcription, yet the King remained conſtant and immoveable in his reſolution; affirming that hee would not ſend her headlong to Hell, that heretiques for the moſt part had in them a ſpice of madneſſe, and that they were to bee reduced to their right wits, by chaſtiſement and tract of tyme; but being at laſt overcome by the Archbiſhops importunity, he profeſſed that he would before God, lay the blame of that ſubſcription upon the Archbiſhop.

Hee was much delighted with all kind of militarie exerciſes, as wraſtling, running, riding, ſhooting, inſomuch as hee often inſtituted games of theſe among his ſervants, propoſing prizes and rewards to the conquerour, nay himſelfe in riding and ſhooting would often contend with them in perſon. Nothing in his time was done in the wars abroad, but hee would bee thoroughly informed thereof, curiouſly inquiring by what art on the one ſide, or error on the other, ſuch or ſuch events fell out. Hee was likewiſe well skilled in fortifications, all the haven townes of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland* and *France* hee could readily deſcribe, how they were ſcituated; their houres of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, what ſhips and how many they were capable of, and with what windes they were to bee entred.

Neither was hee leſſe skilfull in affayres of peace; he was often converſant amongſt his Counſailors, and well underſtood what they did, and upon what grounds they proceeded; when it came to a queſtion, hee would diſpute againſt their reaſons, and propoſe his owne in ſo ſolid a manner, that at laſt they decreed; that nothing of moment ſhould bee diſcuſſed among them but in his preſence; where hee ſo artificially recollected their opinions and ſpeeches, that he ſeemed rather willing to diſpatch the buſines with judgement, then to involue it with nice diſtinctions. Hee often anſwered the Embaſſadors of forraine Princes *extempore*, replying to the ſeverall heads of their ſpeeches methodically and fully, both to the great delight & amazement of his hearers. In imitation of *Iulius Cæſar*, hee wrote with his owne hand, Commentaries of all the principall matters which paſſed in his Kingdome during his raigne; which lately remained in the keeping of Sr *Robert Cotton*, that great treaſurer of ancient monuments.

A moſt diligent frequentor of Sermons hee was, theſe he noted in greeke characters, that his ſervants might not eaſily know what hee moſt obſerved; and when not long before his death, *Ridley* Biſhop

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of *London*, in a sermon before him highly commended works of charity, the King applying it to himselfe, the same day sent for him, and in his gallerie calling for a chaire caused him to set downe, neither would hee suffer him to bee uncovered, but giving him thanks, and repeating the principall heads of his sermon, withall hee added, I perceive that your speech was specially directed unto mee, whom God hath set in the most eminent place, and upon whom of his goodnes hee hath conferred the greatest ability; and as I am next unto God and under God in power, so should I likewise bee in goodnes, and therefore as you exhorted mee in generall, so I pray assist mee with your particular directions and counsaile, that so both your exhortation may take the better effect, and my selfe bee not found defective in the performance of my duty. Whereunto when the Bishop had answered how hee conceived that busines more properly to belong to the citizens of *London*, the King would not suffer him to depart, before hee had receaved letters to that purpose to the *Lord major* of that citty, and others Commissioners for the happy and speedy effecting of that busines: whereupon they divided the poore into 3 ranks, by *Impotency*, in which they placed Infants, Orphans, decrepite old men, lame, blinde and the like; by *Casualty*, as maymed souldiers, such as had bin undon by shipwrack, or fire, sick persons and the like; or lastly by idlenes wilfull *Luxurie* and prodigality; The first ranke of these they agreed were to bee maintained and nourished; the second to bee cured and releeved; the third to bee corrected, and by that meanes if it might bee, brought to some better passe. For the first of these the King gave to the citty the Church of the *Franciscans* with all the revenues belonging thereunto; for the second, the hospitall of S. *Bartholomew*; for the third his house of *Bridewell*, the ancient seat of many of our Kings, not long before repaired and furnished by his father, that it might serve as a lodging for that great Emperour *Charles* the fifth. And for the better maintenance of these places and the farther increase thereof, together with the hospitall of S. *Thomas* in *Southwarke* lately reedified, hee bestowed upon them out of the rents of the hospitall of S. *John Baptist*, commonly called the *Savoy*, seven hundred & fifty marks yearly; together with the bedding and houshold stuff belonging to that place; And when the Charter of this donation was presented unto him, together with a blanke for the summe of revenues in land afterwards, to bee conferred upon them without the farther purchase of any mortmaine, the King with his owne hand filled up the vacant space with these words, 400 marks yearely; Which being ended, with a reverent voice and gesture hee gave humble thanks unto God, that hee had spared his life so long as to see that worke finished. And thus was hee entitled to the foundation of three charitable works, which by some addition since have become the most famous in *Europe*.

Now

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Now for his learning wee need goe no farther then the testimony of *Cardan* that great *Italian* Philosopher, Hee was, saith hee, skilfull in logick, naturall philosophie and musicke; and for astronomie, I my selfe had some tryall of him when most learnedly hee disputed with mee of the cause and motion of comets; as touching humanity, hee is the very patterne of manners, and the sampler of royall majesty, in a word hee seems to bee the miracle of nature. Neither doe I herein use *Rhetoricall amplifications*, *Res ipsa longè omnibus quæ dixerim major est*, the truth it selfe is a great deale more then I can utter. A part of *Cardans* owne words in latin are these; *Ex ungue leonem ut dici solet. fuit hic in maxima omnium, aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione, ob ingenuitatem atque suavitatem morum; prius caperat favere artibus quàm nosceret, & noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non solum Anglia sed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. O quàm bene dixerat ille.* *De genituris.*

Immodicis brevis est ætas & rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit non exemplum; ubi gravitas regia requirebatur, senem vidisses; ubi blandus erat & comis, ætatem referebat. So as that of *Peter Martyr*, in his first oration held at *Tigurum*, when hee succeeded into the place of *Conradus Pellicanus*, seemes not to have bin a fiction but agreable to truth, *Obiit Edvardus ille sanctissimus rex: quo adolescente nescio an soli doctiorem pro ætate atque prudentiorem usquam viderit*, that most holy King *Edward* saith hee, is dead, and I doubt whither the Sunne ever saw a more learned for his age or a more sanctifyed and wise young Prince. With which accords that of our *Hooker* a judicious writer, and voyde of flatterie, who speaking of King *Henry* the eight, hee thus goes on, The sonne and successour of which famous King, saith hee, as wee know was *Edward* the Saint; in whome (for so by the event wee may gather) it pleased God righteous and just to let *England* see, what a blessing sinne and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy; howbeit that which the *Wise man* hath said concerning *Enoch*, the same to that admirable childe most worthily may bee applyed, Though hee departed this world soone; yet fulfilled hee much tyme as wee may justly take up that of *Iosephus Iscanus* concerning him, which the Author wrote of King *Arthur*.

Prisca parem nescit; æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies; reges supereminet omnes;
Solus prateritis melior, majorque futuris.

As this *Edward* was the jewell and myrror of Princes for his age, so was *Elizabeth* his sister and next successour save one, for her sex; A Prince saith our *Camden* of a masculine spirit and gravitie in counsell beyond her sex; of a cleare wit, a happy memorie, and of study in good learning indefatigable; before the age of 17 yeares she was well skilled in *Latine*, *French*, and *Italian*, and in the *Greeke*, indifferent well *In Appar: annal p. 9.*

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neither did shee neglect musick, both singing and playing on instruments very sweetly and artificially, for somuch as became a Prince; with *Roger Askam*, who governed her studies, she read over *Melanchons* common places, *Cicero* entire, a great part of *Livies* history, some select orations of *Isocrates*, (whereof two shee translated into latin) *Sophocles tragedies*, and the new testament in Greeke; by which meanes, shee both furnished her speech with elegant language, and her minde with wholsome precepts, referring her learning rather to practise and conversation, then ostentation and pompe, yet was shee in a manner for learning a miracle among the Princes of her age. In one and the same day she answered three Embassadors of great Princes, the one in latine, the other in *French*, and the third in *Italian*. Shee had so great a command over her appetite, that her brother *Edward* usually called her by no other name, but his sweet sister *Temperance*; shee was so farre from pressing her subjects with impositions, that when the Parliament once offered her a great summe of money, shee refused a great part thereof, giving them thanks, and adding withall, that the money was as sure in her subjects coffers as in her owne.

Gasp. Ens in hist. Belg. tom. 4. lib. 8.

Camden ut supra.

Bizar: hist. Genuens. pag. 568.

So great was her clemency, that to use the words of an *Italian* and a Pontifician, the same might bee verifyed of her which was spoken of *Alexander Mammaa*, *That her raigne was Anamaton unbloudie*. When once she was conferring with that great Divine, Doctour *Reynolds*, touching such books as were fittest for Princes to reade, among other things she said, That shee had profited much by the reading of *Senecaes* booke *de clementia*, though some thought that therein shee had prejudiced her kingdome.

Joh. Speed.

Camd. Annal. an. 1577.

Her wisedome was so rare and policie in goverment, that shee sate as an arbitratour betweene the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the states of the *Netherlands*; posterity will hardly beleeve, saith her Annalist, and yet I speake nothing but truth, That a virgin by the space of 44 yeares, so swayed the scepter, that her subjects loved her, her enimies feared her, and all men admired her, *Quod retroactis ante temporibus non habet exemplum*, such an example as former ages cannot paralell. But let us heare, if you please, the testimony of a most learned King touching so great a Queene; Now swayeth the scepter saith hee *England* a lawfull *Queene*, who by the space of so many yeares hath raigned with so much wisedome and happines, that sincerely and ingenuously I confesse, since the raigne of *Augustus* the *Emperour*, we have read or heard of nothing comparable thereunto. The same most excellent King, having succeeded her in this crowne, erected a royall monument with this Epitaph to her memory, such a one I thinke, as wee shall hardly read of, bestowed upon any Prince; yet some things might have bin added thereunto, it being certainly short of her worth.

Id in Surry.

Basilicon dorom. præf.

SACRED

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SACRED TO MEMORIE.

RELIGION to its primitive ſinceritie reſtored, peace ſetled, money to its juſt value reduced, domeſticke rebellion extinguiſhed, France ready to periſh by inteſtine warrs releeved, the Netherlands *aſsiſted, the* Spaniſh Armado *put to flight*, Ireland *by vanquiſhing the* Spaniards *and the Iriſh rebells quieted, the revenues of both the univerſities by the ſtatute of proviſion much increaſed; Finally all* England *much enriched and moſt wiſely governed by the ſpace of* 44 *yeares*; Elizabeth *a* Queene, *a Conquereſſ, a Triumpher, moſt ſtudious of piety, moſt happy at the age of* 70 *yeares was delivered by a gentle death &c.*

I have ſeene a copie of *Lipſius* his politicks ſent by himſelf to this *Queene*, and thus preſented to her with the ſubſcription of his owne hand: *Sereniſſimæ Elizabethæ Reginæ, Angliæ Hiberniæ Franciæ, ab omni ævo Maximæ, Iuſtæ Lipſius donum miſit devotus nomini maieſtatique eius.*

Whereunto might be added, the great care of her navy, togeather with the increaſe of trading by the Engliſh, into all the parts of the knowne world; and the world it ſelfe twice ſayled about by her ſubjects during her raigne. *Tantum ut mulier à perenni conteſtataq; majorum virtute degenerarit, ut eos ſi non ſuperaverit, certè abunde æquarit*, ſaith *Camden* in deſcribing *Richmond* houſe where ſhee dyed; ſo farre was ſhee, though but a woman, from degenerating from the conſtant and famous vertue of her predeceſſors, that if ſhee went not beyond them, ſurely ſhee fully equalled them.

By her very Adverſaries in matter of religion, ſhee is termed, The *Mirror* of government; the ſtarre of Empire, the terrour of her enimies, the load ſtone of majeſty, and even by the confeſſion of our fugitive preiſts, a Princeſſe incomparable. Nay *Sixtus Quintus* himſelfe Biſhop of *Rome*, was wont to ſay, That he ſaw in the world but one man and one woman worthy to raigne, had they not bininfected with hereſie, and with whom hee would ſooner conſult of waighty affaires, thereby intending *Henry King* of *Navarre*, and *Elizabeth Queene* of *England*. Laſtly her wonderfull deliverances from Romiſh and *Spaniſh* conſpiracies were no leſſe frequent and ſtrange then undoubtedly divine. Of which the late learned Biſhop of *Chicheſter Doctour Carleton* hath written a whole booke; but having by Gods ſpeciall providence ever watching over her, happily eſcaped them all; at length for number of yeares ſhee fulfilled the raigne of *Auguſtus*, and the age of *David*.

Oſorius. Bizarus. Mercurius Gallobelgicus.

Quodlibet 2. 274.

Thuan: hiſt. lib. 82.

It remaines now that I ſhould ſpeake of King *James*, of freſh and happy memory; the immediate ſucceſſour and great admirer of this noble *Queene*; but leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to flatter the preſent times, or to blemiſh his reputation by a ſhort and unpoliſhd diſcourſe, I will referre the Reader to his owne works, publiſhed both in Engliſh and latine, and to the funerall ſermon made upon him by the right reverend father in God the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and to that diſcourſe, which S. *Iſack Wake* late Lord Embaſſador with the *Venetians*, publiſhed under the name of Rex *Platonicus*.

One *Bernardinus ab Angelis* as he calleth himſelfe hath likewiſe written the life of this King in Latin.

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Now let all antiquity bee exactly searched, and if in any kingdome of the world since the first Creation thereof, three such Princes can be found succeeding each other in the same kingdome, I will then grant a universall decay, but not before.

Of this King the *Iesuites* themselves and namely *Silvester Petrasancta* in his book lately published against Du *Moulin*, gives this testimony that save the badnes of his cause and religion, he had nothing defective in him, which belonged to an excellent King and brave Captaine.

I will conclude this discourse with the name of the late victorious King of *Sweden*, and it is enough to have named him, his actions speake his worth, and both of them will live even to the death of the world. *Hensius* hath said somewhat of him in his panegyrick, and *Wenceslaus Clemens* both in prose and verse, but all short of his deserts, so as what *Bonifacius Vanotius* wrote concerning *Stephanus Battovius King* of *Poland*, might more truly bee verifyed of him.

In templo plus quàm Sacerdos.
In republica plus quàm Rex.
In sententia dicenda plus quàm Senator.
In judicio plus quàm Iurisconsultus.
In exercitu plus quàm Imperator.
In acie plus quàm miles.
In adversis perferendis injuriisque condonandis plus quàm vir.
In publica libertate tuenda plus quàm civis.
In amicitia colenda plus quàm Amicus.
In convictu plus quàm familiaris.
In venatione ferisque domandis plus quam Leo.
In tota reliqua vita plus quàm Philosophus.

Canonher. in disc. pol. ad Tacitum.

CHAP. 12.

Wherein the generall objections touching the worlds decay in matter of Manners, are answered at large, and probable proofes produced, that the Church of Christ before the consummation of the world, shall enjoy a more peaceable and flourishing estate then at any time hitherto it hath.

SECT. 1.

Two objections drawne from reason, and both answered. The one, that since the first plantation of Christian Religion, men have from time to time degenerated: The other, that the multitude of Lawes, and Lawyers, and Lawsuites, and the multiplicity of words in writings and conveyances, argue the great sickness and malice of the present times in regard of the former.

AND thus I hope I have now sufficiently cleered this point; that the ancient *Romans* (who are in stories most magnified of any Nation under heaven for their morall vertues) exceeded latter ages in many foule vices, and have by latter ages beene equalled, if not exceeded even in those *vertues*, wherein they seemed most to excell. And herein have I chiefely aymed at the honour of *Christ*

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Christ and *Christian* Religion; which being rightly understood and practised, without apish superstition on the one side, or peevish singularity on the other, serves no doubt to make men more morally vertuous then any other religion, that either at this day is, or since the Creation hath beene professed in the world; I speake, not onely in regard of *Iustice* & *temperance*, but of *wisedome* & *fortitude*; and besides, for contempt of the world, austerity of life, patience, humility, modesty, charity, chastity, obedience, piety, and singular devotion, it hath doubtlesse yeelded men altogether unmatchable. But it will bee said, that since the first plantation of *Christian* Religion, men have from time to time degenerated, so as the farther they are removed from the *Primitive Professours*, who burned in zeale, and shined in good workes, the worse they have growne: Whereunto I answere, that the primitive times, as well in that they came nearer to *Christ* and his *Apostles*, as likewise, because they were subject to the fierie tryall of persecution, were indeed purer then the succeeding ages, in which together with peace and plenty, pride & luxury, oppression & uncharitablenes crept in, till at length they, who should have bin the principall *lights* and *guides* in the *Church*, became in all manner of uncleannes, cruelty, covetousnes, & ambition little inferiour to the worst of the *Romane Emperours*. But here then, things being now come to this height, appeared the speciall providence of *Almighty God*, in sending some zealous spirits to awaken the world, to rouze up *Christian* Princes, to tell the Prelates their owne: And though thereupon followed a rent in the *Church*, yet withall there followed a reformation of manners, at least-wise in regard of scandalous, & notorious vices, even among them, who refused, and still refuse reformation in matter of doctrine; their lives of their *Popes*, their *Cardinalls*, their *Bishops*, their *Priests*, are in appearance much amended, what within these two or three hundred yeares, by the confession of their owne writers, they were; who we may well thinke, were ignorant of much, and much out of feare or favour they concealed: But so much have they published to the view of the world, as would grieve an honest man to reade, and shame a modest to write, which they shamed not to act; nay boasted of being acted: And for the other part, which professes & maintaines the reformation, I hope they will not say, that they are thereby made the worse in matter of *manners*; *God* forbid but they, who professe themselves reformed in matter of *doctrine*, should likewise shew themselves reformed in matter of *manners*. And sure I thinke we may safely say, that fewer *rebellions*, *robberies*, *murthers*, *sorceries* and the like, have beene heard of, and more pious and charitable workes seene in our Land since the *Reformation* of *Religion*, then in the like compasse of yeares since the first plantation thereof amongst us. See D. *Willets* Catalogue of good workes in the end of his *Synops.*

It will perchance bee said againe, that the multitude of *Lawes*, and *Lawyers*, and *Law-suites*, and the *multiplicity* of words in writings & conveyances for Law businesses, argue the great sickenesse and malice of the times in regard of the former: To which it may truly be replyed, that the multitude of *Lawes* gives occasion to the number of *Law-suites*, and that to the increase of *Lawyers*; and they againe serve to increase the

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multiplying of words in Conveyances. Now that which gives occasion to a greater multitude of *Lawes*, is not, as I conceive, so much the increase of vice, as of knowledge and zeale in the *Law-makers*; common swearing, simple fornication, prophaning of the Lords day and the like, in former times were scarce knowne to be sinnes; but being now by the light of the Gospell discovered to be such, and that in an high degree, as they are straitly forbidden by *Gods* Law, so is the edge of our Lawes turned against them. Besides, it is certaine, that no Law can be so cautelously framed for the preventing of all inconveniences in that kind, but that the wit of man armed with malice, will finde meanes to wrest the letter, or frustrate the intent of it; from whence other Lawes have sprung up for the clearing of the ambiguity, or supply of the defect of the former; it is not then so much the malice of the present age, as that of all ages succeeding one another therein, which hath occasioned such a *masse of Lawes*, that their burden is in a manner now as cumbersome, as were the mischiefes they were made to prevent, *prius vitijs laboravimus nunc Legibus*, *Tacitus* spake it of his times, but it may well enough bee verified of ours; we formerly were burdened with *vice*, but now with *Lawes*. If then a wise choise were made out of the whole bodie of the *Lawes*, of the most usefull and proper for the present times, and they severely executed, the rest being repealed and abrogated; it would prove both *easier* for the subject, and *happier* for the weale-publique. Now for the number of *Law-suites*, it hath alwayes beene observed, that in time of *peace* and *plenty*, as riches increase by manufactures, and tillage, and trading, so doth the number of controversies. Our Forefathers for many ages together lived for the most part in *Civill Warres* and continuall alarmes, so as the *sword* then determined the controversie, and not the *Law*; since then the *sword* hath bin sheathed, no marvell that the Law & Courts of Justice have bin more in request. Moreover the fall of the *Monasteries*, and the alienating of their Lands into so many hands, hath no doubt beene a great meanes to set *Lawyers* a worke since that fall, more then in former ages. And what is it but the setting of men a worke which sets up a trade, and multiplyes the professours thereof? And as the number of professours multiply, so doe the diversitie of their conceits and inventions; many eyes seeing more then one can, which is the cause, that both more flawes are found in Conveyances, and consequently more clauses and cautions thrust into them for the preventing of the like.

SECT. 2.

Another objection answered, taken from the Scriptures, which in diverse places seeme to say, that the last times shall be the worst.

BUt the great doubt which troubles most men, is, that the Scriptures seeme in diverse places to say, that the *last times* shall be the *worst*; and to this end are commonly alleadged these passages:

Mat. 24. 12. *Because iniquitie shall abound, the love of many shall waxe cold. When the*

Sonne

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Sonne of man commeth, ſhall hee finde faith on the earth? Now the Spirit Luc. 18. 8.
ſpeaketh expreſſely, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, gi- 1 Tim. 4. 1.
ving heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrines of devills. This know alſo, that in 2 Tim. 3. 1.
the laſt dayes perillous times ſhall come, for men ſhall bee lovers of their owne
ſelves, covetous, boaſters; and evill men and ſeducers ſhall waxe worſe and worſe, verſ. 13.
deceiving, and being deceived. There ſhall come in the laſt dayes, ſcoffers wal- 2 Pet. 3. 3.
king after their owne luſts. Beloved, remember yee the words which were ſpo- Jude v. 17. 18.
ken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, how that they told you
there ſhould be mockers in the laſt dayes, who ſhould walke after their owne un-
godly luſts. Theſe are all, or at leaſt-wiſe the principall paſſages which I have either found alleaged, or can remember to that purpoſe. Whereunto I firſt reply in *generall*, that put the caſe they all inferred a decay in matter of *manners*, towards the end of the world; yet doth not that neceſſarily inforce a *perpetuall* and *univerſall* declination ſince the fall of man; but men may be (as doubtleſſe they have been) ſometimes better and ſometimes worſe by interchange, and at the laſt worſt of all. But I would demaund how it could hang together, that we ſhould expect the *ſubverſion* of *Antichriſt* and his Kingdome, & the *converſion* of the whole Nation of the *Iewes* to the ſaving knowledge of the truth, before the end of the world; and yet withall affirme or beleeve, that the whole world ſtill hath, and doth, and ſhall to the end thereof grow worſe and worſe? For mine owne part I muſt profeſſe, that I know not how to reconcile ſo different and contradictorie opinions. But for the better clearing and underſtanding of the paſſages alleaged, it will be needfull to conſider in what ſenſe *The laſt dayes* in holy Scripture are to be taken. Some there are, who referre them to the dayes of *Antichriſt*: but others upon better warrant to the dayes of *Chriſt*, from his firſt comming in the fleſh, to his ſecond comming to judgement. Thus *Beroaldus*, *Tempora quæ ſunt ab Adamo condito ad Chriſti Domini Incarnationem, vocantur prima ſive priora; at quæ ejus Nativitatem & Paſſionem conſequuntur, plena & poſteriora ſive noviſſima dicuntur.* Thus the Prophet *Iſayah*; *It ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt dayes, that the Mountaine of the Lords houſe ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the toppe of the Mountaines.* And *Micah* to the ſame purpoſe, and ſo neare in the ſame words, as if he borrowed them from *Eſay*. Now the *dayes* of *Chriſts* Kingdome are therefore called the *laſt dayes*, not onely becauſe it ſet an end to the Kingdome of the *Iewes*, but becauſe none other *Prieſt-hood*, or *Sacrifice*, or *Sacraments*, or *Law* are to ſucceede in place thereof. As *man* is a little world, ſo the age of the world like that of man, is diſtributed into diverſe ſtops or periods. It hath its *infancie*, *child-hood*, *youth*, *perfect eſtate*, and *old age*. And as in man *old age* may, and ſometime doth, laſt as long as all the reſt, ſo may it fall out in theſe times of the Kingdome of *Chriſt*, and yet they be ſtill the *laſt times*. Thus the time of *Iob* from his reſtitution to his death, is ſaid to bee his *laſt dayes*, or latter end, though it comprehend one hundred and forty yeares, which in the life of man is a long ſpace. And if by the *laſt dayes* we ſhould underſtand the time neare approaching to the worlds end, no ſmall advantage might thereby unawares be given to the *Iewes*, who would beare us in hand that the *Meſſias* is not

In Chron. lib. 4. cap. 1.

2. 2.
4. 1.

42. 12. 16.

yet

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yet come, becauſe the *laſt times* are not yet come: Whereas we on the other ſide ſay for our ſelves, and truly, that the *laſt times* are come; not therefore becauſe they approach neare to the *worlds end*, but becauſe the *Meſſias* is come. Upon which ground the *Apoſtles* themſelves, Heb. 1. 1. in imitation belike of the *Prophets*, likewiſe tearme it the *laſt times*. *In* 1. 2. 18. *the laſt times he hath ſpoken to us by his Sonne*, ſaith S. *Paul*. And S. *Iohn*, *Little children, it is the laſt time, and as you have heard that Antichriſt ſhall come, even now are many Antichriſts, whereby we know that it is the laſt time.* Since which time wee know ſixteene *Centenaries* of yeares have paſſed. So as the *Apoſtles* could not well tearme their times the *laſt*, in regard of any neare approach to the worlds end: but becauſe they lived under the Kingdome of *Chriſt*. And if I ſhould thus expound thoſe alleadged paſſages, I ſhould conceive the interpretation were not unſound. *Auguſtine* 80. I am ſure in his *Epiſt.* to *Heſichius* allowes it. *Calvin* in diverſe places *In Epiſt. Iude.* beats upon it, *Per dies extremos, ſatis tritum eſt, regnum Chriſti deſignari*: *In 2. Tim. 3. 1.* and in another place more fully to our preſent purpoſe, *Sub extremis diebus comprehendit univerſum Chriſtiana Eccleſia ſtatum*, under the tearmes of the laſt dayes he comprehends the univerſall eſtate of the *Church* of *Chriſt*. Hereunto may be added that which ſome later learned *Divines* touching this point have obſerved, that the *Hebrew* word ſignifies either *extremitie* or *poſterioritie*, as I may ſo ſpeake. Whence it is ſomtimes rendred *Laſt*, and ſometimes *Latter*, both in *Greeke*, *Latine*, and other Languages, and thoſe two promiſcuouſly taken the one for the other. Thus the *Apoſtle* in 2 *Timothy* and the 3. calls that the *laſt times*, which before in his former *Epiſtle* and 4. *Chapt.* he had called the *Latter times*, 14. and that word which in the laſt of S. *Marke*, our former Tranſlations rendred *Finally*, our laſt hath turned *Afterward*: nay whereas wee reade 2. 28. in the Prophet *Ioel*, *It ſhall come to paſſe afterward*, S. *Peter* (by divine inſpi- Acts 2. 17. ration no doubt) hath rendred it, *It ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt dayes*. But very remarkeable are theſe words of old *Iacob* to this purpoſe when hee lay a dying, and by the ſpirit of *Propheſie* foretold what ſhould become of his ſonnes; *I will tell you* ſaith he, *that which ſhall befall you in the laſt dayes*, in which prediction of his, though it be true that ſome things concerne the Kingdome of *Chriſt*, as that touching *Iudah*, *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet untill Shiloh come*; yet is it as true that many things in that Propheſie, both concerning *Iudah*, and the other *Patriarches* and *Tribes* deſcending from them, were fulfilled long before the Incarnation of CHRIST, and not long after the death of *Iacob*. In like manner the ſame word is uſed by *Daniel* in the 2. 28. Interpretation of *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame. *There is a God in heaven that revealeth ſecrets, and maketh knowne to the King what ſhall bee in the latter dayes or laſt dayes*: Which ſame ſpeech in the 45. *v.* following hee againe repeates in theſe termes: *The great God hath made knowne to the King what ſhall come to paſſe hereafter.* And though it be moſt certaine that ſome of thoſe things there fore-ſhewed, were none otherwiſe fulfilled then in the Kingdome of *Chriſt*, as namely that in the 44. *v. in the dayes of theſe Kings ſhall the God of Heaven ſet up a Kingdome which ſhall never be deſtroyed*: yet withall it may not, it cannot be denyed, but the greateſt

teſt part of them were accompliſhed before our *Saviours* apparelling himſelfe with our fleſh, and ſome of them, to wit, the ſetting up of the *Perſian Monarchy*, but 63 yeares after *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame or viſion, and *Daniels* prediction. And hence it is that *Iunius* and *Tremelius* render the *Hebrew* words in both thoſe paſſages of *Geneſis* and *Daniel*, with *Sequentibus*, or *Conſequentibus temporibus*, which implyes nothing elſe but *times following* and *enſuing*. Thoſe Propheſies then of S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul* touching the great wickedneſſe of the latter or laſt times, may well bee underſtood either of the Kingdome of *Chriſt*, as hath beene ſaid, or of times following theirs, and not neceſſarily neare approaching the end of all time.

SECT. 3.

The paſſages of Scripture alleadged to that purpoſe, particularly and diſtinctly anſwered.

NOw for the particular paſſages: That propheſie of Saint *Paul* touching *Apoſtates*, *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtaine from meates* was accompliſhed in *Euſtathius*, the *Encratits* or *Tatians*, the *Marcioniſts*, the *Manichæans*, the *Cathari*, the *Cataphrygians* or *Montaniſts*, who all vented their hereſies in thoſe two points, within leſſe then two or three hundred yeares of the *Apoſtles*. And if wee ſhould with ſome latter Writers referre that whole propheſie to the defection of the *Roman Church*, I thinke we ſhould therein doe her no wrong: Howſoever it is fully agreed upon, both by them and us, that the propheſie was long ſince fulfilled. The ſame in effect may be ſaid of his other propheſie in his ſecond Epiſtle: *Neque enim ætatem ſuam cum noſtra comparat, ſed potius qualis futura ſit regni Chriſti conditio, docet*, ſaith judicious *Calvin* in his Commentaries upon that place: Hee doth not compare his own age with ours, but rather teaches what the condition of *Chriſts* Kingdome was to be. And that which the *Apoſtle* addes of *Evill men and Seducers, that they ſhall waxe worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived*, is not ſufficient to evince a *perpetuall* and *univerſall* declination. For though ſome evill men grow worſe, yet others may, and by Gods grace doe, grow from bad to good, and from good to better: and even of the ſame men doth the ſame *Apoſtle* tell us in the ſame place, *They ſhall proceede no farther, but their folly ſhall be manifeſt unto all men.* As for S. *Peter* and his Propheſie touching the *laſt dayes*, it is cleare that it was accompliſhed when S. *Iude* wrote his Epiſtle, in as much as he points in a manner with his finger to that paſſage of S. *Peter*, not onely uſing the ſame words, but putting us in minde that hee had them expreſſely from the *Apoſtles* of the *Lord Ieſus*: the only difference betwixt S. *Peter* and S. *Iude* is this, that the one fore-tels it, and the other ſhewes how it was even then fulfilled. Verſe 5.

But I paſſe from the Schollers to the Maſter, from the *Apoſtles* to our *Saviour* himſelfe, and his Propheſies touching this point, recorded by the *Evangeliſts*, whereof the firſt is in *Mat.* 24. *Becauſe iniquity ſhall abound*

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the love of many ſhall wax cold. For the expoſition of which words, we are to know that our *Saviour* in that chapter, ſpeaketh of the ſignes fore-running as well the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, as the conſummation of the world, and ſo twiſteth as it were, or weaveth them one within another, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh them: yet by the conſent of the beſt expoſitours, the former of theſe is to bee referred to the firſt part of the chapter, and ſo conſequently this Propheſie was long ſince accompliſhed: the meaning of it to bee this, that ſuch and ſo cruell ſhall be the perſecution of *Chriſtian* Religion, that many who otherwiſe had a good minde to embrace it, ſhall forſake both it and the Profeſſours thereof, leaving them to the malice of the Perſecutours. And to this purpoſe doe both *Maldonate* and *Aretius* bring the Example and words of Saint 2. Tim. 4. 16. *Paul, At my firſt anſwere no man ſtood with mee, but all men forſooke mee, I pray God it be not laid to their charge.* Our *Saviours* ſecond Propheſie to this purpoſe is recorded in the 18. of S. *Luke*, *When the Sonne of man commeth ſhall he finde faith on the earth?* Which words both *Calvin* & *Ianſenius* referre not preciſely to the time of *Chriſts* comming to judgment, but extend them to the generall ſtate of men even from his *Aſcenſion* to his *ſecond comming*: *Diſertè Chriſtus à ſuo in cœlum aſcenſu uſque ad reditum, homines paſſim incredulos fore predicit*, ſaith *Calvin*; *Chriſt* expreſſely teacheth, that from his aſcenſion even till his returne, many unbeleevers ſhall every where be found. But *Ianſenius* ſomewhat more clearely and fully, *Non tantum ſignificat defectum & paucitatem fidei in hominibus qui vivi reperientur in noviſſimo die, ſed etiam in hominibus cujuſlibet temporis.* He doth not onely intimate the defect and ſcantneſſe of faith which ſhall be found in men at the laſt day, but in thoſe of all ages. To theſe paſſages may be added that in the 12 of the *Revelation*, *Woe to the* Verſe 12. *Inhabitants of the earth and of the ſea, for the devill is come downe unto you having great wrath, becauſe he knoweth that he hath but a ſhort time*: but the time there ſpoken of (as the ſoundeſt interpreters expound it) is not called *ſhort* in reſpect of the end of the World, (which to the devill is utterly unknowne) but of his binding up for a thouſand yeares whereof he was forewarned: and beſides though the ſhorter his time be, his rage be the fiercer, yet is not his intended and deſired ſucceſſe alwayes anſwerable to the fierceneſſe of his rage, the Lord holding him, as it were in a teather, or chaine, and ſetting him bounds, as he doth to the raging waves of the ſea, *hitherto ſhalt thou goe and no farther.*

SECT. 4.

The laſt doubt touching the comming of Antichriſt anſwered.

THe laſt doubt is concerning *Antichriſt*, who many thinke ſhall come neare toward the end of the World, and conſequently it ſhall then be filled with all kinde of impiety, impurity, and miſery, the attendants of his comming, and that much beyond all former times. But if *Antichriſt* be already come, and that long ſince, then will the validitie of this argument prove utterly ineffectuall. And certainely ſuch

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ſuch hath beene the wickedneſſe and calamity of all ages, that as *Bellarmine* ſpeaketh: *Omnes veteres animadvertentes ſuorum temporum malitiam, ſuſpicati ſunt tempora Antichriſti imminere.* All the Ancients conſidering the malice of their times, ſuſpected that *Antichriſt* was at hand. Thus S. *Cyprian* of his time, *Scire debetis, & pro certo credere, & tenere, preſſuræ diem ſuper caput eſſe cæpiſſe, & occaſum ſeculi atque Antichriſti tempus appropinquáſſe.* Yee ought to know, and for certaine to hold and beleeve that the day of preſſure is even over our heads, and that the conſummation of all things, and the comming of *Antichriſt* doth approach. *Lactantius* of his, *Omnis expectatio non amplius quàm ducentorum videtur annorum*, the end of our expectation ſeemes not to extend beyond the ſpace of two hundred yeares at fartheſt. S. *Hierome* of his, *Qui tenebat de medio fit, & non intelligimus Antichriſtum appropinquare?* he which held or with-held is removed out of the way, and doe we not underſtand that *Antichriſt* is at hand? S. *Gregory* of his, *omnia quæ prædicta ſunt fiunt, rex ſuperbiæ prope eſt*, all things that were foretold are accompliſhed, the King of Pride cannot be farre off. And laſtly, S. *Bernard* of his, *Supereſt ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis*; What remaines but that the man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition be revealed? From which, two things for our preſent purpoſe may be gathered, the one; that extreame prophaneneſſe hath raigned in the world almoſt in all ages, as well as in the preſent, ſuch as they who then lived, thought could not well be exceeded. The other, that if they looked out for the comming of *Antichriſt* ſo long ſince, by all likelihood he is already come into the world, & that long agone. Saint *Iohn* tels us, that in his time there were many *Antichriſts*, fore-runners no doubt, and harbengers as it were to the great *Antichriſt* that was to come. And S. *Paul*, that even then *the miſtery of iniquity began to worke*: if he were then conceived, in all likelihood he ſhould be borne ere now; if the egge were then layed, ſhall we imagine that the Cockatrice is not yet hatched? was the ſeed then caſt into the ground, and this curſed weed not yet ſprung up?

De Rom. Pont 3. 3.

Lib. 4. Epiſt. 7.

Lib 7. cap. 15.

Ad Gerontiam de Monogamia.

Lib. 4. ep. 38.

Serm. 6. in Pſal. 9.

Credat Iudæus Apella
Non ego.

Beleev't who liſt for me indeed,
It ne'r ſhall come into my creed.

SECT. 5.

The argument of greateſt weight to prove that Antichriſt is already come.

BUt among ſo many and ſtrong *arguments* as have beene, and juſtly may be brought to prove that *Antichriſt* is already come, there is one which to mee hath ever ſeemed of greateſt weight: *You know*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking of the *man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition, what with-holdeth that he might be revealed in his time*: And againe, *only hee who now letteth, will let, untill he be taken out of the way.* So as upon the removing of that obſtacle which hindered his comming, hee was then to be revealed, as the words plainely import. Now what that hinderance

2 Theſſ. 2. 6. 7.

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should be, the unanimous consent of the Ancients both *Greeke* & *Latine* is, that it was the *Roman Empire* that then flourished. So *Chrysostome*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, *Ambrose*, *Primasius*, *Sedulius*, and the *Greeke Scholiast* in their severall expositions upon the place: *Tertullian* in his book *de resurrectione carnis*, & the thirty second chapter of his *Apologie*. *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus in Catechesi* 15. *Hierome* in his eleventh question to *Algasia*, in his Commentaries upon the 25 of the Prophet *Ieremy*, in his Treatise to *Gaudentius* & *Gerontia*; and lastly S. *Augustine* in his 20 booke *de Civit. Dei*, & 19. *cap.* And with the Ancients herein agree the latter writers on both sides, as well *Romish* as *reformed*, being warranted by the like Prophesies both of *Daniel*, & S. *Iohn* in his *Revelation*. And in truth the *Apostles* warinesse in not naming it expressely, lest thereby he should incurre hatred against the *Christian* Professours and Religion, shewes as much. That then which remaines to be inquired into, is, whether that obstacle, which by the *Apostle* is said to have hindred the revealing of *Antichrist*, bee taken out of the way or no, that is, whether that *Romane Empire* which then flourished, be now dissolved. It is then most certain, that that Empire for the West ended in *Augustulus*, and the Emperour which now is, is the successour of *Charlemaigne*, an Emperour of a new erection: Neither hath he the dominions or the power of the former *Emperours*, but onely the name and title.

Daniel. 7. Revel. 17.

Stat magni nominis umbra.

Of a great name he but the shadow is.

Lucan. lib. 1.

He hath not the City of *Rome* which should denominate the *Roman Emperour*, nor any part of *Italy*; no not so much as a Castle, or an house, or a foote of land as *Emperour*. We may then rather call him the *German Emperour* then the *Roman*; and yet surely his command in *Germany* is very small too. The *Romanists* then in this case seeme to mee to deale with him, as the *Iewes* did with *Christ*, they give him the title, but take and keepe his rights from him. Or they call him *Roman Emperour* perchance, because hee takes, or as they pretend, should take his *Oath of allegiance* to the *Bishop* of *Rome*. And that the Empire which was in being in the *Apostles* time, is indeed dissolved; some of the [a] *Romanists* themselves, though happily unawares confesse, *Ante adventum Antichristi facienda erat discessio, ut Gentes discedant à Romano Imperio, sicut jam factum cernimus*, saith *Anselme*, before the comming of *Antichrist*, there was to bee a falling away of the Nations from the *Roman Empire*, as wee see it already done. And *Thomas*, *Quid hoc est quod jam diu Gentes recesserunt à Romano Imperio, & tamen nondum venit Antichristus?* what shall we say to this, that long since the Nations fell away from the *Roman Empire*, and yet *Antichrist* is not come? And *Lyra*, *Romanum Imperium florebat tempore Pauli, à quo recesserunt quasi omnia regna negantia ei subjici & redditionem tributi jam à multis annis: illud etiam Imperium caruit Imperatore pluribus annis*: The *Roman Empire* flourished in *Pauls* time, from which almost all Kingdomes are falne away, denying subjection, and the payment of tribute to it: And besides, that *Empire* hath wanted an *Emperour* now for the space of many yeares. Neither doe they onely acknowledge, that the *Empire* which flourished in the *Apostles*

[a] In 2 Thess. 2.

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poſtles time, is diſſolved, but that the *Emperour* which now is, retaines rather the ſhadow then the power of the ancient Empire. And this confeſſion we have out of the mouthes even of *Ieſuites* themſelves. *Quampridem Romanum Imperium in eas anguſtias redactum eſt, ut vix tenuem quandam umbram Imperij retineat*, long ſince was the *Romane* Empire brought to theſe ſtraits, that it ſcarce retaines a thinne ſhadow of that Empire, ſaith *Iuſtinianus*. And *Salmeron* moſt fully, *Imperium Romanum jam diu everſum eſt. Nam qui nunc eſt Imperator Romanus, leviſſima eſt umbra Imperij antiqui, uſque adeo ut ne quidem urbem Romæ poſſideat, & jam per multos annos Romani Imperatores defecerunt.* The *Roman* Empire was long ſince diſſolved. For he, who is now *Roman Emperour*, is but a light ſhadow of the ancient Empire, ſo as he doth not poſſeſſe ſo much as the Citie of *Rome*, and now for many yeares have the *Romane Emperours* failed. I would demand then, whether a name, a title, a ſhadow can hinder the comming of *Antichriſt*, or be divided among ten Kings, and ſhared out into ten Kingdomes? if it cannot, then is *Antichriſt* undoubtedly already come into the world.

Now what hee is, or where we ſhould finde him, or when he came, I leave that to others to diſpute or demonſtrate; it is for my purpoſe ſufficient that hee is come, and long ſince; yet if wee would a little more narrowly ſearch into the matter, who I pray you, is more likely to be the man, then he, who hath ſpecially advanced his throne upon the *Emperours* ruines; who hath thruſt himſelfe into the *Emperours* ſeate, the Imperiall City, the head & miſtreſſe of the *Empire*? then he who hath taken upon himſelfe the Majeſty, the power, the enſignes, the robes of the *Emperour*, though in ſomewhat a different kinde? And that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath ſo done, *Paſquier* in his *Recerches* of *France*, *Machiavell* in his *Florentine hiſtory*, *Sigonius in his hiſtory of the Kingdome of Italy*, and *Guicciardin* in his, in part declare: But *Lypſius* hath ſet it downe ſo clearely and particularly, as we may eaſily gueſſe, and neede doubt no longer, who it is, that hath ſucceeded into the *Emperours* roome. I will ſet downe his words at large as I finde them in his preface to his *Admiranda*. *Mira Dei benignitas in hanc urbem, cum Legionum vim eripuit, Legum attribuit; cum armis imperare noluit, ſacris indulſit: Et ſic quoque fecit eam, decus, tutelam, columen rerum. Atqui Senatus ille vetus non eſt, inquiunt, non ille, ſed alius, & vide in iſta purpura ex omni noſtro orbe ſelectos proceres moribus, prudentia, annis, ſpectandos. Si vetus ille Cyneas redeat & hunc conſeſſum videat, nihil ambigat vel cum regibus iterum, vel cum heroibus comparare. Quid tributa? non tam multa, ſed magis innoxia & ultronea ſunt. Quid Legationes gentium? nec eæ deſunt, & ex noto ignotoque orbe (tanta diffuſio Majeſtatis hujus eſt) concurritur, & jura ac leges Sacrorum hinc petunt, ipſi Reges ac Principes adeunt & inclinantur, & obnoxia capita uni huic Capiti ſubmittunt*: Great is the bounty of God towards this Citie, when he deprived it of the ſtrength of Legions, he ſtrengthned it with Lawes; when he would no longer have it rule with force of armes, hee armed it with holy orders: And ſo likewiſe did he make it both the ornament and the ſafety of things. But you will ſay, the old Senate is not there to be found: indeed not the ſame, but another there is inſteed thereof,

Lib. 1. Lib. 3. Lib. 4.

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and there you may see clad in that purple the choisest worthies of *Christendome*, and the most venerable for manners, for wisedome, for yeares. If the old *Cyneas* were alive againe and beheld this assembly, hee would nothing doubt to compare it againe with Kings and Princes. What should I speake of their tribute? indeed it is not so great, but more innocently imposed and willingly paid. What of the Embassages from forraine Nations? neither are they wanting: Hither they resort both from the knowne and unknowne parts of the world (so farre is this Majesty spred) and seeke for Lawes and Constitutions in religious affaires; nay Kings and Princes here present themselves, and all bow downe and submit their heads to this one head.

SECT. 6.

Probable proofes produced that the Church of Christ before the consummation of the world shall yet enjoy a more peaceable and flourishing estate, then at any time hitherto it hath.

AS wee neede not doubt that *Antichrist* is long since come into the world, so many passages of holy Scripture, and testimonies of learned men make us more then hope that (notwithstanding his late victories, and triumphs) his downe-fall is not farre off, and that thereupon the Church of *Christ* shall flourish more in peace and power, in doctrine and manners, in lustre and glory then hitherto at any time in former ages it hath done: To instance in all the passages of Scripture, which to this purpose are alleaged, would prove I doubt me tedious, & in some perchance impertinent, mine endeavour then shall be to picke out the choysest, and among them specially those which seeme to point at a fuller calling as well of the *Gentiles*, as the *Iewes*, then heretofore hath beene: for the *Gentiles* then, truly mee thinkes as often as I reade those words of the *Psalmist*: *All the ends of the world shall remember and turne unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the Nations shall worship before thee:* and compare with it that Propheste of *Esay*, *It shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the mountaine of the Lords house shall bee established in the toppe of the mountaines, and shall be exalted above the hils, and all Nations shall flow unto it*: And withall call to minde that promise of our Saviour. *This Gospell of the Kingdome shall be preached in all the world for a witnesse unto all nations, and then shall the end come.* Mee thinkes, I say, some more intire & fuller calling of the *Gentiles* should frō hence be inferred then hitherto hath beene accomplished, by a conversion of the barbarous *Indians*, and other Nations, which never heard of the Gospell, to the *Christian* faith. *Kepler* in his discourse *de nova stella Serpentarij*, aimes at such a matter, but *Iustus Heurnius* in his booke *de legatione Evangelica ad Indos capessenda*, makes the case so cleare, as in truth to mee he seemes to leave very little place to any farther doubt in that point. Now for a more full conversion of the *Iewish* Nation to the *Christian* Religion yet to come, the greatest part (I am sure) of *Divines* as well *Moderne* as *Ancient*, *Reformed* as *Romish* constantly affirme it, & on the other side, to my remembrance,

Psal. 22. v. 27.

Cap. 2. v. 2.

Mat. 24. v. 14.

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I have not met with ſo much as one who conſtantly denyes it; neither indeed can they (as I conceive) with any colour of truth, if they adviſedly weigh that convincing paſſage of the *Apoſtle* in the 11. to the *Romans*; *I would not brethren that you ſhould bee ignorant of this ſecret, that partly obſtinacie is come to Iſrael, untill the fulneſſe of the Gentiles be come in, and ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved:* which laſt words being taken in oppoſition (as of neceſſity they muſt be) to the *Gentiles*, are in my judgment ſo conſtringent, as they will ſuffer no evaſion; ſpecially if thereunto we adde for illuſtration thereof that other paſſage of the ſame *Apoſtle*, 2. *Cor.* 3. *Even unto this day when Moſes is read, the vayle is laid over their hearts: nevertheleſſe when their heart ſhall be turned to the Lord, the vayle ſhall be taken away.* And upon the fulneſſe of this comming in of the *Iew*, and the *Gentile* into the Church of *Chriſt*, ſhall in all likelyhood enſue that univerſall peace fore-told by the Prophet *Micah*, *They ſhall breake their ſwords into mattockes, and their ſpeares into ſithes, nation ſhall not lift up a ſword againſt nation, neither ſhall they learne to fight any more, but they ſhall ſit every man under his vine and under his figge-tree, and none ſhall make them afraid.* And upon this peace, that excellent glory fore-told by the Prophet *Eſay*, *The light of the Moone ſhall be as the light of the Sun; & the light of the Sunne ſhall be ſeaven-fold, and like the light of ſeaven dayes, in the day that the Lord ſhall binde up the breach of his people, and heale the ſtroake of their wound.* And againe, *Behold, I will lay thy ſtones with faire colours, and thy foundations with Saphires, and I will make thy windowes of Agates, and thy gates of Carbuncles, and all thy borders of ſhining and pleaſant ſtones.* And all this *peace* and *glory* ſhall ariſe from the ſubverſion of *Rome* and *Antichriſt*, and his adherents, ſo evidently deſcribed in the 14, the 18, and the 19 of the *Revelation*, that the very *Ieſuites* themſelves *Ribera* and *Vegas* cannot poſſibly deviſe any jugling conveyance how to ſhift it off. And if for the effecting of this great worke wee ſhould grant (that which all antiquity both *Iewiſh* and *Chriſtian* much beates upon) that *Elias ſhall come and reſtore all things*, I cannot ſee what great abſurdity can from thence bee inferred, or what article of *Chriſtian* faith it impugneth: Indeede our Saviour tells his Diſciples that *Elias* was then come, meaning *Iohn* the *Baptiſt*, whom hee tearmes *Elias* in regard of his zeale, his auſterity of life, his ſuffering for the truth, and his preparing a way to a reformation; but how the *Baptiſt reſtored all things* he tels them not, neither can thoſe words (as I conceive,) be properly underſtood of him, nor yet thoſe of the Prophet *Malachie*, that *Eliah the Prophet for the turning of the hearts of men each to other, and all to God, ſhall be ſent before the comming of the great and dreadfull day of the Lord*; Whereby, the day of the firſt comming of the Lord in the fleſh cannot well be meant, in as much as that was rather *good* and *gratious* then *great* and *dreadfull*: it ſhould ſeeme then that either *Elias* himſelfe, or ſome other great heroicall ſpirit matchable to him, is yet to bee ſent, for the accompliſhing of this great buſineſſe in *reſtoring of all things*. Though herein I will define or divine nothing poſitively, but leave all to the conſideration and deciſion of more learned judgements.

Verſe 25. & 26

Verſe 15. 16.

4. 3.

30. 26.

54. 11.

Mat. 17. 11.

Verſe 12.

4. 5.

Once I am ſure that *Alſteidus* a famous Profeſſour at *Herborne* in his

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Diatribe de mille annis Apocalypticis, publiſhed about two yeares ſince, is of that opinion, as alſo that the thouſand yeares mentioned in the 20 Verſe 2. of the *Revelation* (during which time Sathan ſhall be bound) is yet to come; which aſſertion hee firſt builds upon a literall interpretation of the number, in as much as it is five ſeverall times repeated within the compaſſe of ſeaven verſes, and the foure laſt with a ſpeciall article added τὰ χίλια ἔτη, *The thouſand yeares*; Secondly upon a ſuppoſition that *Sathan* as yet hath not beene bound up a thouſand yeares together, ſince the delivery of that Propheſie by the Angell to S. *Iohn*, and by him to the *Church*; conſidering that ever ſince, much and groſſe Idolatry hath raigned among the *Pagans*, obſtinate blindneſſe among the *Iewes*, ſince the riſing of *Mahomet*, pittifull defection and ſeduction among the *Saracens*, ſtrange errours and hereſies, ſects and ſciſmes among the *Chriſtians*, and ſince the riſing of *Antichriſt* wonderfull ignorance, ſuperſtition, and perſecution of the Saints, together with a generall prophaneſſe and corruption in matter of manners; all which (ſaith hee) cannot ſtand with the binding up of *Sathan*, (the principall actour of all theſe) for a thouſand yeares, and conſequently that the performance of that promiſe, is yet to be expected: and for the confirmation of this opinion (though the book it ſelfe be but little) he alleageth 66 paſſages of Scripture, inforceth many reaſons, anſwereth 36 objections, produceth the teſtimonies of many learned men, either expreſſely defending it, or at leaſtwiſe favouring it; as namely *Du Moulin* in his *Chriſtian Combate*, *Piſcator* in his Commentaries upon the *Revelation*, & in a treatiſe which not long before his death he purpoſely compoſed *of the future felicity of the Church even in this world*; *Stephanus Pannonius de circulo operum & judiciorum Dei*, *Michael Sendivogius tractatu de Sulphure*, *Iohannes Ferus in explicatione Gen.* *Seraphinus Firmianus enarratione in Apocal.* *Remalcus de Vaulx in Harpocrate Divino*, *Martinus Cellarius tractatu de operibus Dei*, *Cælius Secundus Curio de amplitudine regni beati Dei*, *Petrus Cunæus de Repub. Iudæorum*, *Iohannes Dobritius in Chronomenytore*, *Chriſtophorus Beſoldus in Pentade*, but chiefly *Alfonſus Conradus Mantuanus*, and *Matthæus Cotterius* in their ſeverall expoſitions upon the *Revelation*. Yet two things I muſt profeſſe there are, which in that diſcourſe of *Alſtedius* I cannot well approve of, the one that hee ſo ſtiffely maintaines a particular and corporall reſurrection of the Martyrs, at leaſt a thouſand yeares before the generall, the other that hee ſo preciſely and punctually ſets downe the very time, (namely the yeare 1694) for the commencement of his happy and glorious *Millenary*.

Since this Section paſſed the Preſſe, two bookes came to my hands, which together with *Alſted*, and thoſe other by him named, plainely maintaine that the thouſand yeares mentioned in the 20. of the *Revelation*, for the binding up of *Satan* is yet to come: the one is written by *Carolus Gallus* a Profeſſour of *Diviniti'e* in the Univerſitie of *Leyden*, publiſhed in the yeare 1592, and intituled *Clavis Prophetica nova Apocalypſeos*, *Iohannis Apoſtoli & Evangeliographi*. In his Epiſtle Dedicatorie to the Prince of *Orenge*, and the States of the *Netherlands*, he profeſſeth it was a worke, *in quo* (ſaith hee) *jam inde à viginti quinque annis ſudavimus*,

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davimus, legendo, meditando, indagando, scribendo, disserendo, & in Ecclesijs ac Scholis publicè docendo, quærentes & nihil intermittentes quod videbatur conducere ad inveniendum hunc divinum thesaurum. Now this man after all this travell, search and study, thus concludes his eight observation upon the 20. chapter of that booke. *Breviter, spiritus propheticus in hac Iohannis Apocalypsi vaticinatur de singulari adeoque mirandâ Ecclesiæ resurrectione, renovatione, ac restitutione, quod nimirum illa, hâc novissimâ ætate ex Iudæis & gentibus, vivis ac mortuis conspicua erit; & mirum in modum glorioſius quam unquam antea ex mortuis vel prima morte reviviſcet, innovabitur, restaurabitur & reflorescet.* The other booke maintaining the same opinion is *Clavis Apocalyptica, ex innatis & insitis visionum characteribus eruta & demonstrata*, printed in *Cambridge, anno* 1627; the Author of it is Mr *Meade*, a noted *Divine* of that Universitie, wherein hee hath (in my judgement) shewed himselfe an able man, specially in his *Synchronismes*, which in truth is a very exact peece, and such as gives a marvellous great light to the Propheſies of that booke. In the second part of his *Clavis, Synchronismo quarto, quinto, sexto, & septimo*, hee likewise endeavours to make it evident, that the thousand yeares destined for the building of *Satan*, and as the text hath it, for the casting of him into the bottomelesse pit, and shutting of him up, and setting a seale upon him, that hee should deceive the Nations no more, till the thousand yeares should be fufilled, is yet to come. And againe in his learned Manuscript, intituled *Specimina interpretationum Apocalypticarum ad amussim clavis Apocalypticæ, cap. ult.* Hee confidently averres, and by many waighty reasons labours to demonstrate the same, yet with this modest reservation addressed to his Reader, *Tu rem omni semoto præjudicio in Dei timore expendas, mihique sicubi erravero ex charitatis judicio ignoscas.*

CHAP. 13.

That the world shall have an end by Fire, and by it be intirely consumed.

SECT. 1.

That the world shall have an end, is a point so cleare in Christian Religion, that it needeth not to be proved from the principles thereof, neither is hee worthy the name of a Christian who maketh any doubt of it.

HAving now by *Gods* assistance done with mine *Apologie* of his *Providence* in the preservation of the world, lest I should seeme thereby to undermine or weaken the article of our faith touching the worlds end; it remaines that according to promise I endeavour to confirme it, not so much from Scripture which no true *Christian* can doubt of: And besides the passages thereof to this purpose, specially in the *New Testament*, are so many and cleare, as to bee ignorant of them were stupiditie no lesse grosse, then to deny them prophane impiety. In this chapter then I will propose *three things* to my selfe, *first*, to prove

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by the teſtimonie of the *Gentiles*, that the world ſhall have an *end*. *Secondly*, that it ſhall have an *end by fire*. *Thirdly* and laſtly, that it ſhall by fire be *totally* and intirely conſumed. That the world ſhall have an end, is as cleare in *Chriſtianity*, as that there is a Sun in the firmament: And therefore, whereas there can hardly be named any other article of our faith, which ſome *Heretiques* have not preſumed to impugne or call into queſtion; yet to my remembrance I never met with any who queſtioned this; & though at this day many & eager be the differences among *Chriſtians* in other points of Religion, yet in this they all agree and ever did, that the world ſhall have an end, and that there ſhall be a reſurrection from the dead, & a day of judgement. And ſurely as by the event of many things already falne out, wee are ſure that was true which the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles* foretold of them: ſo are we as certaine, that all other things, and this in particular ſhall come to paſſe, which they have likewiſe foretold, though happily wee cannot ſet downe the time or manner of their event. And in as much as we, who now live, have ſeene the accompliſhment of many Propheſies foretold by the pen-men of holy writ, which our forefathers ſaw not, if wee ſtedfaſtly beleeve not the fulfilling of thoſe which are yet to come in their due time, wee ſhall thereby be made the more guilty, and the leſſe excuſable before God. Howſoever if we beleeve (as wee all pretend) the Scriptures to bee the lively oracles of God, and to have beene indited by the divine and ſacred inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt; we cannot but withall beleeve that the conſummation of the world ſhall moſt undoubtedly in due time, though to us moſt uncertaine, be accompliſhed. Now as the cleare light of this truth hath by Gods grace ſo brightly ſhined among *Chriſtians*, that except they wilfully ſhut their eyes againſt it, they cannot but apprehend and imbrace it: ſo did it appeare to the *Iewes*, though not in ſo conſpicuous a manner; yea, ſome ſparkes of this truth have beene ſcattered even among the *Gentiles* themſelves, ſo as it was a ſhame unpardonable for us *Chriſtians* not to acknowledge it, or ſo much as once to doubt of it.

Buxdorfius Synag. Iud. c. 1.

SECT. 2.

That the world ſhall have an end by the teſtimony of the Gentiles.

Epiſt. 9. circa finem.

SEneca diſputing this queſtion, whether a wiſe man be ſufficiently content with himſelfe as he needes not the helpe of any friend, puts the caſe, *Qualis eſt futura vita ſapientis?* how he would live being deſtitute of friends, if hee were caſt into priſon, or baniſhed into ſome deſert, or caſt upon ſome ſtrange ſhoare? his anſwer is, *Qualis eſt Iovis cum reſoluto mundo, &c.* as *Iupiter* ſhall live when the world ſhall be diſſolved, contenting himſelfe with himſelfe. And againe more clearely: *Quid enim mutationis periculo exceptum? non terra, non cœlum, non totus hic rerum omnium contextus, quamvis Deo agente ducatur, non ſemper tenebit hunc ordinem, ſed illum ex hoc curſu aliquis dies dejiciet, certis eunt cuncta temporibus, naſci debent, creſcere, extingui. Quæcunque vides ſupra nos currere,*

Epiſt. 71.

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currere, atque hæc quibus innixi atque impositi sumus velut solidissimis carpentur ac desinent. What is there which is priviledged from danger of change? not the earth, not the heavens, no nor this whole frame of Creatures, though it be guided by the finger of God, it shall not alwaies observe this order, but some one day at last shall turne it out of his course. For all things have a time, to be borne, to increase, and then againe to die & be extinguished. All these things which thou seest wheeling over our heads, and even those upon which we are seated and setled, as being most solide, shall be surprized and leave to be. And in another place. *Si potest tibi solatio esse commune fatum, nihil constat loco stabili, & nihil quo stat loco stabit. Omnia sternet abducetq; secum vetustas, supprimet montes, maria sorbebit.* If the common destiny of all things may any whit comfort thee, there is nothing setled in a stable course, nothing shall alwayes remaine in that state it now stands in; time shall carry downe all things with it, it shall levell the mountaines and swallow up the Seas. And lastly, in his Naturall questions, *unus hominum genus condet dies*, one day shall bury all mankinde. Yet it should seeme, that withall he held a restoring of all things againe: *Omne ex integro animal generabitur, dabiturque terris homo insçius scelerum, & melioribus auspicijs natus: sed illis quoq; innocentia non durabit nisi dum novi sunt, citò nequitia subrepet.* All Creatures shall againe be restored, and mankinde shall againe be sent to inhabit the earth, but a kinde voide of wickednesse & borne to a better fortune: yet shall not their innocencie long endure neither, but onely whiles they are yet fresh and new, afterward ungratiousnesse will by degrees creepe upon them.

De consolatione ad Martiam. 26

Lib. 3. cap. 29.

Cap. 30.

Ælian, as I have already touched to another purpose in the eighth book of his History, telleth us, that not onely the mountaine *Ætna* (for thereof might be given some reason, because of the daily wasting and consuming of it with fire) but *Parnassus* and *Olympus* did appeare to be lesse and lesse to such as sayled at Sea, the height thereof sinking as it seemed, and thereupon inferres, that men most skilfull in the secrets of nature did affirme, that the world it selfe should likewise perish & have an end. His premises I have in another place sufficiently disproved, but his conclusion inferred thereupon, I cannot but rightly approve, & most willingly accept of, as a rich testimony for the confirmation of our *Christian* doctrine (touching the end of the world) delivered from the pen of a *Gentile*, nay hee positively affirmes it to have beene the opinion of the most skilfull in the secrets of Nature: And certaine it is, that the greatest part of Philosophers before *Aristotle*; *Heraclitus*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus* and others; as they held that the world had a beginning in time, so did they likewise that in time it should have an end: And since *Aristotle*, the greatest part (his followers onely excepted) have ever constantly maintained the same; in so much, that the very *Epicures* herein accord with the *Stoickes*, though in other opinions they differ as fire and water, as may appeare in *Lucretius*, by sect an *Epicurean*, and for his wit much esteemed among the Ancients.

Cap. 11.

Oecumenius in Collectaneis super 3. post Petri.

Principio maria, ac terras, cælumque tuere,
Horum naturam triplicem, tria corpora Memmi,

De rerum natura. 3.

Tres

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Tres ſpecies tam diſſimiles, tria talia texta,
Vna dies dabit exitio, multoſque per annos
Suſtentata ruet moles & machina mundi.

Behold, O *Memmius*, firſt the earth, the ſea,
The heaven, the three-fold nature, bodies three,
Three ſhapes ſo farre unlike, three peeces wrought
And woven ſo faſt, one day ſhall bring to nought;
And the huge frame and engine of this all
Upheld ſo many yeares, at length ſhall fall.

And *Ovid* ſpeaking of *Lucretius*, ſeemes to have borrowed from him part of theſe very words,

In Eleg.

Carmina ſublimis tum ſunt peritura Lucreti,
Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

Lucretius loftie rimes ſo long ſhall live,
Till to this earth one day deſtruction give.

And *Lucan* as he differs not much from *Lucrece* in name, ſo doth he fully accord with him in this opinion.

Lib. 1. Pharſ.

---Sic cum compage ſoluta
Sæcula tot mundi ſuprema coegerit hora;
Antiquum repetens iterum Chaos, omnia mixtis
Sydera Syderibus concurrent, ignea pontum
Aſtra petent, tellus extendere littora nolet,
Excutietque fretum; fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata diem poſcet ſibi, totaque diſcors
Machina divulſi turbabit fœdera mundi.

---So when the laſt houre ſhall
So many ages end, and this disjoynted all
To Chaos backe returne: then all the ſtarres ſhall be
Blended together, then thoſe burning lights on high
In ſea ſhall drench, earth then her ſhores ſhall not extend
But to the waves give way, the Moone her courſe, ſhall bend
Croſſe to her brothers, and diſdaining ſtill to drive
Her Chariot wheele athwart the heavenly orbe, ſhall ſtrive
To rule the day, this frame to diſcord bent
The worlds peace ſhall diſturbe, and all in ſunder rent.

SECT. 3.

That the world ſhall have an end by fire, proved likewiſe by the teſtimony of the Gentiles.

De ver. fid. Chriſti. l. 2.

Ante medium.

AND as they held that the world ſhould have an end, ſo likewiſe that this end ſhould come to paſſe by *fire*. *Exuſtionis hujus odor quidam etiam ad Gentes manavit*, ſaith *Ludovicus Vives*, ſpeaking of the generall combuſtion of the world; ſome ſent of this burning hath ſpread it ſelfe even to the *Gentiles*. And Saint *Hierome* in his comment on the 51 of *Iſay*; *Quæ quidem & Philoſophorum mundi opinio eſt, omnia quæ cernimus*

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cernimus igni peritura, which is also the opinion of the Philosophers of this world, that all which wee behold shall perish by fire. *Eusebius* is more particular, affirming it to be the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, and namely of *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus* the most ancient among them. Certaine it is, that *Seneca* a principall Scholler, or rather Master of that sect, both thought it and taught it: *Ita ignis exitus hujus mundi est, humor primordium*; Thus shall fire be the end of this world, as moisture was the beginning: And againe, *Et Sydera Syderibus incurrent, & omni flagrante materia, uno igne quicquid nunc ex disposito lucet, ardebit*: The starres shall make inrodes one upon another, and all the whole world being in a flame, whatsoever now shines in comely and decent order shall burne together in one fire. *Panatius* likewise the *Stoicke* feared, as witnesseth *Cicero*, *ne ad extremum mundus ignisceret*, lest the world at last should be burnt up with fire. And with the *Stoickes* herein *Pliny* agrees, *Consumente ubertatem seminum exustione in cujus vices nunc vergat ævum*, the heat burning up the plentifull moisture of all seedes, to which the world is now hastening. *Numenius* also saith, good soules continue, μεχρὶ τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων, untill the dissolution of all things by fire. And with the the *Philosophers* the *Poets* accord. *Lucan* as he held that the world should have an end, so in speciall by fire, where speaking of those whom *Cæsar* left unburned at the battle of *Pharsalia*, hee thus goes on.

De prepar. Evan. 3. 15.

Nat. quæst. l. 3. cap. 13.

De Consol. ad Mart. c. 26.

Ludov. Vives. de ver. fid. Christ. lib. 2.

Lib. 7. 16.

Hos Cæsar populos si nunc non usserit ignis,
Vret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti:
Communis mundo superest rogus, ossibus astra
Misturus.

Lib. 7.

If fire may not these corps to ashes turne,
O *Cæsar*, now, when earth and seas shall burne,
It shall: a common fire the world shall end,
And with these bones those heav'nly bodies blend.

And for *Ovid* he deduces it from their propheticall records.

Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur affore tempus
Quo mare, quo tellus, convexaque regia cæli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa laboret.

Metamorph. 1.

Besides he calls to minde how by decree
Of fates a time shall come when earth and sea
And Heavens high Throne shall faint, and the whole frame
Of this great world shall be consum'd in flame.

Which hee borrowed, saith *Ludovicus Vives*, *ex fatis indubiè Sybillinis*, undoubtedly from the Oracles of *Sybilla*. And indeed verses there are which goe under the name of *Sybilla* to the very same purpose.

Tunc ardens fluvius cælo manabit ab alto
Igneus, atque locos consumet funditus omnes,
Terramque, Oceanumque ingentem, & cærula ponti,
Stagnaque, tum fluvios, fontes, ditemque Severum,
Cæleste mque polum, cæli quoque lumina in unum
Fluxa ruent, forma deleta prorsus eorum
Astra cadent, etenim de cælo cuncta revulsa.

Lib. 2. Oraculorum.

Then

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Then ſhall a burning floud flow from the Heavens on high,
And with it's fiery ſtreames all places utterly
Deſtroy, earth, ocean, lakes, rivers, fountaines, hell,
And heavenly poles: the Lights in firmament that dwell,
Looſing their beauteous forme ſhall be obſcur'd, and all
Raught from their places downe from heaven to earth ſhall fall.

To which verſes of *Sybilla*, doth the *Romane Miſſall* ſeeme to allude, joyning her with the Prophet *David*, but by what warrant I know not.

Miſſa pro defuncti.

Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvet ſæclum in favilla,
Teſte David cum Sybilla.

Heraclitus and *Hippaſus* the *Metapontine* were of opinion, that fire was the principle and beginning of all things, and that the whole world, and all the bodies therein contained, ſhould one day bee conſumed by fire, as witneſſeth *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe of the opinion of Philoſophers. It was likewiſe the opinion of *Heſiodus*, as the ſame *Plutarch* collects in his booke touching the *ceaſing of Oracles*. *Stoicis conſtans opinio eſt, quod conſumpto humore mundus hic omnis igneſcat, & Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione & mundi ruina, eadem ipſa ſententia eſt*, ſaith *Minutius Felix* in his *Octavius*. The *Stoickes* aſſuredly beleeve that the moiſture being ſpent, this world ſhall burne of a light fire, and the very ſame opinion touching the Conflagration of the elements, and diſſolution of the whole world, doe the *Epicureans* maintaine.

To theſe teſtimonies borrowed from the *Gentiles* may bee added thoſe of *Sophocles* and *Diphilus*, quoted by *Iuſtin Martyr* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*; whereof the firſt, as he is rendred by the Tranſlatour of *Iuſtin*, thus writes;

Lib. de Monar. pag. 82.

Venient enim illa ſæculorum tempora,
Cum ſolvet imbres ignis æther aureus;
Cremabit ergo flamma vi graſſans ſua,
Et hìc & illic ſumma & infima omnia.
Sic univerſitate cuncta perdita,
Vndis carebit omnis alveus ſuis.
Sedes requiret terra, nec poſthac aves,
Geſtabit aër igne vaſtatus leves.

Lib. 5. ſtrom. cap. 7.

The other thus; as he is rendred by the Tranſlatour of *Clemens*.

Erit ne erit novum nam tempus ſæculi,
Quando ignis effundet refertas copias,
Auratus æther, flamma quæ paſta & fuit,
Terrena cuncta cunctaq; & ſublimia uret furens;
Sed univerſum ubi defecerit,
Totum profundum tunc perſibit fluctuum,
Tellus manebit, & deſerta; non enim
Pennata producet folia igne torrida,
Servabit at deinde cuncta quæ perdiderat.

Now he that yet deſires farther ſatisfaction in this point may reade

Engu-

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Eugubinus his tenth booke *de Perenni Philoſophia*, & *Magius de exuſtione Mundi*. Yet by the way it ſhall not be amiſſe to obſerve, that (as *Cenſorinus* hath well noted in his 18th chapter *de die natali*) the *Gentiles* did not hold one onely Conflagration of the World, but diverſe *periodicall* Conflagrations and Deluges at certaine times and by turnes ſucceeding each other: and in particular, this to have beene the opinion of the *Stoicks*, appeares by *Laertius* in the life of *Zeno*. But in that *Cenſorinus* aſcribeth it likewiſe to *Ariſtotle*, it was doubtleſſe a miſtake, in as much as he held ſuch burnings and inundations to be fatall only to the parts of the earth, not to the whole, or to the whole by turnes, not at one time, this he holds ridiculous as may bee ſeene in his firſt booke of his Meteors and laſt chapter. So as either it muſt be acknowledged that *Cenſorinus* did not rightly apprehend the mind of *Ariſtotle*, or that inſteed of *Ariſtoteles*, *Ariſtocles* is in that paſſage to be read, who indeed held, as witneſſeth *Euſebius lib.* 15. *De præparatione Evangelica. cap.* 13. *per fatalia quædam & definita tempora mundum exardeſcere*. That the world had certaine fatall periods of burning. And among the *Chriſtians* only *Origen* to my knowledge defends this opinion of the *Stoicks*, touching the exiſtence of other worlds before this, and the future ſucceſſion of others after this, as both S. *Hierome* reports it in his epiſtle to *Avitus*, and *Origen* himſelfe in his third booke *de principijs* and fifth chapter makes it good. And ſo I paſſe to my third and laſt point propoſed in the beginning of this Chapter, which is, that the whole world by fire ſhall *totally* and intirely be conſumed.

SECT. 4.

That the world ſhall bee by fire totally and finally diſſolved and annihilated; proved by Scripture.

I Am not ignorant that the opinions of *Divines* touching the manner of the Conſummation of the world have beene as different, as the greateſt part of them are ſtrange and improbable; ſome imagining that all the Creatures which by Almighty God were made at the firſt beginning, ſhall againe be reſtored to that perfection which they injoyed before the fall of man. Others that the Heavens and Elements ſhall onely be ſo reſtored; others that the Heavens and onely two of the Elements, the Aire and the Earth; others againe, that the old world ſhall be wholly aboliſhed, and a new created inſteed thereof; and laſtly others which I muſt confeſſe, to mee ſeemes the moſt likely opinion and moſt agreeable to Scripture and reaſon, that the whole world with all the parts and workes thereof (onely men and Angels, and Devils, and the third Heavens the manſion houſe of the Saints and bleſſed Angels, and the place and inſtruments appointed for the tormenting of the damned excepted) ſhall bee totally and finally diſſolved and annihilated: As they were made out of nothing, ſo into nothing ſhall they returne againe; In the proving whereof, I will firſt produce mine owne arguments, and then ſhew the weakeneſſe of the adverſe

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14.12. *Man lieth downe, and riseth not,* saith *Iob, till the heavens be no more. Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of*
102.25.26. *thy hands; They shall perish, but thou shalt endure,* saith the *Psalmist*: which the *Apostle* in the first to the *Hebrewes*, & the 10 & the 11 verses, repeats almost in the same words: *Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and looke upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoake, and the earth*
51.6. *shall waxe old as doth a garment,* saith the Prophet *Esay*: And in another
34.4. place: *All the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll, and all the host shall fall downe as the leafe falleth off from the vine, and as a falling figge from the figge-tree.* To the former of which
Revel.6.14. words S. *Iohn* seemes to allude: *And the heaven departed as a scroll which is rolled together: Heaven and earth shall passe away, but my word shall not passe*
Mat.24.36. *away*, saith our *Saviour. The day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night, in the which the Heavens shall passe away with a great noyse, and the Elements shall melt with fervent heate. The earth also, and the workes that are*
2.3.10. *therein shall bee burnt up*, saith S. *Peter. The world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever.* 1.Joh.2.17. *And I saw a great white throne, and him that sate on it, from whose face the earth*
Revel.20.11. *and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them*, saith S. *Iohn*. Now I would demand, whether *being no more*, as *Iob*; *perishing*, as *David*; *vanishing away like smoake*, *dissolving*, *rolling together*, *falling downe as a withered leafe, or a dry fig from the tree*, as *Esay*; *passing away*, as our *Saviour*, and S. *Iohn*; *passing away with a great noyse, melting with fervent heate, burning up*, as S. *Peter*; or lastly, *flying away*, so as *their place be found no more*, as S. *Iohn*; doe not include an utter *abolition*, or at leastwise exclude a restitution to a perfecter estate: once *Beza*, I am sure, is so evidently
In Rom. 8.30. convinced by the alleadged words of S. *Peter*, that he plainely confesses the dissolution the *Apostle* there speakes of, to be a kinde of *annihilation*:
a *De extremo Iudicio.* And both a *Tilenus* and b *Meisnerus* are confident, that those who hold
b *In Sobria Philosoph. part.* 1. *sect.* 3. *cap.* 3. *quæst.* 5. a *restitution*, will never bee able to reconcile their opinion with the alleadged Scriptures. Of the same opinion with *Tilenus* and *Meisner*, are *Ægidius Hunnius*, Dr and Professour of Divinitie in the Universitie of *Witteberge*, in his Treatise *de Providentia, pag.* 17. *Gaspar Bartholinus* a famous Philosopher and Physitian of *Denmarke*, in his *Enchiridion physicum, Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 16. *Iohannes Chassanion*, a learned *French* Divine, in his *Common places, Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 22. And *Vossius* in his Disputation *de fine mundi, Thes.* 3. though *Compulsus authoritate Veterum*, inforced by the authority of the Ancients, he professe to follow the common opinion of the worlds *Renovation*, yet having well weighed the strength of the arguments alleadged on both sides, together with the sufficiencie of their answers, he warily annexeth this caution: *Quocirca nec eorum sententiam præfractè reijcere audemus, qui mundum secundum substantiam perituru esse arbitrantur: præsertim cum nihil de eo antiquitùs Synodo ullâ sit definitum.* Wherefore we dare not peremptorily to reject their opinion, who hold, that the world shall perish in regard of substance; specially cõsidering, that nothing in that point, hath anciently bin determined in any Synod. If we looke back to higher times before S. *Hierome* we shall not easily find any who maintained the worlds renovation. S. *Hilario*

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in his *Enarration* upon the 122. *Psal.* clearely expresseth himselfe to be of another minde: *Cœlum hoc* (saith he) *quod visibus nostris per materiam sui subjacet, quod tanquam fumus solidatus, firmamenti & naturam & nomen accipit, præteribit & non erit; sedes autem domini, cœlum scilicet in quo deus habitat, manet in æternum.* This heaven, which by reason of the matter thereof is subject to our sight, and like a thickned vapour, hath received both the name and nature of the firmament, shall passe away and *not be*, but the seate of the Lord, that is the heaven in which God dwells, shall abide for ever. And certaine it is, that *Clement* in his *Recognitions*, or whosoever were the *Author* of that worke, brings in S. *Peter* reasoning with *Simon Magus*, and teaching that there were two Heavens, the one *Superius & invisibile, & æternum quod Spiritus beati incolunt*: the highest, invisible and eternall, which blessed spirits inhabite; the other *inferius, visibile, variis distinctum syderibus, corruptibile, & in consummatione seculi dissolvendum, & prorsus abolendum*, lower, visible, distinguished with diverse starres, corruptible, and at the worlds end to bee dissolved and utterly abolished. *Lib. 3. & 13.* Nay S. *Ierome* himselfe in his Commentaries upon the 14th of *Esay*, tells us that in his time, this opinion of *Hilarie* and *Clement* was approved by some being moved thereunto by those words of the Apostle, 2 *Cor.* 4. 18. *The things which are seene are temporall, but the things which are not seene are eternall.* Now though that worke were not *Clements*, yet was it doubtlesse very ancient, being quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and remembred by S. *Hierome*, in his Commentaries upon *Esay*, and is of sufficient authority, against those who receive it: for my selfe I stand not upon his authority, but the rocke of Scripture and reason drawne from thence, and the force of naturall discourse. *Cap. 14. ante medium.*

SECT. 5.

The same farther proved by reason.

THe *first* then, and as I conceive the most weighty argument is taken from the *End of the worlds creation*, which was partly and chiefely the glory of the *Creator*, and partly the use of man the Lord Deputy as it were, or *Viceroy* thereof. Now for the *glory* of the *Creator*, it being by the admirable frame of the World manifested unto man, man being removed out of the world, and no Creature being capable of such a manifestation besides him, wee cannot imagine to what purpose the frame it selfe should be left and restored to a more perfect estate. The other *end* being for *mans use*, either to supply his necessity in matter of diet, of Physicke, of building, of apparell, or for his instruction, direction, recreation, comfort and delight, or lastly, that therein as in a looking-glasse hee might contemplate the wisedome, the power, and goodnesse of God: when he shall attaine that blessed estate, as hee shall have no farther use of any of these, enjoying perfect happinesse, and seeing God as he is, face to face, the second or subordinate end of the worlds being must needs be likewise frustrate. *1. Cor. 13.*

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And what other end can bee given or conceived for the remaining or restoring therof, for mine owne part I must professe I cannot conceive. And to affirme that it shall bee restored, and withall to assigne no end wherefore, is ridiculous and unreasonable. An house being built for an inhabitant, as the world was for man; If it be decreed that it shall no more be inhabited, it were but vanity to repaire, much more to adorne and beautifie it farther. And therefore when mankinde shall bee dislodged and remove from hence, hereupon shall instantly ensue the
Mat. 24. 3. Consummation or End not the reparation or restitution, but *the End* of the world. So the Scriptures call it in plaine tearmes, and so I beleeve it. And in truth some *Divines*, considering that of necessity some end must bee assigned, have falne upon ends so absurd and unwarrantable, that the very naming of them were sufficient to make a man beleeve there was no such matter indeed. Some then, and that of our owne *Church*, and that in publique bookes, for the clearing of this objection, have fancied to themselves an intercourse of the Saints (after the resurrection) betwixt heaven and earth, and that full Dominion over the
Catharinus in 1 Pet. 3. Creatures which by the fall of *Adam* was lost. Others are of opinion that the Earth after the day of judgement being renewed with fire, and more pleasantly apparelled, shall bee the mansion of such as neither by their merits have deserved heaven, nor hell by their demerits. And
Salmeron in eundem locum. lastly others, that such as have died in their infancie without circumcision or Baptisme, might possesse it. Now what meere dreames these are of idle braines, if I should but indeavour to demonstrate, I feare I should shew my selfe more vaine in vouchsafing them a confutation, then they in publishing them to the World. And yet they are the best wee see that Learned men by the strength of their wits can finde out.

My *second reason* shall bee drawne from the nature of the world, and the quality of the parts thereof, which are supposed shall be restored to their originall integrity, and so in that state everlastingly remaine. I will begin with the *vegetables* and Creatures endued with sense, & concerning them would willingly learne, whether they shall be all restored, or some onely, namely such as shall be found in being at the day of Judgement: if all, where shall we find stowage for them? Surely we may in this case properly apply that which the *Evangelist* in another case uses figuratively, if they should all bee restored, even the world it selfe could not contain the things which should be restored. If some only, thē would I gladly know why those some should be vouchsafed this great honour & not all, or how these creatures without a miracle shall be restrained frō propagating & multiplying, & that infinitely in their kinds by a perpetuall generatiō. Or lastly, how the severall individuals of these kinds, shall contrary to their primitive natures, live & dure immortally: But to make a good and sound answere to these demands, is a point of that difficulty, that the greatest parts of *Divines* rather choose to leave out the mixt bodies, and preferre onely the heavens & the elements to this pretended dignity of *restitution*, though about the number of the *Elements* to be restored they all agree not. But here againe I would demand

mand, whether the world without the mixt bodies, can truly be said to be more perfect and beautifull then before, whether the inbred and inseperable qualities of the Elements, as thickenesse & thinnesse, weight and lightnesse, heat & cold, moysture & dryenesse shall remaine? if they shall not, how shall they remaine *Elements*? if they shall, how without a miracle shall they be suspended from a mutuall intercourse of working one upon another, and a production of Meteors & mixt bodies? And how shall the *Earth* disvested of the vegetables which apparelled her, & appearing with her naked and dustie face, be said to be more amiable then before? *Finally*, if the heavens according to their *Essence* shall remaine, how shall they naturally and without a miracle stand still, being now naturally inclined to a circular motion? Or how without a miracle shall the light be increased, & yet the warmth springing from thence be abated, nay wholly abolished? Or if the warmth shall remaine, how can it choose but burne up those parts of the Earth, upon which it never ceases to dart perpendicular beames? Or how can the Sunne stand still, and yet inlighten both the *Hemispheres*, or the starres of that *Hemisphere* which it inlightens, at all appeare? To these demands, *Pererius* makes a short answere, and in my judgement a very strange one; & unworthy the penne of so great a Clarke, that some of these things *God* hath already done, that wee might be induced the more readily to beleeve, that they both may, and shall be done againe: And for instance, he alleadgeth the standing still of the Sunne & Moone at the prayer of *Iosuah*, & the restraining of the burning force of the fire, in the *Babilonian* furnace, but withall foreseeing that those were miracles, for satisfaction thereunto he concludes: *Non agere autem inter se qualitates elementorum, nec lucem Syderum calefacere, quamvis nunc ingens esset miraculum, tunc tamen posità semel mundi renovatione non erunt miracula.* It were now a great miracle, that the qualities of the Elements should not mutually worke each upon other, or that the light of the starres should not produce warmth, but then the world being renewed, they shall be no miracles. Indeed if the world were so to bee renewed as the former essence of it were to be destroyed, or the former qualities to be extinguished, then should I happily allow of his reason as probable & passable, but now granting the same *Identicall* forme and matter shall still continue, and that the former qualities shall not be abandoned but perfected, not altered in kinde, but onely in degree; I cannot see how it should be held & tearmed a great miracle heretofore, which shall not be so hereafter. And whereas it is said, that the bodies of the Saints shall then naturally live without meate, which now without a miracle they cannot doe, we must consider, that though the substance of their bodies shall remaine, yet the qualities of them shall be intirely changed, so farre as the *Apostle* is bold to call it a *spirituall bodie*. And besides we may be bold to challenge a *speciall priviledge* unto the bodies of the Saints, *the temples of the holy Ghost*, which without speciall warrant cannot be yeelded to any other Corporeall substance. And withall we must remember, that for the resurrection of the body, wee have an Article in our Creed, and most cleare proofes from Scripture, but for the restitution 1. Cor. 15. 44.

of the Creatures, no one such sufficient proofe, as the minde of a *Christian* desirous to bee truely informed, can rest fully satisfied therein. Such as they are, I will not conceale them: These places then are to that purpose commonly alleaged.

SECT. 6.

The arguments commonly alleaged from the Scriptures for the renovation of the world, answered.

Act. 3. 2. Psal. 104. 5. Eccles. 1. 4. WHom *the heavens must containe till the times of the Restitution of all things. He layed the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever*, saith *David*. And *Solomon*, *one generation passeth, and another commeth, but the earth abideth for ever.*

Esay, 65. 17. Revel. 21. 1. & S. Pet. 2. 3. 13. *Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembred, nor come into minde.* To which words of the *Prophet*, S. *Iohn* seemes to allude: *And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea.* And for the increase of the light of the Planets and other starres, that passage of the same *Prophet* is usually alleaged: *The light of the Moone shall bee as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sunne seaven fold*: But the pretended proofes most stood upon, are drawne from S. *Paules Epistles*, *The fashion of this world passeth away*; the *fashion* not the *substance*. And againe, *The Creature it selfe also shall bee delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God.* And lastly, hereunto they adde the words of the *Psalmist*, *Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed*: not *abolished* but *changed*: Which words are againe by the *Apostle* taken up and repeated, *Heb.* 1. 12. These are, I am sure, the strongest, if not all the pretended proofes that are commonly drawne from the holy Scripture and pressed for the maintenance of the adverse opinion, the strength of which I thinke I shall so put backe, as it shall appeare to any indifferent Iudge, that it is in truth but forced and wrested. The passages I will consider in order as they are alleaged, & severally examine their validitie to the purpose they are urged. First then whereas wee out of the *Greeke* reade the *Restitution of all things*, the *Syriake* Interpreter hath it *usque ad Complementum temporum omnium*, to the end of all times, whereby none other thing can be understood then the *finall consummation* of the world, but to take the words as wee finde them, *The times of restitution* are undoubtedly the same, which Saint *Peter* in the next verse save one going before, had tearmed *times of refreshing*, and by them is meant the actuall fulnesse and perfection of our *redemption*, *quoniam restitutio illa adhuc in cursu est atque redemptio, quando adhuc sub onere servitutis gemimus*, saith *Calvin*, because our restitution and consequently our redemption as yet is but imperfect, whiles wee groane under the burden of servitude. To the second it may be said, that in the course of nature, the earth should remaine *for ever* without decay or diminution, had not the Creator of it decreed by his almighty power to abolish it: But I rather chuse to answere with *Iunius*, who upon the first

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place taken out of the Psalme, gives this note, *tantisper dum sæculum duraturum est*, as long as time shall endure. and upon the second this, *hominis vani comparatione*, in comparison of the vanishing estate of man. The earth then is said to remaine *for ever*, as *Circumcision* and the *Levitical* Law are said to be *perpetuall*, not *absolutely*, but *comparatively*. Now for the *new heavens* and the *new earth*: it should seeme by the places alleaged, that if it bee litterally to bee understood of the materiall heavens, they shall not bee *renewed* as the common opinion is, but *new Created*, (creation being a production of some new thing out of nothing) So as it shall not be a *restitution* of the old, but a *substitution* of new, in as much as the *Prophet Esay* addes, *the former shall not bee remembred, nor come into minde*: And Saint *Iohn*, *the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea*. And Saint *Peter*, *The heavens shall passe away with a noise, and the elements shall melt with heate, and the earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt up*. And of this opinion, *Beza* in one place seemes to have beene: *Promittuntur novi Cœli ac nova terra, non priorum restitutio, sive in eundem, sive in meliorem statum; nec ijs possum assentiri, qui hanc dissolutionem ad solas qualitates referendum censent*. There are promised new heavens and a new earth, not the restitution of the old either unto their former, or a better state, neither can I assent unto them, who referre this dissolution to the qnalities alone. But seeing belike the singularity and absurditie of this opinion, hee recalls himselfe in his annotations upon the very next verse. But the truth is that by *new heavens* and a *new earth* is to bee understood in the *Prophet Esay*, *the state of the Church during the kingdome of Christ*: and in Saint *Peter* and S. *Iohn*, *the state of the Saints in the heavenly Ierusalem*. For the *Prophet*, that which I affirme will easily appeare to any understanding Reader that pleaseth to peruse that Chapter, specially if thereunto we adde the latter part of the next, touching the same point. *For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make, shall remaine before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name continue, and from moneth to moneth, and from sabbath to sabbath shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord*; Upon the alleaged passage of the former chapter *Iunius* and *Tremelius* give this note, *Omnia instauraturus sum in Christo*, I will restore all things in *Christ*: Referring us for the farther illustration thereof to that of the same *Prophet* in this 25 chapter at the 8 verse. And for the exposition of the latter passage in the 66 chapter, referres us to that in the 65 going before. So that as well by the drift and coherence of the text, as by the judgement of sound Interpreters, *materiall heavens and earth* are not there understood. Which some of our *English Translatours* well perceiving, have to the first passage affixed this note, *I will so alter and change the state of the Church, that it shall seeme to dwell in a new world*: And to the second this, *Hereby hee signifieth the kingdome of Christ, wherein his Church shall bee renewed*. Yet I will not deny but that the *Prophet* may in those words likewise allude to the state of the *Saints* in the *heavenly Jerusalem*. To which purpose, S. *Peter* seemes to apply them, *according to his promise*, saith hee, *wee looke for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth Righteousnes*, that is, by the consent of the best expositours, righteous and just

v. 10. In Rom. 8. v. 20.

v. 21.

Gap. 66. v. 22. 23.

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men, who after the day of judgement ſhall dwell no longer upon the Earth, but in the heavenly *Ieruſalem*. Which Saint *Iohn* more lively deſcribes in the 21 of the *Revelation*; for having ſaid in the firſt verſe, *And I ſaw a new heaven and a new earth*, he preſently addes in the ſecond, as it were by way of Expoſition of the former. *And I Iohn ſaw the holy City new Ieruſalem, comming downe from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband*; and by the ſequele of that Chapter and the latter part of the precedent, it cleerely appeares (whatſoever *Brightman* dreame to the contrary) that he there deſcribes the ſtate of the Saints after the day of judgement, and the glory of that place which they are
v. 23. eternally to inhabite; being ſuch, that it had *no neede of the Sunne nor of the Moone to ſhine in it, the glory of God inlightning it, and the Lambe being the light thereof*: And *Iunius* thus begins his Annotations on that chapter: *Nunc ſequitur hiſtoria prophetica pars ſecunda, de ſtatu futuro Eccleſiæ cœleſtis poſt Iudicium ultimum*: Now followes the ſecond part of his propheticall hiſtory of the future ſtate of the Church triumphant after the day of Judgement: And with him therein accord the greateſt part of the ſoundeſt and moſt judicious Interpreters.

The other paſſage alleaged of the Prophet *Eſay* touching the increaſe
30. of light in the Sunne and Moone, is likewiſe undoubtedly to bee underſtood of the *reſtauration of his Church*; according to the tenour of the chapter, and the annotation of *Iunius* annexed thereunto, *Illuſtriſsima erunt & glorioſiſsima omnia in reſtitutione Eccleſiæ*, all things ſhall then bee more beautifull and glorious in the reſtitution of the *Church*. And with him fully accord our Engliſh notes, *when the Church ſhall be reſtored, the glory thereof ſhall paſſe ſeaven times the brightneſſe of the Sunne. For by the Sunne and Moone which are two excellent Creatures, hee ſheweth what ſhall bee the glory of the Children of God in the kingdome of Chriſt.*

1. Cor. 7. 31. Now for the words of the *Apoſtle, The faſhion of this world paſſeth away*, what other thing intends hee, but that in theſe worldly things, there is nothing durable and ſolide, elegantly thereby expreſſing the *vanity* of them, in which expoſition, both *Iunius* and *Calvin* agree.

That of the ſame *Apoſtle* in the 8 to the *Romans*, touching the deli-
v. 21. vering of the Creature *from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God*, is I confeſſe in appearance more preſſing. But this paſſage the great wit of Saint *Auguſtine* found to be very obſcure
In lib. 83. quæſt. 67. and perplexed, in ſo much as not a few underſtand thoſe words of Saint
2. *Ep.* 3. 16. *Peter* of this particular, that in Saint *Paules Epiſtle ſome things are hard to bee underſtood*. It were then in my judgement no ſmall preſumption upon a place ſo intricate and difficult peremptorily to build ſo uncertaine a doctrine. But becauſe it is ſo hotly urged as a teſtimony unanſwerable, let us a little examine the parts and ſenſe thereof. Firſt then it is cleare, that the Creature may be *delivered from the bondage of corruption*, and yet not reſtored to a more perfect and beautifull eſtate, in as much as being *annihilated*, it is thereby freed from that abuſe of wicked and ungratefull men, which heere it is of neceſſity ſtill ſubject unto. But all the doubt is, how the *Creature ſhall bee made partaker of the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God*. I hope no man will dare to affirme that they

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ſhall be with them *Coheires of eternall bleſſednes*, as the words ſeeme to import; how then are they made partakers of this glorious liberty? But in as much as when the ſonnes of God ſhall be made partakers therof, the Creature ſhall be altogether freed from the bondage of corruption: So as that, *into the liberty of the ſonnes of God*, is no more then *together with* the liberty of the Sons of God, or, by reaſon of the liberty of the Sons of God, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* hath expounded it. They which maintaine any other future liberty in the Creature by way of reſtitution or bettering it, are bound ſoundly to anſwere all the arguments before alleadged, and withall to yeeld a ſufficient reaſon why ſome Creatures are to be reſtored and not all, ſince the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not to ſome only. Surely S. *Ambroſe* in his Expoſitions upon that place, durſt goe no farther then we doe, *habet enim in labore poſita Creatura hoc ſolatium quoniam habebit requiem, cum crediderint omnes quos ſcit Deus credituros*: the Creature travelling in paine hath this comfort, that it ſhall reſt from labour, when they ſhall all beleeue, whom God knowes are to beleeve. And in truth this is as much as wee neede beleeve, and as the words being favourablely interpreted doe inforce.

The laſt teſtimony muſtred againſt us was taken from the Pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt change them and they ſhall bee changed*: But ſince in the ſame verſe he likewiſe tells us, *They ſhall periſh*; what *change* ſhall we there underſtand? Surely for the ſame thing to bee ſaid to bee *changed* into a better and more perfect eſtate, and yet withall at the ſame time to *periſh*, cannot properly be verified. *We ſhall not all ſleepe but we ſhall all be changed* ſaith the *Apoſtle*; now if by changing; there wee ſhould underſtand *periſhing*, it might very well ſeeme a very hard and harſh interpretation. We are to know then that a thing may be changed, not only by *alteration*, which is a change in the quality, but by *augmentation* or *diminution*, which is a change in the quantity, by *corruption*, which is a change in the ſubſtance; or laſtly, (though in a larger, and perchance ſomewhat unuſuall acceptation) by *annihilation*, which is a totall aboliſhing of ſubſtance: And this in truth is the greateſt change that may be, it being *ab ente ad non ens ſimpliciter*, from a being to a not being wholy. And of ſuch a change muſt the *Pſalmiſt* of force bee underſtood, if wee will reconcile him with himſelfe, and the paſſages before alleadged; And thus doth *Bellarmine* in his Commentaries upon that pſalme expound that place. *Deum ſolum eſſe immutabilem probat ex eo, quod ipſe idem ſemper manens mutavit cœlos de non eſſe ad eſſe, & rurſus mutabit de eſſe ad non eſſe, & quod de cœlo dicitur de toto mundo intelligitur, cujus maxima & nobiliſſima pars eſt cœlum.* From hence he proves, that God alone is unchangeable, becauſe himſelfe remaining one and the ſame, hee changed the heavens from no beeing to a beeing, and will againe change them from a beeing to no beeing; and that which is ſpoken of the heavens is to be underſtood of the whole world, the greateſt & nobleſt part whereof the heavens are. Beſides *Bartholinus* in the ſecond booke and ſixteenth chapter of his *Enchiridion* hath obſerved that *mutation* in many places of Scripture, and namely *Can.* 2. 11. *Eſay.* 2. 18. *Dan* 4. 25. is taken for

Pſalm 102. 26. where the word uſed by the *Pſalmiſt* is *Balah*, which properly ſignifies to be brought to nothing. 1. Cor. 15. 51.

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an utter *abolition*; or (if this satisfie not) we may say (as some doe) that the heavens shall bee changed in regard of us; insteed of visible and materiall heavens, (the use of which we now injoy) we shall be translated to an heaven immateriall and invisible, the *Celestiall Paradise*, the *heavenly Ierusalem*, which in *holy Scriptures* is likewise tearmed a *new heaven*. Notwithstanding all this (for the reverence I beare antiquity) I will not be peremptory in the point: But truly me thinkes, that a few obscure places should rather be expounded by many cleere, then the cleere wrested to the obscure. Since the first publishing hereof, a very deare and learned friend of mine, not finding himselfe fully satisfied with mine answere to the objection taken from the eight to the *Romans*, sent me his doubts, which I here present in the next Section, together with my reply in the Section following therupō: his doubtes I have cast into 13 parts, which by so many figures I have marked out & shaped mine answere accordingly.

SECT. 7.

Doubts presented me by a worthy friend touching mine answere to the former objection taken from the 8th *to the Romans.*

ALthough I must needs confesse that the reasons you have rendred for the finall Annihilation of the Creature, partlie in your printed Apology, partly in your manuscript against *Suares*, may very much have moved me: yet must I withall professe, that as yet they have not altogether removed me from my former station, touching the perpetuitie and continuance thereof. That which still holds me fast thereunto, is the authority of St *Paule* in the eight to the *Romans*. A place which as to your appearance, so to me seemes in truth very pressing: neither can I see (such may bee my dulnesse) how you have any way sufficientlie answered it. Wherin I conceive the insufficiencie lies, I shall freelie and ingenuously declare, if I may intreat your leave and patience briefely and in few words to examine it.

1° In generall you charge the text with *Obscuritie*, both for that St *Augustines* great witt found it intricate and perplexed, as also for that others not a few understand those words of St *Peter* of this particular place, where he saith, that in St *Paules* Epistles some things are hard to be understood. Whence you infer, that it is no small presumption to build such a doctrine upon so uncertaine a foundation. Wherunto I reply.

1° Suppose the text be *Obscure*: yet not every Obscuritie makes it a sandie and uncertaine foundation, but that only the meaning whereof either is not, or cannot certainely be knowne. Now such Obscuritie I deny to bee in this text: and I hope in the sequeale clearely to manifest the meaning thereof.

2° Though St *Augustines* wit were great: yet great wits see not all things. And I presume you will not deny that many texts which to the Ancients seemed darke and obscure, are now to us through Gods blessing upon the industrie of latter writers, most cleare and evident, your selfe, have both truly & ingenuously acknowledged, that you see

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not but the wits of this preſent age may produce as great effects as thoſe of the Ancients: nay greater, in as much as wee have the light of their writings to guide us. You might well have added, & ſundry other great helps which they wanted: you know the ſaying, a dwarfe ſtanding on the ſhoulders of a Giant, may ſee farther then the Giant himſelfe. And yet are wee not dwarfs neither, but of equall ſtature, if *Vives* miſſay not.

3° Grant this particular place be intended by St *Peter*, yet doth it not follow that this text is intricate or perplexed. For he ſpeaketh not of St *Pauls* phraſe, but of the points handled by him. This appeareth by the Relative ἐν οἷς. For, if hee had meant that St *Paules* Epiſtle were δυσνοητοι he would have ſaid ἐν αἷς But ſaying ἐν οἷς, it is manifeſtly referred unto the points diſcuſſed in them. Now theſe, although they may be difficult unto the naturall man, as being ſupernaturall and tranſcending the pitch of reaſon: yet to the faith of him that is Spirituall, the Apoſtle may have expreſſed himſelfe in termes ſo liquid and perſpicuous, as no doubt can bee made of his meaning, or what hee would have us to beleeve. 2d

2° In particular, you quarrell with the words of the text, as ſubject to diverſitie of conſtructions, and not neceſſarily enforcing a continuance or Reparation. Theſe namely, *Creature*, *Hoping*, *Groning*, *Travelling*, and *Deliverance into glorious liberty of Sons*. Let us therefore examine them ſeverally. 3d

1° By Creature *Theodoret*, *Origen*, others, you ſay, underſtand the Angels: *Auguſtine*, *Anſelme*, *Lira*, the Naturall man: *Gregorie*, *Cajetan*, *Catharin*, *Salmeron*, the Regenerate man: *Aquinas* admits all three. Hence you conclude, firſt uncertaintie, then no neceſſitie the dumbe Creature be underſtood. Whereto I anſwere,

1° If diverſity of interpretations alwayes argue uncertainty of ſence, I marvell much what text can be certaine. For as the Proverbe ſaith, ſo many men ſo many minds. Howbeit among many Expoſitions I hope it is not impoſſible but ſome one may be convincing and infallible. And upon ſuch variety ever to build uncertainetie, is but to induce a Sceptical and *Pyrrhonian* Divinity.

2° The text it ſelfe Demonſtratively controlleth all theſe Interpretations: reſolving only upon the dumbe Creature: and humane authority muſt give place to divine Demonſtration. Thus therefore out of it I argue and conclude;

1° Angels are not meant: for neither the Bleſſed nor the Sinfull. Not the Bleſſed: for they are not ſubject to vanity & corruption, neither doe they groane and travell to be freed from it, as the Creature is here ſaid to doe. Not the Sinfull: for they hope not for, but envy and greeue at the full Adoption of the Sons of God. Neither doe they waite and groane for their owne finall deliverance, but utterly diſpaire of it as being certaine of their everlaſting rejection.

2° Neither is Man meant: for then either the Regenerate or Vnregenerate. Not the Regenerate: for they are plainely diſtinguiſhed from the Creature, where it is ſaid, *And not onely they, but our ſelves*

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also which have the first fruites of the Spirit. Nor the unregenerate: for the Creature is subject unto vanity, not of its owne will: but these wittingly and willingly subject themselves thereunto. Againe, the Creature longeth for its freedome: these being without faith have no hope thereof. To say nothing that they are so farre from desiring the Adoption and Redemption of the Sons of God, that they rather delight in persecuting and afflicting them,

3. If neither Angels nor Men, then undoubtedly the dumbe Creature alone is meant, for there is no third. Yet neither the Empyreall heaven, nor Hell. Not that: for being the throne of God, and the seat of blessed Saints and Angels, nor made for our use while we are here *in via*, but reserved to bee our Mansion when wee shall dwell in *Patriâ*, it is neither defiled by our Sin, nor subjected unto vanity. Nor this, because it is the place of endlesse torment, the receptacle of damned fiends and men, and consequently the sinke of all corruption from which it shall never bee freed. In regard whereof, it may well be said to groane for the actuall damnation of the wicked, but never to long for the Salvation of the Iust, as on whom it neither hath, nor ever shall have power.

4. It remaineth therfore that by the Creature, the dumbe Creature onely be understood which against its will is subject unto vanity, and longeth with a fervent desire to be delivered from the bondage thereof: such as are the nether Heavens, the Aire, the Earth, the Sea, and what may be of like nature.

4. 2. Hoping, Groning, Travelling, are words, say you, hardly appliable to the dumbe Creature. For doubtles not Properly, unles we will allow it freedome of will. And if wee flie to Figure, somthing must be conceived proportionable thereunto, which what should it be? Adde hereunto, that Scripture no where besides attributeth such qualities unto the bruite Creature in respect of any Supernaturall Object. Which as you further say caused *Augustine* and *Hierome* warily to avoid expounding them of Unreasonables. To all which I answere.

1. We have already demonstrated out of the Text, that not the Reasonable, such as are Men and Angels, but the dumbe Creature onely is understood. Which demonstration being grounded upon Divine testimony may not be prejudicated either by S. *Hieromes*, or S. *Augustines*, or any other humane authority.

2. It shall readily be yeelded, that Hope and Desire is not here used properly. For it is not grounded upon any knowledge the Creature hath, either of the redemption of the Sons of God, or of its own future liberty, neither doth it proceed from electiō or any freedome of will that it hath. So to elevate them above their Nature, were indeed to turne them out of their Nature. For as an Vnity by addition of another number, ceaseth to be what it was, and is advanced to an higher number: so if yee adde to the bruite Creature Knowledge & Election, it is now no longer what it was, bruite, but raised to the condition and degree of Men or Angels. Wherefore.

3. By these termes wee understand no other then that naturall appetite

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appetite or Desire, which Philosophie it selfe allowes those Creatures: whereby they affect Perfection in their kinde if they want it, and the continuance of their Perfection if they be already possessed of it. Which seeing the once had, namely in their first creatiō, but that now through mans fall and Gods curse, it is much impaired and decayed, no marvell if here they bee said to desire the repairing and recovery thereof. Neither is this manner of speaking so strange and unusuall in Scripture as you pretend. For it affirmes that the beasts not only seeke their meate, which is naturall unto them; but also that they seeke it of God, and wait upon him that he may give it them in due season, which in proper sence is above their nature. Wherefore in like manner, seeing the creature cannot recover its perfection, untill the Saints have obtained theirs, mee thinks it should not seeme harsh to say that they hope and waite for that time.

3. To that of *Deliverance from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, you answere three things. 1. That the Creature may be delivered by Annihilation without Restitution. 2. That in proper sence it cannot be partaker of this glorious liberty. 3. That into the liberty, is no other then together with, or by reason of the liberty, as *Chrysostome* saith εἰς, being put for διὰ. Whereunto I reply. 5.

1. That freedome imports not a privation only, but some positive thing also. For that which is not, is neither Bond nor Free: so that which is, Free is, yea and is in a better state then when it was Bond. Adde hereunto that the Naturall desire of the Creature is for the continuance of its Being: how then can it be imagined that it should long for its finall abolishment and annihilation? specially if you consider the forciblenes of the words συστενάζειν, συνωδίνειν, ἀπεκδέχεσθαι, all signifying vehemence and intentions of Hoping and Longing. For that the Creature should groane and travell, and with stretched out neck wait onely, and that against its naturall inclination, for a Not beeing, is incredible. And if after Being not to bee, bee a Vanity, as indeed it is: it would follow that to bee freed from vanity, it longs for vanity, which is absurd. 6.

2. Beatifically to behold the face of God, in the fulnesse of wisedome, righteousnes and peace, is a Blessednesse I confesse no way incident unto the Creature beneath Man. Howbeit throughly to bee freed from vanity, and to be restored either to its primitive or a better perfection, which is a glorious liberty, I suppose you will not deny but if God will, it is capable of. Which because it shall be conferred upon them for the States sake, to whom they have done continuall service: I see no reason but it may well be called the glorious liberty of the Sons of God, even as at the inauguration of a Prince, the pompe and state of his nobles and followers, is a part of the kings glory, and they bee said to partake of the kings glory.

3. That the Preposition εἰς may be so used I deny not, neither will I elevate the authority of S. *Chrysostome*. Nevertheles it is to be observed, that the Apostle having first said ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας, and presently adding εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, plainly intimateth two termes of their delive- 7.

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rance, from which, & into which. And this is so cleare, that all Interpreters translate it neither together with, nor by reason of, but into the liberty. Whose generall authority so according with the Text, should more have prevailed with you then the single opinion of one man whatsoever. Yet this I say, not as if S. *Chrysostome* made for your Annihilation: for you cannot be ignorant how peremptory he is that for the Saints sake the Creature shall be brought into a glorious liberty, and with what golden eloquence and choice similitudes after his manner hee paints it forth.

8. 3. You seeme to bind all those that maintaine any other liberty then you doe, either by restitution or bettering, soundly to answere all your arguments: as if it were necessary either to doe so, or to disclaime that opinion. But

1. There is no such necessity. For if S. *Paul* affirme it, I am bound stedfastly to beleeve it though I meete with a thousand objections, never a one of which I am able to assoile. It is the glory of Christian Faith firmely to adhere unto a revealed conclusion, not only above Reason, but if need be against Reason also. In the article of the Trinity, how many difficulties are there which the wit of man can never cleare? And must I therefore doubt whether there be three persons subsisting in the unity of the same Godhead? He was a great Clerke who held it impossible by reason to accord the decree of God with the liberty of mans will: and yet I suppose you will not deny but they agree together, and though the one may necessitate the effect, yet the other may concurre and worke freely. Revealed truths therefore are not forthwith to be renounced, if all arguments be not throughly answered.

9. 2. As for your arguments I thinke they are not unanswerable but that convenient solutions may be found for them. That taken from Scripture, it seemes your selfe hold it not to be Demonstrative, seeing you conclude so doubtfully, either an utter abolition, or at least wise a not-restitution to a better state. And in truth if you answering our objections may *Psal.* 102. 26. expound changing by perishing or annihilation, though by your owne confession that acceptation of the word bee somewhat unusuall: I see no reason but I may as well expound your perishing by changing in the usuall acceptation. Especially seeing changing in that verse is set after perishing, & it is the manner of the *Psalmist*, as indeed is more fitting, to explaine the former by the latter, and not the latter by the former. The rest of your Scripture arguments I omit. For the chiefest of your strength lying in the word *Perishing*, this being answered, the rest fall of themselves.

10. 3. Your weightiest argument also drawn from reason & the end of the worlds creation is soone answered. For although Man, as you say, be then removed out of the world, yet is he not so removed, but that he may behold whatsoever remaineth of the world to the manifestation of Gods glory. Neither doth it follow, because the eyes of the mind in that blessed estate see God as he is face to face, therefore there is no need by the eye of the body to contéplate God in the creature. For me thinks variety of wayes & means to know God & glorifie him, should

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in no ſtate be hurtfull. And if while we are here *in viâ*, faith take not away reaſon and the ſight of the eye, but leaving unto us the uſe of both, elevates us beyond them: what ſhould let but viſion may leave ſome imployments for our eyes, though it advance our mind to the intuitive ſight of God? what? Becauſe wee ſee God face to face, ſhall not our eyes bee bleſſed in beholding the Humane Nature of Chriſt? If they ſhall, may they not therefore glorify God by the ſight of thoſe glorious Saints that are the members of Chriſt? If they may, what ſhould barre them to deſcend yet a little lower, and to glorifie God by beholding the glorious liberty of thoſe inferiour creatures, which ſometimes have bin our nurſes and done great ſervice unto us? To anſwere all in two words, I ſay firſt that an end may bee aſſigned to the worlds continuance, namely to ſtand as an everlaſting trophee or monument of the Power and Wiſedome of God in creating and governing it. Secondly, though I could aſſigne no end, yet might it continue for ends knowne only to God, and as yet unrevealed to me.

11. 4. And laſtly you demand ſeeing the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not ſome only, whether all the Creatures ſhall bee reſtored and continue? If not, why ſome onely, and what thoſe ſome are, whether the ſimple or thoſe that are mixt? whereunto I anſwere.

1. As in this, ſo in ſundry other points of Divinity, a curious head may eaſily move more queſtions then the wiſeſt man living will ever bee able to ſatisfie. For my part I confeſſe I cannot perfectly reſolve all your demands. The beſt of us while we are here ſhall know but in part. Neither is it neceſſary, ſeeing all is not revealed. It ſufficeth mee therefore ſimply to beleeve what the Apoſtle affirmeth, namely that the Creature ſhall bee emancipated from their bondage, and brought into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God. As for other ſcrupulous niceties I inquire not after them, but leave all unto God, and unto that day when ſuch myſteries ſhall fully bee diſcovered.

12. 2. Nevertheles if you will heare what to me ſeemeth not unprobable (for certainty, I have none) it is to be obſerved that the word uſed by the Apoſtle is κτίσις, not ποίημα. Now κτίσις properly ſignifieth that Creature which by the omnipotent power of God was immedialy educed out of nothing to be what it is. But ποίημα is that which is compounded and framed of that which is already ſomething: whence it may ſeeme that that Creature only ſhall continue which was created of nothing: ſuch, as is above ſaid, the Heavens, the Aire, the Earth, the Sea are, and if there be any other of like nature.

13. 3. If you demand farther, as indeed you do, why theſe rather then the reſt? I anſwer becauſe Mã being made the ſixth day could not behold them as they were in their primitive & ſimple nature: but only as they were inveſted & apparelled with the works of the former five daies. And this ſeemeth abundantly enough for the uſe of man in that bleſſed eſtate. For as for thoſe mixt & compound bodies wee ſee and behold them daily. And although in that day they ſhall be aboliſhed & conſumed: yet may wee by remembrance call them to minde, & ſo in them contemplate the greatneſſe of their Maker. Beſides, if after our

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glorification wee ſhall be like vnto the Angels, & the Angels upon the knowledge of a Propoſition intuitively behold all concluſions that may bee deduced from it: it may be that wee alſo beholding the firſt principles of things, ſhall in them be able to ſee whatſoever in the beginning God educed out of them. But theſe are may bees, you will ſay. They are ſo indeed, & perhaps Idle dreams of a ſicke braine. The ſafeeſt way therefore is, without anſwer to paſſe by all theſe quarrels and curious queries of humane reaſon, & firmely to adhere unto S. *Pauls* doctrine, that the Creature ſhall bee delivered into a glorious liberty.

And thus have I beene bold briefely to examine your anſweres unto this paſſage of S. *Paul* to the *Romans*, and by my ſcales finde them ſome few graines too light. More happily might have beene ſaid: but being off from my bookes, you have what I was able to forge out of mine owne head. The cenſure whereof I leave unto your wiſedome: praying you to remember that of I know not what moderne Poet

Non eadem ſentire bonos de rebus ijſdem
Incolumi licuit ſemper amicitiâ. *I. D.*

SECT. 8.

My reply to theſe preceeding doubts.

1. TO the *firſt*, not onely the *Ancients*, but the *Moderne* Expoſitours and all that I haue read, commenting on that place, with one generall conſent acknowledge it to bee very *obſcure*; which ſhould argue that the true ſenſe of it either cannot or at leaſtwiſe as yet is not certainely knowne to be any ſuch convincing, infallible, divine demonſtration, as you would afterward ſeeme to make it.

2. To the *Second*, this obſcurity is to be underſtood not onely in regard of the capacitie of the Naturall man, but of the Chriſtian Beleever, for ſo they held themſelves, and ſo I preſume you hold both S. *Auguſtine* and the reſt to have beene.

3. To the *third*, I undertake not to defend their interpretations, who by the word [*Creature*] underſtand the Angells, either bleſſed or ſinfull; or Man, whether Naturall or Regenerate, but leave the Authours to maintaine their owne expoſitions. And though I might quarrell at ſome things in your refutation of them, yet for quietneſſe ſake I am content with you by it to underſtand the *dumb Creature*, and withall to exclude both the *Empyreall* Heaven and Hell; but then you muſt remember that having made your exception, all the reſt which are not excepted are by the rules of *Law*, and *Reaſon*, and *Logicke* to bee included, and not onely the nether Heavens, the aire, the earth and the ſea, as you ſeeme to ſay in the very next Section: For what you meane by thoſe which are of like nature I know not, there being beſide thoſe no more elements but the fire, and for mixt bodies they cannot bee of like nature with the Elements.

To the *fourth*, being already of accord with you, that thoſe words, *Hoping*,

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Hoping, *Groning* &c. are to be understood of the dumb creature, I will presse it no farther howthey are applyable thereunto: but yet to affirme that by these termes we understand none other then that naturall appetite which Philosophie it selfe allowes those Creatures I cannot allow; since Philosophie allowes them none other perfection then what already they have: And besides to waite for the manifestation of the Sonnes of God, or to be sensible that they cannot recover their perfection untill that be done, is a matter farre above the reach of the greatest Philosophers; much more above the naturall apprehension of the unreasonable and senceleſſe Creature; it must of necessity then be some *supernaturall* instinct which what it is, or how it is infused, or how the Creature is capable of it, I must professe for mine owne part I hold it a point undeterminable: And for the passage out of the Psalmes which you alleage as paralell to this of the Apostle, mee thinkes it might without any strayning be thus expounded, that *they seeke their meate of God*, because God provides it for them, and by his providence directs them in the seeking and finding of it, though they know it not.

To the *fifth*, it is true that *freedome* sometime imports not onely a privative, but a positive act, but *deliverance from the bondage of corruption*, may import onely a privative, and though the thing delivered remaine not after such deliverance, yet can it not be denyed to be delivered, for the remaining of it afterward, is meerly accidentall in regard of the deliverance, and no way essentiall thereunto. And whereas you adde that the naturall desire of the Creature is for the continuance of its being, and consequently cannot be for its finall abolition, you may be pleased to call to minde that in the creature is a double inclination, the one for the continuance of its particular beeing, the other for the preservation of the Universall, as when the water to avoide that *vacuum* or discontinuity which otherwise would ensue in the parts of the world, mounts upward, so the creature may desire by *abolition* to bee delivered from the *bondage* of *corruption*, that is all kinde of sinfull abuse, because then man for whose sake the world was made, shall bee glorified, and God the worlds maker thereby honoured: In relation whereunto both *Moses* wished himselfe to bee *rased out of the booke of life*, and S. *Paul* to bee *separated* or accursed from *Christ*, which was a degree farther then *abolition*; the creature then doth not long for abolition that it may bee abolished as you suppose, but that by abolition it may be delivered from all sinfull abuse, which the Apostle calls a *bondage* of *corruption*, and is doubtlesse a greater vanity then the abolition thereof, in as much as by the one, God is more dishonoured, then by the other hee can be. And so I hope there is no such absurdity in mine assertion as you would inferre. 5.

To the *sixth*, you say that the *Creatures shall pertake of the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God*, in as much as that glorious liberty which they shall be invested with shall be conferred upon them for the Saints sake, to whom they have done continuall service: but here I would first demand, whether the heaven and consequently the aire and water injoy not now as much liberty as they did before the fall of man? indeed wee 6.

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reade that Gods curſe was upon the earth, (and yet how that likewiſe is to be underſtood good Divines make a doubt) but that it reached to theſe wee reade not. And with the Schoolemen to affirme they ſhall then ſtand immoveable is upon the matter to deſtroy their natures, and in reaſon rather tends to the reſtraint then the inlargement of their liberties. My ſecond demand is, that if theſe *Creatures ſhall partake of this glorious liberty*, becauſe they have done ſervice to Gods Saints; why they ſhould not likewiſe partake of helliſh ſufferings, becauſe they have done ſervice to Devils and reprobates, and have beene often and much abuſed by wicked men (and perchance by the Saints themſelves before their calling) to the great diſhonour of God, and the infinite wrong and griefe of good men? as in the *Leviticall Law* the beaſt which was abuſed by man or woman to unnaturall luſt, though it were not guilty of ſinne becauſe not capable of reaſon, yet was it by Gods preſcript to ſuffer with him or her who ſo abuſed it. My third demand is, that if theſe *Creatures ſhall partake of this glorious liberty* becauſe they have done ſervice to the Saints, how it comes to paſſe that all of them which have performed this ſervice partake not of this liberty, and ſome perchance which have performed no ſuch ſervice, ſhall notwithſtanding partake thereof; but in truth how the involuntary ſervice of the unreaſonable creature whether good or bade ſhould either merit reward, or demerit puniſhment, for mine owne part I muſt profeſſe I conceive not. Laſtly your ſimilitude of the pompe and ſtate of Noble-men at the inauguration of the King, holds no proportion with the matter in queſtion; ſince they by their perſonall preſence mutually adde and receive grace and luſtre to and from each other, which how the creatures here on earth ſhall be able to performe to the Saints in heaven, or the Saints to them I cannot comprehend, and much leſſe how the globe of the Earth can appeare in greater pompe, being deveſted of all the mixt bodies, and ſhewing her ſelfe with her naked and duſty face, then now it doth, being decked and garniſhed with ſuch wonderfull, plentifull, and ſingular variety in all kindes.

7. To the *Seaventh* S. *Chryſoſtome* doth not onely affirme that *εἰς* may be put for *διὰ*, but that it is ſo put in that place, and whereas you ſay that the two prepoſitions there uſed by the Apoſtle plainely intimate two tearmes *from* and *into*, it is true that in your ſenſe they happily may ſo do, but not in S. *Chryſoſtomes* who doubtleſſe underſtood the proprietie of Greeke words better then either of us both. And whether all Interpreters ſo tranſlate it as you pretend, ſome doubt there is, conſidering there are in ſome languages many tranſlations, and in all languages (I thinke) ſome which neither of us both have ſeene; and many times they follow one another rather then the Originall: Howſoever, I tranſlate it no otherwiſe then uſually I finde it: but yet I ſee no reaſon I ſhould be denyed the liberty to expound it, as the beſt of the Greeke Interpreters underſtand the word, ſpecially ſince thereby thoſe abſurdities may more eaſily be put off which in my judgment the other opinion is ſubject unto: And though it be true that S. *Chryſoſtome* himſelfe ſtand for the renovation of the world, yet he accords not in all points with you, and

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and I should thinke that hee tooke it up rather upon trust and the current of the times (wherein the errour of the *Millenaries* was very rife) then due examination, neither doth his golden eloquence so much move mee as forcible arguments should have done. And for his similitudes, you know, *Theologia Symbolica non est argumentativa.*

To the *eight*, there is as great necessity that the adverse part should answere my objections, as that I should answere theirs: and in matters which are not *de fide*, I see no reason but the best arguments should carry it, if there be no expresse Scripture against it, and many Scriptures in expresse tearmes for it. In this case I thinke I am bound though not peremptorily to imbrace, yet to incline to that opinion which I hold to bee most probable and subject to the least and fewest absurdities: And though I am bound stedfastly to beleeve what S. *Paul* affirmes, yet am I not bound to beleeve your affirmation that Saint *Paul* affirmes it, and for any such convincing infallible demonstration (as you speake of) that he so doth, I must professe as yet I cānot finde it. That the *Creature shall bee made partaker of the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God* you doe not, you cannot expound it in a proper sence, and according to a literall construction, why then shall it not bee as lawfull for me to leave the letter too, and following the originall to put upon it such an exposition as is without all controversie subject to lesse inconveniences, and more consonant to other Scriptures? Your instance in the article of the *Trinity*, is (as I take it) impertinent and unsutable, in as much as by the confession of all good *Christians* it is necessary to Salvation to bee beleeved; and I trust you will not affirme the restitution of the world so to bee; we may then I hope more safely dispute the one then the other. And as for that great Clerke who held it impossible to reconcile the necessity of Gods decrees with the liberty of mans will and yet held both; his reason so to doe was because the Scripture expounded by the Church, assembled in lawfull Councells had so declared it, & if in this point it had likewise so done, I should have held it sufficient to impose silence. 8.

To the *ninth*, I never yet affirmed the arguments brought in defence of mine opinion from Scripture to be *demonstrative*, I thought it sufficient if they were alleaged as *probable*, and whereas I professe that I will not be peremptory for the reverence I beare antiquity, I thought you would rather have commended my modesty then blamed my doubtfulnesse: And for my selfe I had rather undertake lesse and performe more, then undertake much & finally fall short in the proofe. A man may easily promise convincing infallible demonstrations, but when it comes to tryall it is not so easie a matter to make them appeare so to bee. The onely particular passage you insist on is my expounding of *changing* by *perishing*; whereas you say you see no reason but you may as well expound *perishing* by *changing*: for that, we shall easily agree, conditionally you still maintaine a *perishing*: but to say that a thing shall perish and yet withall to affirme that it shall in substance still remaine the same both in matter and forme, and for the qualities be advanced to a more excellent estate, implies in my judgement a manifest and irreconcilable 9.

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contradiction. And yet I hold not with you that the chiefeſt ſtrength of my Scripture arguments lies in the word *periſhing*, that of *Iob, till the heavens be no more*; and of our *Saviour, heaven and earth ſhall paſſe away*; and of S. *Peter, the day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night in the which the heavens ſhall paſſe away*; and of S. *Iohn, the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was found no place for them*; in my minde make more evidently for an annihilation: and ſo is my meaning that theſe alleadged paſſages ſeeme more clearely to inferre an *abolition*, and the reſt at leaſtwiſe to exclude a reſtitution to a perfecter eſtate.

10. To the *tenth*, whether the carnall eye of a man though glorified, bee without a miracle able from the higheſt heavens to diſcerne the globe of the earth and water, I ſhould make a great doubt. For if thoſe light-ſome bodies which are bigger then the earth, appeare unto us but as candles in a leſſer diſtance; how ſhall the proportion of the earth bee diſcernable in a diſtance farre greater? And though variety of wayes & meanes to know God in that ſtate of perfect bleſſednes be not hurtfull, yet it may be needleſſe: nay the *Apoſtle* tels us in plaine tearmes, that *when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be done away*: Diverſe wayes then to know God which are but in part may well e-nough ſtand together, as faith and reaſon, and the ſight of eyes: but when that which is perfect is come, when we ſhall ſee him as he is, face to face, and by intuition know him as we are knowne of him, God ſhall then be all in all, wee ſhall then no more need thoſe other wayes which are but in part, then hee who ſtands by his friend and fully beholds him preſent, ſhall, to take a view of him in a picture or looking-glaſſe. Nei-ther doth the beholding of the humane nature of Chriſt, or of the glo-rified Saints, inferre any neceſſity of beholding theſe inferiour Crea-tures; ſince the one is the Authour, and the other are the Coheirs of our glory: but theſe inferiour Creatures being made onely for the uſe of the Church militant, can no more conduce to the happineſſe of the Church triumphant, then the light of a candle to reade by can to him that ſtands in the Sun-ſhine: And in the fulneſſe of that light of the in-finite treaſures of the power and wiſedome of God, which wee ſhall then diſcover in him, theſe poore beggarly Elements ſhall no more ſerve as trophies or monuments of his greatneſſe, then the rattles of a childe can ſerve for the ſetting forth of the magnificence of ſome great *Monarch*.

11. To the *eleventh*; your beſt way then, if you thinke my objections in-ſoluble, had beene to paſſe them over in ſilence, and not to have offered to make ſolutions to them; for by theſe you have now made, you begin to make me thinke they are *inſoluble* indeed: yet to make ſuch objecti-ons in queſtions which are not *de fide* hath alwayes beene uſuall, and for any thing I know is juſtifiable enough; And for that which the *Apoſtle* affirmes I ſimply beleeve it, as you do, but not in that manner and ſenſe as you expound it.

12. a Rom. 8. v. 39. the word κτίσις is take generally for all Creatures both corporall and ſpirituall.

To the *twelfth*, to let paſſe your diſtraction (whereof notwithſtan-ding I finde no ſufficient warrant) I alwayes conceived that of materi-all Entities onely the firſt matter had beene by God created out of no-thing,

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thing, and the Elements out of it, and out of them the mixt bodies, and consequently that being so, the world should in your opinion be againe resolved into the first *Chaos*, and yet why that should remaine I finde as little reason as for any of the rest; what monument of wisedome and power shall wee call that where the hangings, and furniture, and houshold stuffe are all removed, onely the bare wals or foundation are left to be seene? And I pray consider if ever any interpreter who commented on the place, and understood it of the inferiour Creature, upon any sufficient ground excluded the mixt bodies, once of this I am sure that the text hath it [b] *Every Creature*, and our last Translatours render it *the whole creation*, which cannot well stand with your distinction. And truly hee that shall interpret *every Creature* to be onely the heavens and the Elements, and from the whole creation shall at one blow cut off all the mixt bodies, cannot but acknowledge that hee takes to himselfe a large scope of interpreting: specially considering that the mixt bodies and amongst them the living and sensible Creatures (as the horse and the oxe) are more properly said to groane and travell in paine under the bondage of Corruption, then the Elements and the Heavens. And here I would willingly learne to what end you thus mangle and imbroile the text to exclude the mixt bodies, but only to put off those absurdities which you fore-see would necessarily ensue thereupon; and why should you then debarre mee from excluding the Elements likewise from a restitution, there being no lesse absurdities which follow upon the admittance of these, then of them. Let us then agreeably to the letter of the Text either admit all and cry down all arguments that can be brought against it as curious and scrupulous niceties, or by a favourable construction and agreeable to other Scriptures exclude all from a restitution.

[b] *Beza* translates it *Mundus hic conditus*, & *Tremelius* out of the *Syriach*, *Universa creatura*.

To the *Thirteenth*, if by the primitive and simple nature of the Elements you understand their pure integrity, as that the Earth should be dry and cold without any mixture of moysture or warmth, for mine own part I thinke it was never so existent nor any of the other elements, the fire only excepted, in as much as so being, they could not have been so behoofefull for the use of man and beast (for whom they were created) as now they are, but if thereby you understand (as it seemes you do) their nakednesse and voidnesse of all mixt bodies, good Divines as namely *Philo*, *S. Augustine*, *Procopius*, *Gazaus*, and *Cajetan* are of opinion that the worke of the Creation of the world was not in it selfe distinguished by dayes, but onely is so in the historicall relation thereof by *Moses*, the better to descend to our capacity and apprehension: And though they bring for themselves their arguments as well from Scripture as reason, yet herein am I willing not to dissent from you; as also in that which you adde, that the sight of these simple bodies seemeth abundantly enough for the use of man in that blessed estate, because hee then shall be so farre from wanting the sight of any other, as in truth he shall in no sort want them: but whereas you exclude the mixt bodies because wee see them dayly, you might as well, and by the same reason must have excluded the heavens too, nay and the very Elements themselves; 13.

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ſelves. And to me it ſeemeth ſtrange that you ſhould ſpeake of contemplating the greatneſſe of their maker in them, when wee ſhall perfectly contemplate him and his perfections in himſelfe. And that which you adde touching the knowledge of the Angels is to no better purpoſe, conſidering we ſhall intuitively behold all concluſious in the principle of all thoſe principles, the firſt roote and fountaine of all beeing; but here againe I muſt put you in minde that whereas you promiſed convenient ſolutions to my objections, you paſſe over in ſilence thoſe which I preſſe in particular touching the Heavens and the Elements, and muſt profeſſe that for mine owne part I know not which way to finde out convenient ſolutions to them. And therefore I joyne with you, & conceive indeed your ſafeſt way had beene without anſwere to paſſe by all theſe quarrels and queries of humane reaſon: for the more you meddle with them, the more will you intangle your ſelfe in an inextricable Labyrinth: but if you will firmely adhere to the letter of S. *Paules* doctrine, as you pretend without conſulting with humane reaſon in this buſines, you will be forced to take in all the beaſts, and fowles, & fiſhes, and vegetables as well as the Heavens & Elements, for in grammaticall conſtruction I am ſure that *every Creature* or the *whole Creation*, infoldes as well the latter as the former: And I will be bold to ſay it, if you thorowly weigh all the circumſtances of the text, you will finde that the latter are rather to be underſtood by the *Apoſtle*, then the former: but becauſe the reſtitution of the one ſeemes at firſt bluſh to bee more repugnant to humane reaſon then the other, therefore (and for none other cauſe that I know) hath it pleaſed the Schoolemen and other Divines following them to exclude the one, and admit the other.

And now Sr I cannot but yeeld you moſt harty thankes as well for imparting me your labours and minde ſo friendly & freely, as likewiſe for awakening my wits by this occaſion more thorowly to conſider of the ſenſe of that Scripture, then before I did: which if it have given you any ſatisfaction I ſhall be glad thereof.

Et tu converſus confirma fratres.

CHAP. 14.

Of the uſes wee are to make of the Conſummation of the World, and of the day of Iudgement.

SECT. 1.

That the day of the worlds end ſhall likewiſe be the day of the generall Iudgment thereof, and that then there ſhall bee ſuch a Iudgement, is proved as well by reaſon as the teſtimony of the Gentiles.

WHatſoever be the *manner* of the worlds end, moſt certaine it is, an *end* it ſhall have, and as certaine that *then wee ſhall appeare before the Iudgement ſeate of Chriſt, that every man may receive according to that which hee hath done in his body, whether it be good or evill.*

2 Cor. 5. 10.

vill. If we yeeld that there is a *God*, and that this *God* is *Almighty* and *just* (which of neceſſity he muſt be, or otherwiſe he may not be God) it cannot be avoyded, but that after this life ended, he adminiſter juſtice unto men, by puniſhing the wicked and rewarding the righteous. Since in this world the one commonly live in eaſe and proſperity, and the other in miſery and perſecution. *Shall not then the Iudge of all the world doe right?* doubtles hee ſhall and will. Some therefore he puniſheth exemplarily in this world, that we might from thence have a taſte or glimce of his *preſent juſtice*: And others he reſerveth to the next, that from thence wee might have an aſſurance of a *future judgement*, which is either *particular*, as wee are ſingle perſons at the day of the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body, which we may call the *Privy Seſſions* of the ſoule; or *univerſall*, as we are parcels of mankinde, at the laſt day, which we may call the *generall Aſſiſe* both of ſoule and body. Gen. 18. 25.

And that there ſhall be ſuch a *generall judgment*, beſides the particular, we have theſe reaſons to induce us to beleeve it. *Firſt*, that the body of man riſing from his ſepulchre at that day may be partaker of eternall puniſhment or glory with the ſoule, even as in this life it was participant of the vertues or vices which the ſoule did execute; as they either ſinned together, or ſerved God together: So is it moſt fit that they ſhould receive the ſentence of eternall life or death together. Yet becauſe the ſoule both may, and often doth, either ſinne or ſerve God without the body, but the body of it ſelfe can doe neither without the ſoule; therefore is it as requiſite that the ſeperated ſoule ſhould either ſuffer paine or injoy bliſſe, whiles the body reſts in the grave: And being reunited and married againe unto the body, ſhould partake more either of bliſſe or paine then it. See *Raimundus Sebundus* his naturall Theologie. Et *Raimundus Lullius in demonſt. art fidei.*

As this firſt reaſon is taken from the Eſſentiall parts, ſo the *ſecond reaſon*, that there ſhall be an univerſall and publique judgement, is drawne from the Actions of the perſons to be judged & their rewards. Though it be true then, that if men were rewarded in ſecret both in ſoule and in body according to their actions, the *juſtice of God* might by that meanes be preſerved, yet could it not be ſufficiently manifeſted, unleſſe this judgement were acted in the publique view of the whole World. Many good men have here beene openly oppreſſed and trodden under foote; and on the other ſide, the wicked have flouriſhed in abundance of outward peace and temporall felicitie, which hath made the beſt of Gods ſervants at times to ſtagger and ſtand amazed thereat: But then ſhall they and all the word clearely ſee, and confidently profeſſe to the honour of *Divine juſtice*, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtles there is a God that judgeth the Earth.* And in regard of this conſpicuous manifeſtation of *Gods juſtice* and full accompliſhment thereof at the laſt day, not a few of the *Greeke* & *Latine Fathers*, as alſo the holy *Scriptures* themſelves in ſundry places ſeeme to ſay, the retribution of our workes in the fleſh ſhall be differred till then. Now *beſides* this honour which ſhall accrew to the *juſtice of God*, both wicked ſinners and the bleſſed Saints of *God* ſhall then receive their rewards and finall payments openly in the ſight and hearing of each other, to the end, that the griefe and Pſal. 58. 11.

ſhame

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ſhame of the impious, and the triumphant joy of the vertuous and religious, might thereby be the more increaſed. For what greater heart-breaking and confuſion can there bee to the one, then to have all their ſecret faults layd open, and the ſentence of Condemnation paſſed upon them in the preſence of them whom they derided and vilified? or what greater comfort or content to the other, then to be juſtified and rewarded in the view of them who were their profeſſed enemies?

Laſtly, as our bleſſed *Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt* (who ſhall then appeare as *Iudge*) at his firſt comming into this world was contemptible in the eye of wordling, and diſhonoured *publiquely* both in his life and death: So was it convenient, that once in this world he ſhould ſhew his power, and Majeſty, and that in the ſight of all his Creatures, but ſpecially of his wicked enemies, who after that day are never to ſee or behold him more.

To theſe *reaſons* may bee added the *teſtimony of* the very *Gentiles*, of *Hydaſpes*, *Hermes* and *Sybilla*, whereof the firſt having deſcribed the iniquity of the laſt age, ſayes that the godly and righteous men being ſevered from the unrighteous, ſhall with teares and groanes lift up their hands to heaven, imploring the helpe of *Iupiter*, and that thereupon *Iupiter* ſhall regard the earth, heare their prayers and deſtroy the wicked: *Quæ omnia vera ſunt, præter unum, quòd Iovem dixit illa facturum quæ Deus faciet*, ſaith *Lactantius*, all which things are true, ſave one, which is, that he aſcribes that to *Iupiter* which God ſhall doe. And beſides (ſaith he) it was not without the cunning ſuggeſtion of *Sathan* left out, that then *the Sonne of God* ſhall be ſent from the father, who deſtroying the wicked, ſhall ſet the righteous at liberty. Which *Hermes* notwithſtanding diſſembled not. Part of *Sybilla's* verſes alleaged by *Lactantius* in *Greeke*, may thus be rendred in *Latine* and *Engliſh*:

Euſebius de præparatione. 11. 18. 20. & 12. 3.

Lactan. 17. 18.

Huic luci finem imponent cum fata ſupremum,
Iudicium æthereus Pater exercebit in omnes,
Iudicium humano generi imperiumque verendum.
When God ſhall to this world its fatall period ſend,
Th'immortall, mortall men in judgement ſhall arraigne,
Great ſhall his judgement be, his Kingdome without end.

And againe,

Tartareumque chaos tellure hiſcente patebit
Regeſque ætherij ſiſtentur judicis omnes
Ante thronum.
Tartarean Chaos then Earth opening wide ſhall ſhow,
And then all Kings before Gods judgement ſeat ſhall bow.

And in another place.

Cælum ego convolvens penitralia cæca recludam
Telluris, functique & fati lege ſoluti
Et mortis ſtimulo exurgent, cunctoſque tribunal
Ante meum judex ſtatuam, reproboſque, proboſque.
Rolling up Heaven I will Earths ſecret vaults diſcloſe,
Deathes ſting alſo, and bonds of fate will I unlooſe:

Then

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Then ſhall the dead ariſe, and all both ſmall and great,
Both good and bad ſhall ſtand before my judgement ſeat.

Over and above theſe Prophets & men of learning, *Peru* the South part of *America* doth yeeld to us an ignorant people, who by the light of nature & a generall apprehenſion (for God knoweth they have nothing elſe) doe beleeve that the world ſhall end, and that there ſhall be then a reward for the good and for the evill according to their deſert. *Surius in com. an.* 1558.

SECT. 2.

The conſideration of this day may firſt ſerve for terrour to the wicked, whether they regard the dreadfulneſſe of the day it ſelfe, or the quality of the Iudge by whom they are to be tryed.

THe certainty then of this univerſall Judgement at the laſt day, being thus clearely proved, not onely by the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, but by the light of *Reaſon* and the teſtimonies of the *Gentiles*, the conſideration thereof may juſtly ſerve for *terrour* to the wicked, it being to them a day of *wrath* and *vengeance*; for *Comfort* to the Godly, it being to them a day of *refreſhing* and full *Redemption*; and laſtly for *admonition* & *inſtruction* to both. Firſt then it may juſtly ſerve for matter of extreame *terrour* to the wicked, whether they regard the *dreadfulneſſe of the day* in which they ſhall be tryed, or the *quality of the Iudge* by whom they are to be tryed, or the *nature or number of their accuſers* that ſhall bring in evidence againſt them, or the preſence of ſuch *an aſſembly of men and Angels* before whom they ſhall be arraigned, or their *owne guiltineſſe* and *aſtoniſhment*, or laſtly the *ſharpeneſſe and ſeverity of the ſentence* that ſhall paſſe upon them. The very *Face and countenance of that day* ſhall be *hideous* & *diſmall* to looke to, it ſhall be apparelled with horrour and affrightment on every ſide: *That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and heavineſſe, a day of deſtruction and deſolation, a day of gloomineſſe and darkneſſe, a day of clouds, ſtormes and blackneſſe, a day of the trumpet and alarme againſt the ſtrong cities, and againſt the high towers.* Then ſhall the Sun be darkned, and the Moone ſhall be turned into bloud, and the ſtarres ſhall fall from heaven as it were withered leaves from their trees, and the powers of heaven ſhall be ſhaken, and the graves ſhall vomit up their dead bodies, the heavens ſhall paſſe away with a noiſe, and ſhrivell together like ſcorched parchment, the elements ſhall melt and diſſolve with heat, the ſea and flouds ſhall roare, and the Earth with the works that are therein ſhall be burnt up, there ſhall be horrible claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightning, voyces and earth-quakes, ſuch as never were ſince men dwelt upon the earth: ſuch howling, ſuch lamentations, ſuch skriches ſhal be heard in every corner, that the hearts of men ſhall tremble and wither for very feare and expectation of thoſe things which at that day ſhall befall thē. And now tell me what mortall heart can chooſe but ake & quake at the remembrance of theſe unſpeakeable incomprehenſible terrours? The *Law* was given with thunder & lightnings, and a thicke cloud upon the mount, with an exceeding loud and Zephany 1. 15. 16.

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ſhrill ſound of the trumpet, ſo that all the people were afraide, yea ſo terrible was the ſight, that *Moſes* ſaid, *I feare and quake*. Now if *Moſes* the ſervant of the Lord quaked to heare the firſt trumpet at the giving of the Law, how ſhall the wicked condemned in their owne conſcience, tremble and quake to heare the ſecond at the execution thereof?

Specially being arraigned at the barre of ſuch a Judge, apparrelled with Robes of Majeſty, and attended with millions of Angels: A *Iudge* ſo ſoveraigne as there lies no appeale from him; ſo wiſe as nothing can eſcape his knowledge; ſo mighty as nothing can reſiſt his power, ſo upright as nothing can pervert his juſtice, who neither can bee deceived with ſophiſtry, nor blinded with gifts, nor terrified with threats. They ſhall looke upon him whom they have wounded and goared with the ſpeare of their blaſphemies, with the nailes of their curſings and curſed oathes; whom they have buffited and ſpit upon with their impiety and prophaneſſe; whom they have againe crucified to themſelves by their deviliſh and damnable actions, trampling his pretious Bloud under foot by their impenitencie, putting him to open ſhame by their infidelity, making a mocke of him by their obſtinacie, and turning his grace into wantonnes by their preſumption. Holy *Auguſtine* in one of his *Sermons of the laſt Iudgement*, brings in this *glorious Iudge* thus expoſtulating the
Serm. 67. 'matter with theſe miſcreants at that day. O man! with mine own hands 'did I faſhion thee out of the ſlime of the earth: into thy earthly mem-'bers did I infuſe a ſpirit: I vouchſafed to beſtow upon thee mine owne 'Image: I placed thee among the delights of *Paradiſe*: but thou con-'temning the vitall efficacie of my commandements, chooſedſt rather 'to liſten to the *tempter*, then thy *God*. And when being expelled out 'of *Paradiſe*, by reaſon of ſin thou wert held in the chaines of death, I 'was incloſed in the Virgins wombe, I was laid in the cratch, I was 'wrapped in ſwathing cloathes, I endured the ſcorne of infancie, & the 'griefe of manhood, that ſo being like unto thee, I might make the like 'unto my ſelfe. I bore the buffetting and ſpittings of ſcorners, I dranke 'vineger mixed with gall, I was ſcourged with whips, crowned with 'thornes, nailed to the croſſe, goared with a ſpeare, & that thou mighteſt 'be freed from death, in torments I parted with my life: Looke upon 'the print of the nayles, behold the skarres of my wounds: I took upon 'me thine infirmities, that I might impart unto thee my glory. I under-'went the death due to thee, that thou mightſt live for ever. I was buried 'in a Sepulchre that thon mighteſt raigne in Heaven. Why haſt thou 'wilfully loſt that which I by my ſuffrings purchaſed for thee? Why haſt thou ſpurned at the gratious gift of thy Redemption? I complaine 'not of my death, only render unto mee that life for which I gave mine. 'Render mee that life which by the wounds of thy ſinnes thou dayly 'killeſt. Why haſt thou polluted with more then beaſtly ſenſuality that 'Temple which in thee I conſecrated to my ſelfe? Why haſt thou ſtay-'ned my body with filthy provocations? Why haſt thou tormented 'me with a more grievous croſſe of my ſinnes, then that upon which I 'ſometimes hung? for the croſſe of thy ſinnes is more grievous (in as 'much as unwillingly I hang uponit) then that other which taking pit-'ty

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'ty upon thee, & to kill thy death, I willingly mounted. I being impassi-
'ble in my selfe vouchsafed to suffer for thee: but thou hast despised
'God in man, salvation in mine infirmity, pardon from thy Judge, life
'from my crosse, and wholesome medicine from my sufferings. Now
what flinty or steely heart in the world could choose but resolve it selfe
into teares of bloud upon such an expostulation, were it moistened with
any drop of grace? But hereunto might be added, that thou hast often
joyned with his enemies against him, turned the deafe eare to the minis-
stery of his Word, jesting at his threatnings, neglected his gratious invi-
tations, quenched his holy inspirations, abused his Sacraments, and his
patience, which being long abused, at length is turned into fury. This
Lambe of God therefore shall then shew himselfe as a *Lyon*, he shall then
put on righteousnesse as a brest-plate, & take true judgement instead of
an helmet, then shall he put on the garment of vengeance for cloathing,
& be clad with zeale as with a cloake; Then shall he come in strength
as a storme of haile, & as a whirlewinde breaking and throwing downe
whatsoever standeth in his way, as a rage of many waters that flow and
rush together. The mountaines shall melt and fly away at his presence, a
burning fire shall goe before him, and on every side of him a violent
tempest. And if *Felix* himselfe a *Iudge* trembled to heare *Paul* (who as a
prisoner was arraigned before him) disputing of this Last Judgement,
how shall the guilty prisoners tremble before the face of this *Iudge*, be-
ing both the *Iudge and the party offended*? If the *Iewes* who came to attach
him fell backward at the hearing of his voyce in the dayes of his *humi-
lity*, how shall the wicked stand amazed & confounded at his presence
when he comes to judge them in gloty and *Majesty*? Surely for them to
endure the fiercenes of his angry countenance will be intollerable, and
yet to fly from it impossible, & the more intollerable will it be in regard
of the *nature* and *number* of their *accusers*.

SECT. 3.

Of the nature and number of their Accusers.

THe *Creatures* shall accuse them whom they have abused to vani-
ty, to luxury, to drunkennesse, to gluttony, to covetousnesse, to
ambition, to revenge, and being then freed from their bondage,
they shall freely complaine of this unjust usurpation. *Good men* shall ac-
cuse them, as having bin most disdainfully scorned, wronged, oppressed,
and troden under foot by them. Their *Companions* shall accuse them, as
having bin drawne into sin by their wicked intisements and examples.
Their *Teachers* and Governours shall accuse them, as having beene irre-
verent toward their persons, and rebellious against their instructions &
commands. *Their Children and Servants* shall accuse them, as having
beene negligent of their education in vertue and piety. *The Prophets and
Apostles* shall accuse them as having beene careless in the observation
of their writings. *The good Angels* shall accuse them, whose directions
they have refused to follow. *The Devils* shall accuse them, in that they

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have betrayed their Lord and Captaine to march under their banners. *Their owne Conſciences* ſhall bitterly accuſe and upbraid them: the body ſhall accuſe the ſoule as being the principall agent, and the ſoule the body as being a ready inſtrument. *The Appetite* ſhall accuſe reaſon as being too ſenſuall & indulgent; & *Reaſon* the appetite, as being irregular & inordinate: all the *faculties* of the ſoule, all the *ſenſes* and *members* of the body ſhall accuſe each other: nay which is worſt of all, the *Iudge himſelfe* ſhall be thy accuſer, repreſenting thoſe tranſgreſſions to thy memory, & laying them cloſe to thy charge which either thou hadſt forgotten and caſt behinde thee, or didſt perchance not know, or not acknowledge to be ſinnes; *Sweet* IESVS! which way will the poore Sinner turne himſelfe in the midſt of all theſe accuſers and accuſations? To confeſſe them then will ſerve but to increaſe his ſhame; to deny them, but to aggravate his fault, and conſequently his puniſhment: nay deny them hee cannot, being convinced by two evidences againſt which there can be no exception, the booke of the *Law*, and the booke of his owne *Conſcience*, the one ſhall ſhew him what he ſhould have done, and the other what he hath done, againſt the booke of the *Law*, hee ſhall be able to ſpeake nothing; his *Conſcience* telling him that the commandements of the Lord are pure and righteous altogether: and for the booke of *Conſcience*, againſt that hee cannot poſſibly except, it being alway in his owne keeping, ſo as it could not be falſified, and whatſoever ſhall then be found written therein, he ſhall freely acknowledge to have been written with his owne hand: Silence then ſhall bee his ſafeſt plea, and aſtoniſhment his beſt Apologie.

The rather, for that all theſe accuſations ſhall be brought in and laid againſt him *in the preſence of the bleſſed Saints and glorious Angels* which ſhall then be unto him a terrible and fearefull ſpectacle, aſwell in regard of their infinite number, as their irreſiſtable ſtrength. We reade of diverſe holy men, who upon the ſight of an *Angell* have beene caſt into ſuch pittifull fits that their ſpirits have failed them, their breath hath forſaken them, their joynts have bin looſed, and for the time they have bin as dead bodies without all appearance of ſenſe or life. Now if holy men have beene ſo much moved with the ſight of one *Angell*, bringing them good tidings and converſing familiarly with them, into what inconceiveable gulfes of horrour ſhall the reprobate be plunged upon the ſight of ſo many millions, all armed with indignation againſt them, and deſire of the full and finall execution of their *Creators* will? If an army of men marching with banners diſplayed bee terrible to behold, how dreadfull ſhall that innumerable hoſte of heavenly ſouldiers appeare to the face of their enemies? and if one of them ſlew foureſcore and five thouſand in one night, what mortall wight ſhall conceive any hope of ſtanding before ſuch multitudes? who as they are now ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes that are heires of ſalvation, ſo then ſhall they ſeparate the juſt from the unjuſt, and ſhall execute vengeance upon them that ſhall bee heires of damnation, caſting them into a furnace of fire, where ſhall be wayling and gnaſhing of teeth. So as they ſhall not be bare *Spectatours* but principall *Actours* in that lamentable tragedie. We find

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find that when but one of them descended to role away the stone from our *Saviours* Sepulchre, there was a great *Earth-quake*, and for feare of him the keepers of the Sepulchre were astonied, and became as dead men: Into what extremity then of confusion and perplexity shall the wicked be driven, when they shall perceive such troupes of these mighty and glorious Creatures assembled not onely to be witnesses of their shame and just condemnation, but agents in their execution? Besides all this, it shall bee acted in the presence of those *blessed Saints* whom they alwayes held their greatest enemies; and what greater bitternesse can be imagined, then to bee laid open and reproached in the sight of a mans enemies, and to see them in the meane time advanced to honour, triumphing and insulting upon his miseries, as the Saints then shall doe upon impenitent sinners, admiring and applauding the justice of their *Creator*, and as *assistants* approving the equity of that sentence which he shall pronounce, and which the condemned themselves likewise cannot but justifie?

In as much as then in an instant shall be represented unto themselves, and discovered in the open view of the whole world; all the horrible, fowle, bloudy, crying, roaring sins that ever they committed, together with all the circumstances of time, and place, and persons, and manner, and measure. Then shall they give a particular strict account of all the *blessings*, of all the *gifts and graces* which God hath bestowed upon them, of all the *faculties* of their soules, of all the *senses and members* of their bodies, as it were of so many talents committed to their charge, how they have used or rather abused them. Then shall they give an account, how they have profited by all those *wholsome lessons* they have heard, and fatherly *chastisments* they have beene corrected with, how they have entertained those good *motions* that God hath put in their hearts, how they have withstood the *Suggestions* of *Sathan*, & the temptations of the *world* and the *flesh*. Then shall they give an account, not onely of their greivous, haynous sinnes of *presumption* and *malice*, committed against the light of their *Conscience*, wittingly, willingly, & wilfully, with an high hand and stiffe necke; but of filthy rotten *speeches*, prophane *writings*, unsavory *jests*, nay of every *idle word*, nay of every loose and lewd *thought*; not only of outward, publique, notorious transgressions; but of secret practises, mischievous plots & projects, knowne only to *God* and their owne soules. *Lastly*, not only of sins of *Commission*, but of the *Omission* of good duties, and of their pretious time misspent, passing the greatest part thereof in eating, and drinking, & sleeping, and dancing, & gaming, in haunting Taverns, and play-houses, and dicing-houses, and brothell-houses, which should have beene spent in the workes of *Charity*, of *Piety*, or those of their *private calling*. *Good God*, what shall the poore sinner now say, what shall he doe for the levelling and clearing of those accounts? shall hee call for mercy? he hath already shut that doore against himselfe. Shall hee fly to his *Saviour*? hee is now become his Judge. Shall he implore the intercession of the *Saints* and *Angells*? neither will they interceede if they might be heard, nor shall they be heard, though they would intercede. *O hard distresse!* saith

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devout *Anſelme*, on the one ſide will be his *ſinnes* accuſing him, on the other ſide *Iuſtice* terrifying him, under him the *gulfe of hell* gaping, above him the *Iudge* frowning, within him a *Conſcience* ſtinging, without him the *world* burning. Finding no way then to relieve or excuſe himſelfe, hee ſhall *ſeeke to hide himſelfe in dens and among the cleſts of the rockes, and ſhall ſay unto the hills and mountaines fall upon mee and cover mee from the preſence of him that ſitteth upon the Throne, and from the wrath of the Lambe, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who can ſtand? and if the righteous be hardly ſaved, where ſhall the impenitent ſinner appeare?* Yet no remedie, ſtand forth and appeare they muſt at the open Barre of Gods juſtice, and there receive their laſt doome, *Depart from me yee Curſed into everlaſting fire prepared for the Devill and his Angells.*

SECT. 4.

Or laſtly the dreadfulneſſe of the ſentence which ſhall then bee pronounced upon them.

O Mercifull Lord! what a dolefull, what a dreadfull ſentence is this? *Depart* from thee O *Chriſt*? why thou art all things, and therefore the loſſe of thee is an univerſall loſſe of all things. Thou art the greateſt good, and therefore to be deprived of thee is the greateſt evill. Thou art the very *Center* and perfect reſt of the ſoule, and therefore to bee pulled from thee is the moſt cruell ſeparation that can be. It was the richeſt promiſe that thou couldeſt make to the penitent theefe, and the ſweeteſt voyce that he could heare, *This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe.* Lord whither ſhall we goe from thee? ſaith one of thine *Apoſtles*, and the other only wiſheth to be diſſolved, that hee may be with thee. The *Wiſards* of the *Eaſt* when they recovered the ſight of the ſtarre that but led unto thee, being yet in the ſtate of infirmitie and humilitie, rejoyced with an exceeding great joy: and thy fore-runner the *Baptiſt* at the voyce of thy bleſſed mother ſprang for joy, being yet in the wombe; how then would they have beene repleniſhed & raviſhed with joy to have ſeene thee in thy Kingdome of glory, and tormented with griefe to have been commanded out of thy preſence? ſpecially conſidering, that *with thee is the Well of life, in thy preſence is the fulnes of joy, and at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.* By parting from thee then, we part from the blisfull viſion of the face of *God*, from the fruition of the happy fellowſhip of the holy *Angels* & ſociety of *Saints*, and conſequently from happineſſe it ſelfe. What remaines then, but that parting from happineſſe, wee ſhould indeede become moſt miſerable and accurſed Caitifs. Depart from me yee *Curſed.* Men ſometimes curſe where God bleſſes, and bleſſe where God curſes: They can only pronounce a man curſed, they cannot make him ſo; but here it is otherwiſe: for with this powerfull and righteous Judge, to pronounce is to make: when he curſed the fig-tree, it inſtantly withered: And as theſe impenitent Sinners *loved curſing, ſo ſhall it*

come

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come unto them, and as they loved not blessing, so shall it be farre from them. As they clashed themselves with cursing like a rayment, so shall it come into their bowels like water, and like oyle into their bones; it shall be unto them as a garment to cover them, and for a girdle wherewith they shall bee alway girded. *Cursed* shall be the day of their conception, and *cursed* the day of their birth: *Cursed* they shall be in their soules, and cursed in their bodies; *Cursed* in their thoughts; & *cursed* in their desires; *cursed* in their speeches, and *cursed* in their actions; *Cursed* in the haynousnes of their sinne, and *cursed* in the grievousnesse of their punishment: *cursed* in their punishment of *losse*, for their aversion from the *Creator*, *depart from me*; and *cursed* in their punishment of *sense*, for their conversion to the *Creature*, *Depart from me into everlasting Fire.* Of all the *Creatures* appointed by Almighty God, to bee instruments for the execution of his *vengeance*, *water and fire* are noted to have the least mercy: And therefore with fire and brimstone consumed he the filthy *Sodomites*, a type of this hellish fire, as *Sodome* was of hell it selfe. If creating an Element here for our *comfort*, I meane the *fire*, hee made the same so insufferable as it is, in such sort, as a man would not hold his onely hand therein one day to gaine a Kingdome; what a *fire* thinke you hath hee provided for hell, which is not created for *comfort*, but onely for *torment*? Our *fire* hath many differences from that, and therefore is truely said of the holy *Fathers*, to bee but as a painted or fained fire in respect of that. For first our *fire* was made to comfort, as I have said, and that onely to afflict and torment: Our *fire* hath need to be fed continually with wood and fewell, or else it goeth out, and burneth eternally without feeding, and is unquenchable; for that *the breath of the Lords owne mouth doth blow and nourish it.* Our *fire* worketh onely upon the body, immediatly upon the soule being a spirit it cannot worke, that worketh upon the soule separated from the bodie, as it likewise doth upon the *Apostate Angells*, and upon both soule and bodie rejoyned. Our *fire* giveth light which of it selfe is comfortable, that admitteth none, but is full of dismall darkenesse. Our *fire* may be extinguished, or the rage of it abated with water, that cannot. Ours breedeth weeping, that not onely weeping but gnashing of teeth, the ordinary effect of cold. Such a strange and incredible fire it is, that implies contraries, & so terrible is this Judge to his enemies, that he hath devised a wonderfull way, how to torment them with burning heate and chilling cold both at once. *Lastly*, our *fire* consumeth the foode that is cast into it, and thereby in short space dispatcheth the paines, whereas that afflicteth and tormenteth, but consumeth not, to the end, the paines may be *Everlasting* as is the fire.

O deadly *life!* O immortall *death!* what shall I tearme thee? *Life?* and wherefore then dost thou kill? *Death?* and wherefore then dost thou endure? There is neither *Life* nor *Death* but hath something good in it. For in *life* there is some ease, and in *death* an end, but thou hast neither *ease* nor *end*: What shall I tearme thee? even the bitternesse of both. For of *death* thou hast torment without any end, and of *life* the continuance without any ease; so long as *God* shall live, so long shall the damned die,

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and when he ſhall ceaſe to be happy, then ſhall they alſo ceaſe to be miſerable. A ſtarre which is farre greater then the earth, appeareth to be a ſmall ſpot in compariſon of the heavens, much leſſe ſhall the age of man ſeeme; yea much leſſe the age and continuance of the whole world in regard of this perpetuity of paines. The leaſt moment of time if it bee compared with tenne thouſand millions of yeares, becauſe both tearmes are finite, and the one a part of the other, beareth, although a very ſmall, yet ſome proportion. but this or any other number of years, in reſpect of endleſſe eternity, is nothing, leſſe then juſt *nothing*: For all things that are *finite* may bee compared together, but betweene that which is *finite*, and that which is *infinite*, there ſtandeth no compariſon. O, ſaith one holy *Father* in a godly meditation, if a ſinner damned in hell did know that hee had to ſuffer thoſe torments no more thouſand yeares then there be ſands in the ſea or graſſe leaves on the ground, or no more thouſand millions of ages then there be Creatures in heaven, hell, and in earth, he would greatly rejoyce, for that hee would comfort himſelfe at the leaſtwiſe with this cogitation, that once yet the matter would have an end: But now, ſaith this good man, this word *never* breaketh his heart, conſidering that after an hundred thouſand millions of worlds (if there might be ſo many) hee hath as farre to his journeyes end, as hee had the firſt day of his entrance into thoſe torments. And ſurely if a man that is ſharpely pinched with the goute, or the ſtone, or but with the toothach, and that they hold him but by fits, giving him ſome reſpite betweene-whiles, notwithſtanding doth thinke one night exceeding long although hee lie in a ſoft bed, well applied and cared for, how tedious doe we thinke *eternity* will ſeeme to thoſe that ſhall be *univerſally* in all their parts, *continually* without intermiſſion, *perpetually* without end or hope of end ſcorched in thoſe helliſh flames, which beſides that they are everlaſting, have this likewiſe added, that they are *prepared for the Devill and his Angells*?

Prepared, by whom? ſurely by the *Iudge himſelfe*, who gives the ſentence. Now if but *mortall Iudges* ſhould ſet and ſearch their wits to deviſe and prepare a puniſhment for ſome notorious malefactour, what grievous tortures doe they often finde out, able to make a man tremble at the very mentioning of them? what kinde of puniſhment then ſhall wee conceive this to be which this *immortall King* of Heaven & Earth, this *Iudge* both of the quicke and dead hath prepared? Surely his invention this way is as farre beyond the reach of all mortall wits (were they all united in one braine) as is his power. It muſt needes bee then a torment inſufferable, unſpeakeable & incomprehenſible, which he hath ſet himſelfe to prepare: But for whom? *for the Divell and his Angells*, that is, for the *Arch-traitour*, the chiefe rebell that ſtands out againſt him, and hath ſtood out againſt him ſince the firſt *Creation* of the world. *How art thou fallen from heaven O Lucifer ſonne of the morning! thou ſaydſt in thine heart, I will exalt my throne above, beſide the ſtarres of God, & I will bee like unto the moſt high: Therefore hath he caſt thee downe to the bottomleſſe pit of hell, there to be impriſoned in everlaſting chaines under darkeneſſe to the judgement of this great day of the generall aſsiſe*, then and there ſhalt thou receive thy

thy compleat and finall ſentence: and then ſhall thoſe miſcreants who have choſen rather to harken to thy inticements, to yeeld to thy temptations, to march under thy banner, and with thee and thine *Angels* to ſtand out in open rebellion againſt their Liege Lord, then to yeeld their due obedience to him, who by ſo many obligations might deſervedly challenge it from them: Then I ſay, ſhall they who have thus ſinned with thee, ſuffer likewiſe with thee: & as thou labouredſt by all meanes to make them like thy ſelfe in ſinne: ſo ſhalt thou then as earneſtly labour to make them like thy ſelfe, as in the *kinde*, ſo likewiſe in the *degree* of thy *punishment*: that as the *Saints* ſhall reſemble the bleſſed *Angels* in heaven, ſo they may in all reſpects reſemble thee and thy *curſed Angels* in hell. And thus have wee in part heard the *terrour* of this *laſt day* in regard of the obſtinately wicked; Let us now heare what *Comforts* the remembrance and meditation thereof may juſtly afford *the righteous*, that is, ſuch as by *Gods grace endeavour to live a vertuous and religious life.*

SECT. 5.

Secondly, the conſideration of this day may ſerve for a ſpeciall comfort to the godly, whether they meditate upon the name and nature of the day it ſelfe in regard of them, or the aſſurance of Gods love and favour towards them, and the gratious promiſes made unto them.

THeſe *Comforts* then ariſe *firſt* from the *name* and *nature of the day* in regard of them: *Secondly*, from the *aſſurance of Gods love and favour towards them*, & from the *gratious promiſes* made unto them: *Thirdly*, from the *quality and condition of the Iudge* by whom they are to be tryed: and *laſtly*, from the *ſweetenes of the ſentence* which ſhall be pronounced on their behalfe. *Firſt* then, this day howbeit it ſhall bee very terrible to *impenitent* ſinners, yet to the Servants of God ſhall it be a day of *joy & triumph*, a day of *Iubilee & exultation*, or as the Scriptures tearme it a day of *refreſhing* and *redemption*. Neither ought this to ſeeme ſtrange, ſince the ſame *Sun* which melteth the wax, hardneth the clay, the ſame beams exhale both ſtinking vapours out of the dunghills, and ſweet ſavours out of flowres; the blame is every way the ſame which workes upon them, only the difference of the ſubjects which it workes upon, is it that thus diverſifies the effects. When the *Iudges* in their *Aſſiſes* come to the bench or place of judgement apparelled in skarlet robes, invironed with holdbards, attended on with great troopes, aſſiſted by the principall knights and gentlemen of the Country, all this is a pleaſing ſight to the innocent priſoner, becauſe he hopes that now his innocency ſhall appeare in the face of the Countrey, and that the day of his deliverance is come: whereas to the guilty it is a dreadfull ſight, becauſe he knowes that the day of his tryall, & conſequently of his condemnation and execution cannot be farre off: in like manner when the gibbet or gallow's is ſet up, the ladder, the halter, the hangman and all in readines for the execution, this to the good ſubject and true man is a pleaſing ſpectacle, becauſe it is for their peace and ſafeguard: but a ſpectacle full of horrour to the condemned theefe or murtherer who are there in-

of

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ſtantly to be executed. To ſuch as are ſtraitly beſieged in a *Caſtle* or *City*, when a powerfull Army is raiſed to reſcue them, and draweth neere to the place and is come within ſight, the neighing and trampling of the horſes, the glittering of the armour, the claſhing of weapõs, the beating of the drumme, the ſounding of the trumpet, yea the roaring of the cannon to them are as ſweet muſicke, becauſe they know all this to be for their ſuccour and reliefe: but to the beſiegers the noyſe is terrible, becauſe they know it is to aſſault, remove and vanquiſh them: and this ſurely ſhall be the difference betwixt the faithfull and the unrighteous at the *day of judgement*. The *Majeſty* and *Glory of Chriſt*, the traine of innumerable *Angels* attending on him, the ſhrill ſound of the trumpet ſummoning all fleſh to appeare before his *Tribunall* at this great and general *Aſsiſes*, and all other ſolemnities belonging to the pompe and magnificence thereof, as it ſhall utterly daunt and confound the one, in as much as they know themſelves guilty of all theſe enormities and outrages wherewith they ſhall be charged, ſo ſhall it cheere up the other, for that they are then fully to bee cleared in the preſence of men & *Angels* from thoſe unjuſt aſperſions and imputations which their enemies have caſt upon them, they are to be freed from all thoſe wrongs & oppreſſions they have ſuſtained, they are to bee reſcued from that narrow ſiege, that fierce aſſault, that long & ſtrong battery, which by *ſinne*, the *world*, the *fleſh*, & the *Divell* hath beene laid to their ſoules; ſo as all thoſe fearefull ſignes fore running the laſt end, as the trembling of the earth, & the ſhaking of the powers of heaven, ſhall be unto them as the *Earthquake* was to *Paul* & *Silas*, which ſerved to looſe their fetters and manicles, and to open unto them the priſon doores, and ſet them at liberty.

Neither can it in truth be otherwiſe, conſidering the love & favour which *Almighty God* beares them. Hee hath redeemed them with the pretious Blood of his deare Sonne, hee hath begotten them by the incorruptible ſeed of his word, hee hath illuminated and ſanctified them with his Spirit, he hath ſealed them by his Sacraments, he hath pacified their guilty Conſciences with his grace, delivered them out of dangers, ſupported them in their temptations, relieved them in their diſtreſſes, reſolved them in their doubts, made all things to worke together for the beſt unto them, and will he forſake them at this laſt tryall? no, no *herein he ſetteth out his love towards them, ſeeing, that while they were yet ſinners, Chriſt died for them, much more being now juſtified by his Bloud, ſhall they bee ſaved from wrath thorow him. For if when they were enemies they were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, much more being reconciled ſhall they bee ſaved by his life*: if they were pardoned thorow his death when they were enemies, they ſhall much more be ſaved by his life now that they are friends. For how incredible is it, nay how impoſſible, that he who pardoneth an enemy ſhould condemne a friend? He loved them whiles they yet bore the image of the Divell, and will he not much more love them now ſince he hath in part repaired his owne Image in them? They were deare unto him when there was in them no goodneſſe, & can hee now abandon them being made partakers of that goodnes which himſelfe hath wrought in them? Being then pluckt out of the power of darkeneſſe,

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darkeneſſe, let them never feare to be rejected by the *Father of light*; having the bleſſed *Angels* ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes, let them never feare to be delivered over unto, or in the final ſentence to be joyned with, the *Divell* and *his Angels*. *What ſhall we then ſay to theſe things? if God be on our ſide who can be againſt us, who ſpared not his owne Sonne, but gave him for us all to death, how ſhall he not with him give us all things alſo? Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods choſen? it is god that juſtifieth: who ſhal condemne? it is Chriſt which is dead or rather which is riſen againe. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſſe, or perill, or ſword? nay in all theſe things wee are more then conquerours thorow him that loved us. And we are perſwaded that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall bee able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord.* Exod. 19.

And as the love and favour of *God* in *Chriſt* doth thus arme his children againſt the terrour of the *day of Iudgement*, ſo do likewiſe the *gratious promiſes* made unto them, which imbolden them to ſay againe with the bleſſed *Apoſtle*, *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith, from henceforth is layd up for me the Crowne of righteouſneſſe which the Lord the righteous Iudge ſhall give me at that day, & not to me only, but unto all them alſo that love that his appearing.* If I ſhall then receive a Crowne of righteouſneſſe I need not feare hell fire: if the righteous Iudge himſelfe will give it mee, I neede not ſtand in awe of his ſeverity if he ſhall give it to all thoſe that love that his appearing, I neede not tremble at the thought thereof; nay I have rather great reaſon to bee glad and rejoyce thereat, and when I ſee thoſe things come to paſſe, to looke up and lift up mine head, as being well aſſured, that my redemption draweth neere. And not only my redemption, but mine advancement to honour, even in that very act of Iudgement: the bench rather then the barre being my place there, and my ſelfe being ordained not to ſtand forth as a priſoner, but to ſit as a Judge. *Verily I ſay unto you, that when the Sonne of man ſhall ſit in the Throne of his Majeſty, yee which followed me in the regeneration ſhall ſit alſo upon twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of Iſraell,* ſaith Truth it ſelfe. Which priviledge leſt wee ſhould thinke to be reſtrained onely to his *Apoſtles*, one of them by good warrant extends it to all the faithfull. *Do yee not know*, ſaith he, *that the Saints ſhall judge the world?* that is, wicked men who have oppreſſed us: And againe, *Know yee not that we ſhall judge the Angels?* that is, wicked ſpirits who have tempted or aſſaulted us. Now what folly is it to be afrayde of that judgment where wee our ſelves ſhall be Iudges, and that of our greateſt enemies? nay what incouragement ſhould it bee to receive if need were, the ſentence of death for *Chriſts* ſake, ſince it is certaine, that as *Chriſt* himſelfe ſhall Judge *Pilate* before whom hee was arraigned, & by whom he was wrongfully condemned: ſo alſo ſhall we in ſome ſort, at leſtwiſe as *Aſſeſſors* with him, and approovers of his ſentence, judge our Iudges. For although *Chriſt* our head principally and properly ſhall be the Judge, yet wee that are his members ſhall have a branch of his authority, and ſhall be as it were ioyned in commiſſion with him.

SECT. 6.

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SECT. 6.

Or the quality and condition of the Iudge in respect of them by whom they are to bee tryed: or lastly, the sweetenesse of the sentence which shall them bee pronounced on their behalfe.

BUt setting this *Commission* aside, what a comfort will it bee to the Godly to be summoned, to be assembled, to be separated from the goates by the ministery of those very *Angels* who were appointed to bee their guardians, to pitch their tents round about them, and to beare them up with their hands that they might not dash their foote against a stone? nay what joy unutterable, with their eyes to behold and looke upon that *Saviour* of theirs (appearing in *Majesty* as a *Iudge*) who redeemed them with his heart blood, and gave his life as a ransome for them, in whom they have trusted, on whom they have beleeved, to whom they have prayed, for whom they have suffered, with whom they shall be glorified? Their Father, their Husband, their Master, their Head, their Physitian, their Advocate and Intercessour: and can the father condemne the sonne, the husband the wife, the Master his faithfull servant, the head his member, the Physitian his patient, the Advocate his Client? How happy is our case then, that he must be our Iudge that was himselfe judged for us; and our assurance is, that hee will not condemne us, that hath already beene condemned for us: No, hee will be so farre from condemning us, that then and there hee will fully acquit us in the sight of the whole world, and pronounce that favourable sentence on our behalfe, *Come yee blessed of my Father, inherite a kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world*?

A judiciall sentence shall I call it, or rather a brotherly & gratious invitation? *Come yee blessed of my Father*: *Come*, that where the husband is, there may the wife be; that where the father is, there may the sonnes be; that where the Master is, there may the servant bee; that where the Captain is there may the souldiers be; that where the king is, there may the subjects be, that where the head is, there may the members be. *Come*, it was thy voice sweet *Saviour* whiles thou wert yet in the state of humility, *Come unto me all ye that are weary & heavy laden & I will refresh you*: & dost thou still retaine the same sweetnes and familiarity, being now in glory, and that whiles thou art sitting upon the throne of justice? *Good Lord*, how dost thou at the same instant shew thy selfe terrible as a *Lyon* to thine enimies, and yet gentle as a *Lamb* to thy friends? frowning upon the one, and yet smiling on the other, commanding the one out of thy presence with an *Ite*, *Goe*; and inviting the other to approach neere with a *Venite*, *Come*. *Come*, *come* my deare hearts, now is the time that you must rest from your labours, that your teares must be wip'd off, that your long expectatiō & longing hope must be turned into fruition: your race is at an end, you must now receive the prize, your wrestling at an end, you must now receive the garland, your combating at an end, you must now receive the Crowne, *Come yee blessed of my Father*. *Blessed* in your

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your lives, and *blessed* in your deaths; *blessed* in your election, *blessed* in your vocation, *blessed* in your adoption, blessed in your justification, *blessed* in your sanctification, and now for accomplishment of all, most *blessed* in your glorification. And the fountaine of all this your blessednesse, is none other then the very *Father of blessings*, my *Father* and your *Father*, mine by nature, yours by grace, mine by eternall generation, and yours by spirituall regeneration: And whom the *Father* blesses, the Son cannot but most lovingly and tenderly imbrace. *Come yee blessed of my Father*, what to doe? *to inherit a Kingdome.* Lest my words should seeme to be but winde, lest my promises should seeme to be vaine, and your patience and beleeving vaine; *Come* and receive that which I have promised, and you have beleeved; *Come* and take actuall possession of it; yet not as a purchase of your owne, but as an *inheritance*; not as wages, but as a reward; not as bought by the value of your merits, but conferred upon you by the vertue of my sufferings, and the benediction of my Father as the cause, and your sonne-shippe and obedience as the condition. Your title is good, your evidence faire, so as no exception can be taken to your right, nothing so much as pretended or pleaded to disinherit you. *Come* on then chearefully, make hast and enter upon it, my selfe will leade you the way, follow mee. But what may it bee gratious Lord that wee shall possesse? surely no lesse then a *Kingdome.* This reward is sometimes set forth unto us under the name of a pleasant garden of *Paradise* of delight; sometime of a stately magnificent palace; sometime of a large and beautifull Citty: but here of a *Kingdome*, a glorious, a spacious, a secure, a durable *Kingdome*, whose King is the *Trinity*, whose Law is *Divinity*, whose measure *eternity*; as farre beyond all the *kingdomes* of this world, and all the guilded pompe, the glittering power and riches of them, as the greatest earthly *Monarch* is beyond the King in a play. *Earthly Monarches* have their secret pressures and pinches, they have their feares, and cares, and griefes, and envy, and anger, and sicknes mixed with their joyes and contents, or at least by turnes succeeding them: Somewhat is ever wanting to their desires, and full of doubts and jealousies they are, that their dominions may be either impaired or invaded: And if they were free from the possibility of all these, yet may they in a moment, and that by a thousand wayes bee arrested by death, and then all their honour lies in the dust, all their thoughts perish: But now with them that inherit this heavenly *Kingdome* it is not so: they have joy and content at full, without the least intermission or diminutiō, without the least mixture of any feare, or care, or griefe, or envy, or anger, or any other troublesome passion whatsoever. They are out of all doubt and jealousie of loosing that which they possesse, either in whole or in part; they are confident and secure that neither this *Kingdome* can be taken from them by rebellion or inuasion, nor they from it by death or deposition. And herein againe doth this *Kingdome* excell all other *kingdomes*, that it is of *Gods speciall preparing.* And such happinesse he hath *prepared* in it for them that shall possesse it, as eye hath not seene, eare hath not hard, tongue cannot utter, neither hath at any time entred into the heart of man; Such as his imaginati-

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on cannot apprehend, nor his understanding possiblely conceive. O my Lord! if thou for this vile body of ours hast given us so great and innumerable benefits from the firmament, from the aire, from the earth, from the sea; by light, by darkenesse, by heate, by shadow, by dewes, by showers, by windes, by raines, by fishes, by beasts, by birds by multitude of hearbes, and variety of plants, and by the ministry of all thy Creatures: O sweete Lord! what manner of things, how great, how good, and how innumerable are those which thou hast prepared for us in our heavenly Kingdome, where we shall see thee face to face, and raigne with thee eternally? If thou doe so great things for us in our prison, what wilt thou give us in our palace? If thou giveſt so many things in this world to good and evill men together, what hast thou layd up for only good men in the world to come? If thine enemies and friends together are so well provided for in this life, what shall thy only friends receive in the life to come? If there be so great solaces in these dayes of teares, what joy shall there be in the day of marriage? If our jayle and prison containe so great matters, what shall our *Kingdome* doe? O my Lord and God, thou art a great *God*, and great is the multitude of thy magnificence and sweetenes; & as there is no end of thy greatnes, nor number of thy mercies, nor bottome of thy wisedome, nor measure of thy beauty: So is there no end, number, or measure of thy rewards to them that love and serve thee.

SECT. 7.

Thirdly, the consideration of this day may serve for admonition to all.

SEeing then that all these things must bee dissolved, what manner persons ought we to be in holy conversation & godlines? looking for, and hastning unto the comming of that day, in which wee all shall appeare before the judgement seate of Christ, that every man may receive according to that hee hath done in his body, whether it be good or evill. Truly I know not (saith S. *Chrysostome*) what others doe thinke of it, for my selfe, it makes mee often tremble when I consider it. And holy *Hierome*, whatsoever I am doing, saith he, whether I be eating, or drinking, or sleeping, or waking, or alone, or in company, or reading, or writing, me thinkes I ever heare the shrill sound of the *Archangels* trumpet, sommoning all flesh to appeare, and crying aloud, *Surgite mortui & venite ad judicium*, arise yee dead & come away to judgement. The remembrance hereof is like a bitter pill, to purge out the malignity of many wanton and vaine humours, or like a strainer, all our thoughts, and speeches, and actions which passe thorow it, are thereby cleansed and purified. As the bird guideth her body with her traine, and the shippe is steered with the rudder, so the course of a mans life is best directed with a continuall recourse unto his last end. It is hard for a man to thinke of that and to thinke evill, or not to thinke of it and thinke well. Therefore when *Solomon* had spoken of all the vanities of men, at last he opposes this *memorandum* as a counterpoise against them all, *Remember for all these things thou shalt come to judgement*: as if he should say, men would never speake

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as they speake, nor doe as they doe, if they did but thinke that these speeches & deedes of theirs should one day come to *judgement. Whatsoever thou takest in hand then, remember the end, and that finall account which thou art to make, and thou shalt never doe amisse. S. Augustine* I remember in the entrance of one of his sermons touching the *day of Iudgement*, makes a kinde of *Apologie* for himselfe, that he treated in their hearing so often of that subject, telling them, that hee did it for the discharge of his owne dutie, and for their good: it being better (saith he) here to indure a little bitternes, and hereafter to injoy eternall sweetenes, then here to bee fedde with false joyes, & there to indure reall and eternall punishments: But he might have justly excused himselfe (had any excuse needed in such a case) by the example of our blessed *Saviour*, who in his *Gospells*; and his *Apostles*, who in their *Epistles*, beate upon this point no one more frequently: The knowledge and publishing whereof to the world hath in all ages beene held so necessarie, that not the *Prophets* alone, whose writings are read in our assemblies at this day, plainely foretold it, but *Enoch* the seaventh from *Adam* propheſied thereof; nay *Adam* himselfe, if wee may beleeve *Iosephus*. And that no man might plead ignorance herein; the light of this truth (as hath already beene touched) shined among the very *Gentiles* before the incarnation of *Christ*. *Antiq. l. 1. c. 4*

A great shame were it then for us *Christians* not to beleeve it, but a greater shame to our selves, and to our profession a disgrace, and a scandall to infidels, to professe that we beleeve it, and yet to live worse then *Infidels. Mahometans*, and *Iewes*, and *Pagans* shall rise in judgement against a number of *Christians* and shall condemne them, for that standing up in the *Congregation*, and with their mouths openly professing this article, that they beleeve that *Christ* shall come againe to judge both the quicke and dead; yet their thoughts, their desires, their passions, their actions, their words are such and so foule, as it evidently shewes they beleeve not, or they understand not, or they remember not what they professe. Shall I thinke that the common *drunkard* and *glutton* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of the abuse of *Gods Creatures*, of making his belly his *God*, his kitchin his *Chappell*, and his Cooke his *Priest*? Shall I thinke that the prophane *swearer* and *Blasphemer* doth beleeve & remember, that at this day he must give an account of every *idle word*, much more then of his hellish oathes and damnable blasphemies, wherewith he teares in peeces the name of *God*, & infects the very aire he breaths in? shall I thinke that the *Hypocrite*, who seekes to bleare the eyes of the world, doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of his glozing & shifting, and that then his hypocrisie shall be uncased & laide open to the view of the world? shall I thinke that the *Parasite* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of preferring the favour of men before the love and service of God? Shall I thinke the *Slanderer* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of wounding and killing his brother in his good name by his tongue, or pen, or both? Shall I thinke the *Adulterer* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of giving the reines of his unbridled appe-

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tite without any checke or controll? Lastly, doth the *malicious man* beleeve and remember, that at this day hee must give an account of his bloudy practises or plots; the *ambitious man*, of making his honour his *Idoll*; the *covetous*, of his oppression and extortion? Let themselves a little consider of the matter, and they will easily grant it to be unreasonable, that any man should beleeve it to be a part of their beliefe.

SECT. 8.

As likewise for instruction.

LEt us then either strike it out of the Articles of our *Creede*, or let us so endeavour to live, as it may apppeare, that we doe not only professe it with our mouthes, but assuredly beleeve it with our hearts. Let the *Civill Magistrate* shew that he beleeves it, by forbearing to make his will a law, & by a conscionable care in the governing of those who are committed to his charge, and providing that they may *live under him a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty*. Let the *Divine*, the *Messenger of the Lord*, who preacheth it to others, shew that he beleeves it himselfe, by forbearing base and indirect meanes to rise to honour, (which he is most uncertaine how long, or with what content he shall hold) and by *feeding the flocke of God which depends upon him, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde; not as Lording it over Gods heritage, but as being a patterne to the flocke; & when that chiefe Sheepheard shall appeare, he shall receive an incorruptible Crowne of glory*. Let that severe call ever ring in his eares, *Come give an account of thy stewardship*. There shall *Andrew* come in with *Achaia* by him converted to the saving knowledge of the truth: *Iohn* with *Asia*, *Thomas* with *India*, *Peter* with the *Iewes*, and *Paul* with the *Gentiles*; and what shall wee then say for our selves, if wee cannot bring forth so much as one soule converted by us in the whole course of our ministerie? Let the *Counsellour* shew that hee beleeves it, by giving counsell rather wholsome then pleasing, not for faction but for *Conscience*, and by forbearing to make the good of the state the stalking horse of his private ends. For though he digge never so deepe, yet he who now searches and shall then judge his heart diggs deeper. Let the *Courtier* shew hee beleeves it by using his favour to the countenancing and advancing of vertue and suppressing of vice, and by forbearing to varnish & guild over foule projects, or smother honest motions with faire semblances, looking rather at the worths and necessities of petitioners, then to their purse and power. Let the *Militarie* man shew that hee beleeves it by forbearing to thinke, that a prophane oath is an ornament of speech, or that violence, rapine, & out-rage, are the best *Characters* of a souldier; or that unjust effusion of bloud & *Duells* shall then passe for man-hood, or that his stoute lookes or brave resolutions shall then any thing availe him. Let the *Nobility* and *Gentry* shew that they beleeve it, by forbearing to make marchandise of *Church* livings committed to their care onely in trust, to strippe the backes of the poore, that they may apparell their walls, and to snatch their meate from their mouthes, that they

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they may give it to their hawkes and dogges. For if they ſhall ſtand among the goates on the left hand and heare the dolefull ſentence, *Goe yee curſed*, who cloathed not the naked and fed not the hungry; tell me what ſhall become of them, who by extortion and oppreſſion, by unconſcionable racking of rents, and wreſting from them exceſſive fines, make them naked & hunger-ſtarved; nay grinde the face of the poore, and eate their fleſh to the bare bones? Let the *Iudges* ſhew that they beleeve it, by forbearing to give ſentence for feare or favour, much leſſe for gold or gifts, as well knowing & remembring, that themſelves muſt one day give a ſtrict account to this *ſupreame Iudge*, from whoſe ſentence lyeth no appeale. Let the *Lawyer* ſhew that he beleeves it, by forbearing to ſpin out the ſuites of his *Clients*, to whip him about from *Court* to *Court*, and to ſet his tongue to ſale for the bolſtring out of unjuſt cauſes, which his owne Conſcience tells him to be ſuch, leſt that cauſe which here perchance he gained to his *Client* and got credit by, prove there to be his greateſt ſhame and utter ruine, where all his ſophiſtrie & ſubtile quirks will not ſerve his turne. Let the *Merchant* ſhew that he beleeves it, by forbearing *lyes* as well as oaths, by putting his confidence in *God*, not in his wedge of gold; and by often calling to minde that whither ſoever he travell, or what bargaine ſoever he make, Hee ſtands by him as a *witnes* who ſhall hereafter be his *Iudge*. And what folly were it for a theefe to ſteale in the preſence of the *Iudge*, before whom hee muſt be arraigned? Let the *Farmer* & *Countryman* ſhew that they beleeve it, by their juſt laying out of the Lords portiō to his Miniſters, as knowing that though they haply deceive his Miniſters, yet the Lord himſelfe they cannot deceive, & that the double dammages then of their bodies and ſoules will be infinitely more grievous then their *treble dammages* here. *Finally*, let all ſorts make it appeare, that they indeed do not profeſſe it only but beleeve it, by ſhewing that reverence and reſpect to the word, to the Sacraments, to the Ambaſſadours, to the houſe, to the day, to the ſervants, to the members of him who then ſhall bee their *Iudge*, that they may with comfort & confidence appeare in his preſence. The leaſt good worke now done for his ſake & to his honour, ſhall then ſteed us more then the treaſure of both the *Indies*, then all the *kingdomes of the world and the glory of them*. Then our indignation and revenge upon our ſelves, our compunction and contrition for our ſins committed againſt this *Iudge*, ſhall refreſh us and cheare us. *For if we ſhould judge our ſelves we ſhould not be judged.* Then ſhall our reſiſting of alluring temptations, our patient induring bitter afflictions & chaſtiſements, our ſufferings, loſſes, diſgraces, baniſhments for the Truths ſake, ſerve unto us as ſo many ſoveraigne and pretious *Cordials*: *for when we are judged wee are chaſtened of the Lord, becauſe we ſhould not be condemned with the world.* Let us heare the end of all, *Feare God and keepe his commandements, for this is the whole duty of man: For God will bring every worke to judgement with every ſecret thing, whether it be good or evill. Even ſo, come Lord Ieſus, come quickly. How long Lord, how long, Holy and True?*

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,
but unto thy name give the glory.

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BOETHIVS Lib. 1. Metr. 7.

---Tu quoque ſi vis
Lumine claro cernere verum,
Tramite recto carpere cælum,
Gaudia pelle, pelle timorem,
Spemque fugato, Nec dolor adſit.
Nubila mens eſt, vinctaque frænis
Hæc ubi regnant.

If with cleare eye thou wilt ſee
Truth, and in the right way treade,
Joy and hope chaſe farre from thee,
Baniſh ſorrow, baniſh dread.
Cloudy, fettered faſt with Chaines,
Is the minde where paſſion raignes.

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TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

G. G.

GOod Reader, it may seeme strange unto thee, that a man of my yeares and place should interpose in a controversie of this nature, with a man so eminent for his learning and worth, as Mr Archdeacon *Hakewill* is knowne to bee; the truth is I did not begin the Controversie, but some twenty yeares since I set forth a small Pamphlet, wherein I did declare my opinion then to bee as still it is, wholly *against the eternity of the world*; it pleased Mr Archdeacon to confute some passages in my booke, whereof my selfe taking notice, and a little complaining, Mr Archdeacon did invite me very lovingly to reply; now a worme being trodden on will turne againe. But truly Mr Archdeacon and my selfe, wee have beene *pij Adversarij*, contending not for victory, but truth, and no way provoking each other. Neither have I neglected my better studies, but allotted for this exercise onely the houres of my recreation. My request is, that notwithstanding the Sections which Mr Archdeacon hath made in my arguments (which caused mee to adde marginall notes, and these not sufficing) that you would read a full entire argument, before you come to the confutation; and then not regarding any exceptions which are not pertinent to the cause, that you would indifferently judge of both, and I desire God to direct thee in the truth.

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G. H.

WHat undeſerved titles ſoever it hath pleaſed his Lordſhip to conferre upon me, I moſt willingly confeſſe that he hath highly honoured me by ſtooping ſo low, as to enter the liſts with a man of my ranke; yet is it not a matter ſo ſtrange as his Lordſhip pretends, for a Prelate to ſhew an Archdeacon his errours; I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge, that I have learned many things from his Lordſhips bookes, and papers; and ſome things upon the reading of them I have reformed in mine owne: but for the maine point in queſtion, I am yet where I was, neither doe I know any argument of moment which I have not fully ſatisfied.

Thoſe paſſages of his Lordſhips booke by me confuted, were not ſo much againſt the *eternity of the world*, as for the *univerſall and perpetuall decay thereof*, whereby hee would prove the fall of man; neither did I ever maintaine the worlds eternity as his Lordſhip would faſten it upon mee, but onely a poſsibilitie thereof in the courſe of nature, had not the God of nature by his ſupernaturall power decreed to ſet an end to it, when there ſhall bee no farther uſe of it. And that this is not my opinion alone, but of the ſoundeſt both Philoſophers and Divines, grounding themſelves as well upon Scripture as reaſon, I preſume I have made it ſufficiently to appeare in theſe enſuing bookes.

I for my part cannot underſtand how his Lordſhip ſhould conceive himſelfe to bee *lovingly invited* by mee to reply, and yet to be *trodden on as a worme*; Truly I ſhould not by my good will tread ſo on any man, much leſſe on my betters: And for my invitation, it was onely that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to acquaint mee with my miſtakes; which I intended only in private; and in my Anſwers to his Lordſhips arguments brought for the worlds decay,

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decay, considering I had not named either the Authour or the booke from whence I tooke them; but hereof his Lordship taking no notice, about twelve moneths after this invitation, and neare about the time that my second impression was finished, sent mee a long treatise insisting upon many objections, with an intent and desire to have them published, which I undertooke to satisfie as my leasure would serve, but these, when I had made some good progresse in mine answere, it pleased his Lordship to cancell as being of little moment, and to send me fresh supplies three or foure severall times; whereunto I replyed still, hoping at last to give his Lordship satisfaction, and whither I had reason or no so to hope, I leave that to the indifferent Reader to judge, specially considering I had out of his owne writings presented to his view such cleare passages against the worlds decay, as then I know not, nor in very truth doe I yet know, which way hee can possibly reconcile them to his arguments brought against mee for the decay thereof.

His Lordships arguments which I now publish, when I had shaped mine answers to them, I alwayes returned to him; neither had I now published them, but by his Lordships invitation for some, and consent to all: then which I cannot imagine what fairer course could bee taken with a professed Adversary.

The Sections were not so much cut out by me as by his Lordship, for the most part, where hee had made a full pause, and began the line againe with a great letter, there is the Section made; And this I tooke to be the cleareſt way to lead along the Reader, that so hee might not runne himselfe out of breath, till he had received some answere to that which was past; yet becaus his Lordship would have it so, his Digressions I set downe at large before I came to my Reply, but therein no doubt will the inconvenience appeare, the Reader being to seeke my Answere so farre off, that either he will not take the paines to seeke it, or misse it in seeking, which to the Opponent is an advantage, but disadvantage to the Respondent.

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What I have heere omitted was either by ſpeciall warrant from his Lordſhip, or by vertue of a generall Commiſſion, which is not much, and what it is I am ſure is of little moment to the maine queſtion.

To conclude, I have herein dealt with his Lordſhip none otherwiſe then I ſhould bee well content that hee ſhould deale with mee; nay, I will not expect that hee ſhould ſet downe my text at large, but if his Lordſhip pleaſe to anſwer mine arguments as I have done his, I doubt he will finde it a harder taske then onely to object; to make knots is no hard matter, but to untie them not ſo eaſie. As it is I deſire nothing more then a judicious and unpartiall Reader; *ignorance* cannot well underſtand what is ſaid, and *præjudice* will not.

I beſeech God ſo to direct us all both in this and all other Controverſies, that wee may ſeeke the *truth*, and ſeeking finde it, and finding imbrace it, to his glory and our owne comfort.

Theſe

Theſe two enſuing encouragements for the publiſhing of the greateſt part of the two enſuing bookes, were ſent me from two Worthies of eminent note, to whom upon ſpeciall occaſion they were imparted; The one from a Reverend Prelate of this Church, well knowne for his many and excellent workes publiſhed to the view of the world: the other from a Noble Knight, famous aſwell by his acts abroad in forraine parts, as by his learning & late bounty to the publique Librarie at *Oxford*.

WOrthy and much reverenced Mr Dr Hakewill, with my loving remembrance, &c. I doe much honour your worthy papers, and ſhall not faile every where to profeſſe my thankefull acknowledgements of Gods gifts in you. I durſt not longer detaine theſe your elaborate and excellent diſcourſes, which you have reaſon to account deare; ſo would the world eſteeme them, might they enjoy them to the light, with my many thankes and lovingſt remembrance, I take leave and am

Your very loving friend

and fellow-labourer

J. E.

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WORTHY SIR,

I Am very much obliged unto you for your courteſie and favour in affording me the ſight of theſe excellent and learned diſcourſes, &c. Once reading to my capacitie, ſerveth not for ſuch refined notions; therefore with longing I ſhall expect their publiſhing in print, that I may at full and at leaſure quench my thirſt. Truly you are much beholding to your Adverſary, that hath given you meanes to ſhew unto the world your acuteneſſe in diſputation, as well as your profunditie in ſcience; I will not longer hold you from your better employments, but reſt

Moſt ready to doe you ſervice

K. D.

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LIBER V.

AN ANSVVER TO FOVRE ARGVMENTS, FROM G. G. A REVEREND PRELATE, Touching the decay, or preservation of the world from decay.

G. G.

Arguments taken out of Naturall Philosophie.

ARistotle *and* [1] *all other Philosophers assigne three principles, matter, forme, and privation;* [2] *and these are not onely the principles of individualls, but even of* [3] *nature her selfe, and therefore before the heavens, elements, and other* [4] generall bodies, Aristotle *first treates of those principles: The Philosophers and Schoolemen demand why privation should be a principle, when it seemes to put* [5] *nothing positive; the answer is, that in privation there is likewise implyed* [6] potentia, *a* [7] *just proportion, or a due correspondencie betweene matter and forme, which is not properly termed* privatio, *as having some reference to that* [8] non ens *in the creation; and likewise to betoken that* [9] *nature being placed betweene generation and corruption, shee stands not indifferently affected to both alike, but indeed* [10] wholly inclines to corruption; *and thereby implies a* [11] *generall decay; not unlike the heart of man, which being placed in the middest, yet doth a little encline to the left,* [12] to the weakest and worst side.

Corruption is inbred, and issues from the roote and principles.

G. H.

ARistotle indeed and his followers assigne three principles, matter, forme, and privation, but of any other sect not so much as one, and some of them (as namely *Plato* his master) in expresse termes deny *Privation* to be a principle. 1.

Matter and forme are the principles of individualls, if they bee naturall 2.

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turall bodies, but for Privation it is onely *principium generationis*, non *rei generatæ*; a principle of the generation of generable bodies, not of the bodies themselves, or of their constitution.

3. That these three should be said to be the principles of *nature her selfe* is very improper, for that according to *Aristotle* matter and forme are nature herselfe, though the one bee improperly the other properly so termed, and not onely in his Philosophie, but in common reason, *nihil potest esse principium suiipsius*. Againe, Nature hath her place in the cæleſtiall bodies, where undoubtedly privation hath none.

4. Any other generall bodies beside the Heavens, and the foure Elements, *Aristotle* acknowledgeth none; the Heavens being so in regard of their universall efficacie, the Elements as being ingredients to the composition of all mixt bodies.

5. Though privation put nothing actually and absolutely positive, yet it implyes somewhat positive in the first matter, which is a capabilitie or aptitude; and not onely so, but an appetite or propension to the introduction and imbracements of a new forme.

6. There is indeed in the matter a complication of *potentia* with privation, but in privation *potentia* cannot be said to be.

7. If your Lordship understand *privation* to be a proportion or correspondencie betweene the matter and forme in *possession*, it is utterly mistaken and may not be allowed, but if betweene the matter & forme in *expectation* or disposition it may passe.

8. The *non ens* before the creation included rather a pure negation, then a relative privation; as a stone is said to bee blinde negatively, not privatively, because there is in it no inclination or preparative disposition to sight.

9. If by nature placed betweene generation and corruption you understand the matter and forme of these sublunarie bodies, the assertion is in some sense true, if of the cæleſtiall, false; or rather matter is not nature properly so termed, and under whatsoever forme is still the same, and so not at all inclining to corruption: forme indeed is properly nature as being onely *principium motus & quietis*, but desires its preservation and perfection, not corruption; and so the assertion in regard of neither is true.

10. That privation betokens nature wholly to incline to corruption, is a position most unwarrantable, not onely thwarting the writings of all Philosophers, but overturning the grounds and principles of Philosophie it selfe; as well because nature is found in the celeſtiall bodies, which incline not at all to corruption, as because privation hath reference to the bringing in of a new forme, and not to the casting out of the old, and by meanes thereof nature inclines wholly to generation, and to corruption not at all; but onely as it makes way for generation: then which a stronger argument cannot possibly be found out to prove the worlds preservation from decay. And besides, did nature incline wholly to corruption, and not at all to generation; no doubt but the world had long since in the course of nature bin brought to a finall period and dissolution.

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A *generall* decay it cannot imply except you first prove privation to be in the Heavens, which *Aristotle* I am sure allowes not. 11.

Whether the left side bee in nature the weakest and worst I much doubt, considering wee see as well with the left eye, and heare as well with the left eare, and smell as well with the left nostrill, as with the right, and might no question finde the left legge and the left arme, or hand, as usefull as the right, save onely for want of use: And the inclining of the heart that way should in reason rather argue it to bee by nature the better and stronger, then the weaker and worser side; howsoever if nature incline *wholly* to corruption, and the heart *but a little* to the left side, the comparison holds not; but herein undoubtedly it holds that the heart was so placed by Almightie God at the first creation of man, in his integritie, and hath so continued without any variation or farther inclination to the left side, then at first in a constant manner; and so was nature (sublunarie I meane) set betweene generation and corruption, as it inclined and still inclines by vertue of the first infused power, to generation rather then corruption; and as long as privation remaines to be a principle of generation (of generation I say, and not of corruption) inherent in the first matter, it cannot possiby in the course of nature bee otherwise; which is no doubt the very principall reason that induced *Aristotle* to maintaine the worlds eternitie: And yet your Lordship would bring his principles to overthrow his tenets, as if hee understood not so well himselfe what hee meant by *privation* as your Lordship can teach him: Nay if *privation* were a principle in *puris naturalibus*, before the fall of man, as both *Divines* and *Christian* Philosophers grant, and yet bee the cause that nature inclines wholly to corruption; I much wonder how your Lordship will avoide it, but that even from the originall creation, and in the state of integritie Nature was so *wholly inclined*, which how unsafe and how unsound a position it is I leave to your Lordship to judge. 12.

G. G.

THis is proved by many reasons, as to instance in 1 man, *there is but one way for his birth and conception, but diverse and infinite wayes lead to his death and destruction.* 2 *Secondly, many moneths are required for his conception, many yeares for his full growth and perfection, but in an instant he is suddenly dissolved.* 3 *Thirdly, if the least part of a man were corrupted, unlesse presently incision bee made, it would undoubtedly by degrees corrupt all the sound parts of his body; but why rather should not all the sound parts recover this one corrupted member.* 4 *Fourthly, there is but one state of health; but diseases are numberlesse and infinite.* 5 *Fifthly, there are more poysons then Cordialls, those are more pernicious and destructive, then these are soveraigne and preservative.*

That nature is not indifferent to generation and corruption alike.

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G. H.

YOur inſtance in *man*, is no ſufficient reaſon to prove that nature wholly inclines to corruption, in as much as nature is of a farre larger extent then man, and man of too narrow a compaſſe to claſpe and incircle univerſall nature; Neither can it bee proved that thoſe many wayes (for infinite they are not) which bring a man to his end, are more now then they were many ages ſince, and thoſe which are, ſeeme for the greateſt part rather to bee violences offered to nature, then to proceed from the *inclination* of nature her ſelfe; there being but one naturall way for his diſſolution, as there is but one for his birth and conception: Some are drowned, ſome burnt, ſome ſlaine with the ſword, ſome die of the feaver, ſome of the peſtilence, ſome of the ſtone, or the cholike, and will your Lordſhip call theſe the inclinations of nature? or rather violences offered to nature? Moreover that which nature hath many and diverſe wayes to effect, ſhee doth not alwayes moſt encline unto; many more wayes there are for the production of Monſters in what kinde ſoever, whither of man or beaſt, then to bring either of them forth perfect in their kinde, (as there are more wayes to miſſe themarke then to hitt it) yet is not nature therefore moſt inclined to the production of Monſters; whither wee take inclination for the intent of nature, or for her impotencie; if ſo it were in either of theſe, Monſters then would not then be ſuch wonders as now they are. Laſtly, mee-thinkes it ſhould rather argue the ſtrong inclination and power of nature to generation, in that having but one way leading thereunto, and on the other ſide ſo many which tend to diſſolutions, yet are generations at leaſtwiſe as frequent as diſſolutions; and were it not ſo, the world had long ſince beene utterly diſpeopled.

2. Your Lordſhip tells us that many moneths are required for mans conception, wherein I preſume your meaning is not amiſſe, but ſure the termes are improper and muſt bee reformed: And touching the ſuddenneſſe of mans end, if wee take generation and corruption in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, for the meere introduction or ejection of the forme they are both in an inſtant; if for the forerunning and prævious diſpoſitions towards them, his approaches to diſſolution often take up more time then his growth to perfection; for as there paſſe many yeares before he come to his full ripeneſſe, ſo if he live out his time in the due courſe of nature, there are many more in which he declines; and let his diſſolution bee as ſudden as it will, the generation of ſomewhat elſe out of him muſt needs be as ſudden, ſo as though a man bee diſſolved, yet in the univerſe nothing is thereby loſt: Whereunto wee may adde that his diſſolution is not more ſudden now, then formerly it hath beene; neither is nature more impotent or leſſe tender and carefull then heretofore ſhe hath beene in his preſervation and defence.

3. To the third reaſon, how often are light ſoares and hurts healed by the force of nature, and by meanes of the ſound parts without any inciſion

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inciſion or the helpe of Chirurgerie; and though in more dangerous ulcers and wounds, the ſound parts cure not the diſeaſed, but rather the diſeaſed corrupt the ſound, yet will it not follow that nature her ſelfe rather inclines to corruption then to generation, for certainely the parts that are whole have a greater inclination to keepe themſelves ſound, then to be corrupted; onely their corruption proceedeth from accidentall and externall cauſes, both which are preternaturall, either beſide or contrary to nature: And this their inclination well enough appeareth, in that they are not at all corrupted but by theſe cauſes; and being thus corrupted by adventitious cauſes, nature (as being a nurſe no leſſe carefull then a tender mother) hath provided adventitious remedies to cure them, and thoſe no leſſe either in number or power then in former ages.

To the fourth, there is but one truth, but numberleſſe errours oppoſed to this one truth, which notwithſtanding is more potent to preſerve it ſelfe then they to deſtroy it, and concerning the number of diſeaſes, theſe diſeaſes are not made by nature, ſaith *Chryſippus* in *Gellius*; but the health of man requiring ſuch an excellent fineneſſe and curiouſneſſe of temperature, there could not chuſe but bee many wayes of diſtempering and impairing it: whence ſpring thoſe many diſeaſes, yet herein alſo hath nature ſhewed her care, and her inclination to preſervation rather then corruption, in that ſhee hath provided ſo many ſeverall kindes of medicines for the cure of each diſeaſe which are knowne, beſides thoſe which are unknowne, ſuch I meane as were never diſcovered, or having beene diſcovered are loſt. Neither can wee finde that the multitude or danger of diſeaſes is any way increaſed by the duration of time and age of the world; and if in ſome places they be increaſed by the luxurie of men, this is neither perpetuall nor univerſall, but as ſome new come in, ſome old goe out, or their ſtrength is abated: And truely mee-thinkes this reaſon alſo as well as the firſt (which is in a manner the ſame) may well be retorted on your Lordſhip, ſeeing that to one ſtate of health ſuch an infinite company of diſeaſes are oppoſed, and moſt men ſo often and ſo many wayes offer violence to nature, and thereby give occaſion of impairing or indangering their health, yet the greateſt part continue longer in health then they are in ſickneſſe. 4.

Fifthly, whereas your Lordſhip affirmeth that there are more poyſons then Cordialls, I ſhall crave better proofe thereof then your bare aſſertion ere I ſubſcribe unto it, in as much as all nutritives and reſtoratives may in ſome ſenſe be termed Cordialls, though we uſually terme them ſo which are the moſt excellent and ſoveraigne in that kinde: And againe, that poyſons are more deſtructive then Cordialls preſervative I cannot allow, for if ſo, how came it to paſſe that *Mithridates* by uſe of his antidote had ſo armed his bodie, that he could not poyſon himſelfe when hee moſt deſired it, and tooke the moſt ranke poyſons to that end, but to no purpoſe: Yet nature it ſhould ſeeme never brought forth theſe poyſons to the end they ſhould deſtroy, (though *Pliny* would have it ſo, that men forſooth might thereby 5.

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at their pleasures ridde themselves out of paine,) for that the deadliest of them being duely corrected, concurre as ingredients to the composition of the most admirable Cordialls. Nay those very vegetables, which to men are deadly poyson, to some beasts serve for wholesome foode.

Lucretius. *Quippe videre licet pingueſcere ſæpe cicutâ*
Barbigeras pecudes, homini quæ eſt acre venenum.

Lastly, it cannot be proved that Cordialls are lesse preservative, or poysons more destructive now, then they were in former ages.

G. G.

AND as it is in mans owne person, so in the propagation of his kinde, [1] *for one hereditarie perfection there are an hundred hereditarie diseases, if then you will suppose corruptions to exceede so much in number, so much in power, it must needes follow that if nature be not a* [2] *stepmother, and wholly inclines to corruption; yet in her owne impotencie shee cannot prevent, but by the mixture of seedes there must needes be a mixture of corruptions, and by the long continuance they must get growth and dayly increase in number, and tend to the disabilitie of bodies, the weakening of faculties, the shortning of lives, and so to a* [3] *generall decay. And as it is thus in naturall Philosophie, so in Logick: (for our notions and conceptions doe ever follow some ground-worke of truth in nature)* [4] Concluſio semper sequitur deteriorem partem.

Corruptions exceed as in individualls so in propagation.

G. H.

1. THat there are an hundred hereditarie diseases for one hereditarie perfection, is (as I conceive) wonderfully mistaken, the cleane contrary thereunto being doubtlesse most true, that there are an hundred hereditarie perfections for one hereditarie disease; in as much as every sence, and member, and part and particle of the body, their severall uses and tempers and proportions and connexions, are all and every one of them so many hereditarie naturall perfections, beside the severall faculties of the soule if it bee *ex traduce*, as your Lordship seemes to hold; And for hereditarie diseases, I am perswaded they appeare not to be such in one man of an hundred, to proceed I meane from the seedes of his parents, and not rather from his owne distempers or disdiets perchance in imitation of his parents, and these diseases by a temperate diet and exercise, and the use of Physicke often weare out againe: And by the mixture of seedes, hereditarie diseases arising from contrary causes, and qualities, are rather cured then ingendred, or increased as Physitians teach us.

2. That nature should bee a *Stepmother*, savours somewhat of the disposition of him who would take upon him to censure and amend her workes, or of those Philosophers who were alwayes complaining of her, but through her sides shot at and wounded (though perchance unawares) the author thereof, undoubtedly shee is in her selfe and by his appoint-

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appointment a moſt indulgent mother, and if to any ſhee become a ſtepmother, it is through their owne folly and default.

---Natura Beatis
Omnibus eſſe dedit ſi quis cognoverit uti,

So the *Poet*, and the *Orator Si naturam ſequamur ducem, nunquam aberrabimus.*

That the pretended infirmities or imperfections of mankind, ſhould inferre or imply a generall decay in the courſe of univerſall nature, is an argument very imperfect and infirme. 3.

The Logick rule [*Concluſio ſemper ſequitur deteriorem partem*] ſerves onely for the framing of ſyllogiſmes, and to ſhew how one propoſition followes out of another, as that the conſequence is not good from a negative to an affirmative, or from a particular to an univerſall, but *è converſo*; and therefore are negatives and particulars called *partes deteriores*, becauſe they are of leſſe force in argumentation, and conſequently this rule makes nothing to this buſines, or if it doe I am ſure it cannot bee prooved that the concluſion is more inclined to the weaker and worſer part now, then it was in *Ariſtotles* time or a thouſand yeares before him; And the very truth is that if this Logick rule make any thing to the purpoſe, all things conſidered, it rather makes againſt you then for you. 4.

G. G.

AS in logicke & in our inward notions, ſo in our Lawes & outward expreſſions, primogeniture hath ever had the precedency; In judicature *our books of reports muſt direct us, which argues the great wiſedome of the Ancients in reſpect of ours*; *but for poſterity and ſucceſſion wee ſay*, Partus ſequitur ventrem; *which is to bee underſtood in reſpect of imperfection and weakeneſſe. Thus in nature it hath, even beene obſerved, that there were more females then males; if then the world ſhould bee infinite in continuance, needs they muſt at length exceede in an infinite proportion. Thus the world is now growne effeminate conſidering our idleneſſe and delicacy in reſpect of the hardneſſe and labours of former times. And not to make any farther particular inſtances, what is the ſcope and intent of all arts, but only this* Perficere naturam, *which muſt needs argue natures ſtronge inclination to deficiency.*

G. H.

HOw primogeniture hath the precedency in Logicke, you ſhew not, neither doe I underſtand.

That in our lawes and outward expreſſions it ever had the precedency it doth not appeare, in as much as *Gavel*-kind yet retained in *Kent*, ſhewes what our ancient lawes were in that point, and at this day in ſome places of our Kingdome; the youngeſt brother in regard of inheritance hath the precedency of the eldeſt; ſo as the rule is not generall, and beſides muſt bee referred rather to civill then naturall endowments (which the title of this ſection pretends) it being moſt certaine

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that the younger brother is many times either ſtronger, or wiſer, or both then the elder; God in his Providence ſo dividing the wealth and the wit, as both may live; Nay in holy Scripture in matter of grace & ſupernaturall gifts, wee ſhall often finde the younger to bee preferred before the elder. But ſhould I freely grant that primogeniture hath and ever had the precedency in all reſpects, nations and ages, yet I ſee not (ſuch may bee my dulnes) what your Lordſhip can from thence inferre, to conclude the worlds decay; Once I am ſure that thoſe fruits which trees beare at firſt, are commonly not ſo good as thoſe which they bring forth in the ſucceeding yeares.

As the ancient bookes of reports ſerve us for direction ſo doe likewiſe the moderne; and no doubt but if our bookes had bin extant in their times, they would have made as much uſe of them as we doe now of theirs. And yet I ſee not how this argument can bee reduced to naturall philoſophie: that *axiome Partus Sequitur ventrem*, I take to bee *legall*, rather then *naturall*; the certaintie of the iſſue depending rather upon the mother then the father.

That there are more females then males, may perchance bee true, conſidering men are many wayes more expoſed to hazard then women, ſave only in the caſe of childbirth, but that more women are borne then men I much doubt, and that it hath ever beene ſo obſerved I am confident you will never make good; Neither is it true that the females are in vigour either of bodie or minde alwayes inferior to the males; it being moſt certaine that in all kinds of haukes (which are not a few) the females are by experience found to bee the moſt vigorous, & the like ſome great Bee-maſters write of them. Nay in mankind what noble and notable exploits the *Amazons* atcheived in former ages, ancient hiſtorie ſufficiently informe us; and for our owne times wee may truly ſay that *Queene Elizabeth* in ſome things went beyond all the Kings her predeceſſors;

Vos etenim juvenes animos geritis muliebres
Illaque virgo Viri,

May not unfitly be verified of her and ſome of them. Yet to yeeld that all women are in all things inferiour to all men, and withall that more women are in all countreys borne then men, yet that more women ſhould now bee borne in compariſon of men, is more then your Lordſhip hath proved or I thinke can prove; for my ſelfe I have *often obſerved that in the London bills* of the number of births, chriſtnings and burialls within that cittie, *the number of males in the liſt of births exceeds that of the females*, and I ſee no reaſon but we may as well ſuppoſe the like in other citties.

That the world is now generally growne effeminate, in reſpect of the hardnes and labours of former times, is eaſily ſaid but not ſo eaſily proved; it being certaine that our long navigations and fiſhing trades require more hardnes then our predeceſſors were in an ordinary courſe acquainted with; And their many feſtivalls beyond ours, ſhould in reaſon argue that they loved their eaſe as well as we. *There is now at this preſent a victorious King, in action as able I thinke, and as willing upon occaſion

* This was written before the death of that noble King.

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occasion to indure hardnes as any of the ancient Commanders either *Christian* or *Pagan*; God blesse his pious endeavours, and crowne them with a chaine of victories, and his victories at last with an honourable and setled peace.

The scope and intent of the arts is not only *perficere* but *imitari naturam*, and imitation for the most part falls short of the originall; yet it may not bee denyed but that almighty God in his wisdome hath so ordained and ordered nature, that in some things shee should receave a farther perfection for mans use and that from mans wit and industry, that so hee might the more admire the power, and adore the goodnes of him, who hath endued him with those intellectuall faculties; & take the greater comfort in the creatures. but were nature let alone to her selfe, and never perfitted by art at all, I can never beleeve that she would so farre degenerate, as to runne her selfe out of breath, by bringing her worke either to nothing or utter confusion. The reason whereof is, for that to the perfection of the primarie and principall workes of nature, as namely the motion of the celestiall bodies, (upon which all the rest depend) art neither doth, nor possibly can contribute any thing. And for the rest they are all doubtlesse in their severall kinds supported, guided, and maintained by an higher and stronger power then humane art can reach unto.

G. G.

TO this reason I will adde an example; Consider the first 2000 *yeares after the creation, and you shall find that scripture doth scarce mention any disease, any infirmity, any untimely death, which certainly it would never have omitted, if there had beene such, when it relates things of farre lesse moment; And diseases beings Gods owne chastisements, no doubt but they might bee of speciall use for Gods people; this is my first argument consisting of a reason and an example annexed.*

The perfection of the first ages

G. H.

TO your Lordships example, which is not taken from naturall Philosophy as in the title you promised, but from Scripture, I reply with another Logick rule, and I thinke more properly applyed *Argumentum ab authoritate ductum negativè non valet*; many other things besides diseases no question fell out in the first two thousand yeares, which in holy Scripture wee find not recorded, and if it record things which to us perchance may seeme to bee of *lesse moment*, yet doth it not therfore follow that indeede and in themselves they are so; Gods wayes being not like our wayes, nor his thoughts as our thoughts, and if diseases be *Gods owne chastisements*, as your Lordship here affirmes (which seemes to imply that all come immediately from his hand) I wonder how their supposed multiplication in latter ages can inforce the declination of nature; and againe if diseases bee the chastisement of sinne; and sinne abounded as much or more before the floud

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floud then ſince it hath, we may well conceive notwithſtanding the ſcriptures ſilence, that diſeaſes were likewiſe more rife. But the truth is, I beleeve, that in the firſt ages of the world, at leaſtwiſe in that place where the Patriarchs lived, diſeaſes were not ſo rife as afterwards they became; and that by the ſame meanes and for the ſame reaſons as their lives were drawne out to a longer period then ours now are; ſo as this argument taken from their freedome of diſeaſes, being altogether coincident with that which is borrowed from the length of their lives (there being a reciprocall complication betweene them) I have already ſatisfied both in mine Apologie, and in the laſt papers which I ſent you in anſwer to a part of your long letter; and how it concludes, that becauſe mankind in the firſt ages was freer from diſeaſes therefore in univerſall nature there is a perpetuall decay I cannot underſtand, but am ſure that in the time of *Moſes*, if not before were ſuch ſtrange leproſies found among Gods people, as are now no where to bee heard of in the world; and other peſtilentiall diſeaſes have beene both more contagious and more dangerous then now they are, as I have ſufficiently proved in mine Apologie; which your Lordſhip takes no notice of.

G. G.

I thinke I ſhall not neede to reduce mine arguments into ſyllogiſmes which as you know may eaſily bee done, viz. If nature have ſo many ſtrong inclinations to evill, If all inclinations muſt be reduced into act, or otherwiſe be vaine needleſſe and fruſtra.

Then But Ergo.

G. H.

YOur Lordſhip thinks you ſhall not need to reduce your arguments into ſyllogiſmes, whereas in truth (as I conceive) there is very great need they ſhould be ſo reduced that the feeblenes of them may thereby the better appeare; The point by you to bee concluded is, that in univerſall nature their is a perpetuall decay; this you undertake to prove by arguments drawne from the body of man, which how they can bee extended to the heavens, the elements, the foules, the fiſhes, the beaſts, the vegetables, the mineralls, and againe what ſtrength the arguments have in themſelves being compared with my anſwers to prove a decay in mankind, I leave to your Lordſhip to judge.

G. G.

One anſwer printed.

TO your anſwere of my arguments God willing I ſhall never reply, but leave it to the judgement of indifferent men whither they are ſatisfied or not; onely here give me leave to prevent one anſwer; If you ſay that nature is hindred in theſe her inclinations by ſome obſtacle and impediment which interrupts her in her owne naturall courſe, and keepes her from a precipice, and that is Gods providence. Sir if you will not aſcribe meanes by which this providence

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dence doth worke, and whereby this providence may bee knowne unto us you doe not answere like a Philosopher, but meanes I suppose you will find none, for I have alreadie instanced in nature in generall.

G. H.

IF your Lordship would beepleased to reply upon mine answers, it would both give me better content, and much helpe to the clearing of that truth which you pretend to seeke in this question, and for that imaginarie answer of mine which you undertake to prevent, I presume that by this time you cannot but see it needed not; sithence there needeth not the calling in of any *extraordinary providence* for the preservation of Nature in her course, in as much as of her selfe and by the ordinarie providence, shee wholly inclineth to generation and to corruption not at all, but onely to make way for generation; and therein I am sure I speake as a philosopher; but your Lordship telling us that nature enclines wholly to corruption, I am as sure doth not so, there being never any philosopher besides your selfe that ever yet I met with who durst bee so bold as once to suppose, much lesse peremptorily to deliver so unjustifiable an assertion; which though you would draw to nature in *generall*, yet have you not insistedin it but *only in mankind.*

G. G.

Out of the Metaphysicks the first argument.

LOGICK and the Metaphysicks have a great affinity betweene themselves, onely with this difference that one lookes to [1] *predication, the other to entities; predication followes entitie, as our speech is squared according to some ground worke in nature.* [2] *In Logick this is a rule that* Quicquid prædicatur de specie, prædicatur de omnibus individuis ejusdem speciei simul sumptis & è converso; *this* simul sumptis *must not be in succession because* genus *and* species *have noe existence in nature but onely in their individualls, if then* genus *and* species *should bee said to exist by succession they should exist in them which have no existence,* [3] *a strange fancie implying a contradiction, when as succession is so farre from giving eternity as that it is indeed* [4] *an earnest of corruption; as the severall degrees of mans age, infancie, youth, old age, all tend to the grave, here then is as great incongruitie to fasten that on the species whereof no individuall is capable as if they were not all of the same nature.*

What is collected out of individualls & only subsists in individualls must pertake with them in all there passions.

G. H3

G. H.

Metaphysicks.

1. THAT there is a greater affinity betwixt Logick and *Metaphysicks*, then betwixt it and other sciences cannot bee justified, nor that the onely and greatest difference betweene them is that the one lookes to predication and the other to entities; neither doe the *Metaphysicks* looke at all to *entities* but to *ens quatenus ens*, and Logick is referred rather to ratiocination then predication, that comming in but upon the by to helpe us in the art of reasoning.

2. Now your first argument is said to be borrowed from Logick (whereas notwithstanding the title points us onely to the *Metaphysicks*) and is drawne from this rule, *Quicquid prædicatur de specie prædicatur de omnibus individuis ejusdem speciei simul sumptis & è converso*, which rule though I might quarrell in divers respects as namely that all the individualls are immediately under the *species*, but the *species* it selfe immediately under the *genus*, and againe that all the individualls are necessarily tied to *hic & nunc* as Logicians speake, to which the *species* is not tied, and the like; yet for quietnes sake I am content to grant that it is indeed true of all the individualls not severally taken but collectively, that is of all such as both have beene and are and shall bee, and therefore it is added *simul sumptis*, or as your Lordship hath expressed your selfe in your letter of the fourteenth of October, *generaliter sumptis*; whereas your Lordship then would *exclude* the *individualls* to come or in succession from this predication, you might as well by the same reason have *excluded* them that are past, and then shall we haue three species of mankind, one past, another present, and a third to come; nay by the diminution or addition, the loss or gaine of every individuall, wee should have a new species or at leastwise a new existence.

With mankind then or any other *species* it fares as with a river, which varies every moment one part driving out another, yet is it still the same river which it was an hundred yeares since, though in that compasse of time it have perchance emptied every dropp of water above a thousand times: in like manner, time it selfe in regard of the parts thereof instantly passeth away and utterly ceaseth and yet in regard of the whole, it never ceased to bee since the first creation, nor till the last consummation of all things shall cease to bee, it being one and the same threed of time spunne out from the beginning and caried along to the last end; And this is the inseparable propertie of all things consisting in succession, as all sublunarie things doe, not unfitly expressed by these two verses, set under a picture, taken by stealth; and made by him whom the picture was made to represent.

Quid

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Quid facis o demens? Cur ora fugacia pingis?
Aut novus aut nullus cras mihi vultus erit.

Such a fugitiue face hath every man and mankind it ſelfe, but with this difference that the face ofmankind is daily decayed and daily renewed but the face of individuall man decayes daily without any compenſative renewing and in reſpect of this renovation by degrees chaining one part as it were one linke to another the *ſpecies* is ſtill the ſame and hath ſtill the ſame exiſtence but in relation to the different parts thereof in a different manner tranſitively; in regard of thoſe which are paſt, in the preſent actually; potentially in the future; ſucceſſively in all, compleatly or adæquately in the whole, but permanently in none. And were it not ſo one of the two muſt needs follow that every moment either a new ſpecies muſt bee brought forth or a new exiſtence thereof, in as much as every moment there is a change of the individualls, ſome falling and others riſing in their ſteed; as then it falls out in the individualls themſelves which though they never ſtand at a ſtay but change every moment at leaſtwiſe in their *fleſhy* and *Fluid* parts, yet keepe the ſame exiſtence from the birth to the grave: Soe is it with the *ſpecies*, the individualls holding the ſame proportion to it as the *fluid* parts doe to every individuall. To ſpeake properly then, neither the *ſpecies* nor the individuall have any permanent exiſtence, this being an attribute peculiar to immateriall and incorruptible ſubſtances, the Angells the ſoules of men and the heavens; or rather being conſidered in an abſolute manner the prerogative of the Creator himſelfe in whom is no variablenes nor ſhadow of change; and yet (which may happily ſeeme ſtrange but is undoubtedly true) both the individuall and the ſpecies have the ſame exiſtence from the firſt date of their being to their uttermoſt expiring; and were it not ſo it could not in reaſon be denominated the ſame *ſpecies* or individuall, both of them receiving their identicall denomination from the identitie of their exiſtence, which being once loſt they leave to bee the ſame.

The ſumme of all is this that wheras your Lordſhip holds it a ſtrange fancie implying a contradiction to ſay that the *ſpecies* exiſts by ſucceſſion, it is certaine that the contrarie poſition thereunto is none other then a meere *chimera* of your owne braine, in as much as the being of the *ſpecies* perpetuated by ſucceſſion, cannot poſſibly otherwiſe exiſt but by ſucceſſion; but as by this meanes the ſame element of fire, of aire of water of earth now exiſts which was firſt made though by perpetuall tranſmutation changed many thouſand times over: ſo by the ſame meanes the ſame *ſpecies* of hawkes, of horſes, of whales, of oakes, of men exiſts at this very preſent which was created in the beginning; neitheir doth the ſame *ſpecies* onely exiſt but it hath now the ſame exiſtence that then it had, though the countenance as it were or copie of it be altered every moment. 3.

From which undeniable grounds being thus laid downe, it moſt infallibly followes, that ſucceſſion is ſo farre from being *an earneſt of* 4.

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corruption as you affirme, as it is it, and it alone which gives eternity to the *ſpecies*. It is indeed an earneſt of corruption to the *individualls* which in their turnes ſucceed and give place one to another, but to the *ſpecies* of continuation, and ſo of eternity in as much as nothing can ſtopp nature in this courſe of ſucceſſion but onely the hand of him who ſet her wheeles agoing and by ſucceſſion paies home her loſſes with an equivalent compenſation. Which is not ſo in the ſucceſſion of the ſeverall degrees of mans age, which your Lordſhip moſt improperly compares with this of the *ſpecies*, telling us that his infancie his youth, his old age, all tend to the grave; whereas of infancy and youth it can no otherwiſe bee ſaid that they tend to the grave, then wee can ſay of a man who goes up the hill and as ſoone as hee hath gained the top is to come downe againe, that hee is deſcending even while hee is aſcending, which is an improper ſpeech; but herein ſtands the maine difference betwixt the ſucceſſion in the ſeverall degrees of mans age and the *Individualls* in the *ſpecies*, that man declineth from youth to old age and ſo to the grave, but the *ſpecies* by an equivalent compenſation of *individualls* ſucceeding each other never declines nor growes old, but ſtill remaines freſh and flouriſhing as in youth.

Which being ſo it is noe incongruity (as your Lordſhip pretends) to
5. faſten that on the *ſpecies* whereof no *individuall* is capable, but rather it were ſo both in *Logick* Philoſophie and common reaſon, to faſten all that on the *individuall*, which the *ſpecies* is capeable of; for to grant that the *ſpecies* is not æternall, yet hath it now laſted above five thouſand yeares which no *individuall* is capeable of, and againe the *ſpecies* by your owne confeſſion in the *Logick* rule here brought may and doth *prædicare de omnibus ſuis individuis*, which I truſt you will not ſay any *individuall* is capable of, and a number of the like inſtances might eaſily bee brought; Though then the *ſpecies* and *individuall* bee both of one nature yet they differ as the whole and the parts; no part can ſubſiſt without the whole but the whole may without the particular parts; as a tree may ſubſiſt without any particular branch but the branch cannot being cut off from the tree, and many things may be verified of the whole tree which cannot of any branch thereof, no nor of all the branches now actually exiſting therein.

For a finall cloſe to this ſection and a full anſwer to your *Logick* rule, your Lordſhip ſuppoſeth the *prædication* of the *ſpecies* to be confined to the preſent or actuall exiſtence thereof, which may in no caſe be admitted, for then the definition of the *ſpecies* of mankind ariſing out of principles thereof ſhould reach onely to the preſent *individualls*, and conſequently wee ſhould make not only our poſterity but our foreſathers unreaſonable creatures: which I preſume your Lordſhip will not allow of.

G. G.

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G. G.

ESPECIALLY seeing it is an axiome in the Metaphysicks, that corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt plus quam genere; *But Master* Archdeacons *opinion doth, so wholy overthwart and oppose this axiome, as that it concludes cleane contrarie; that* genera & species *are incorruptible, and all their individualls corruptible, whereby one and the same species may bee said to bee both corruptible and incorruptible, incorruptible in it selfe and corruptible in its individualls, as if* species *had any other being but what it hath from individualls, as if you would ascribe reall and naturall existency in themselves to words of the second notion in Logick.*

The difference betweene corruption and incorruption is such, as that it must imply two different natures.

G. H.

WE are now come at last to the Metaphysicall *axiome* [*Corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt genere*] so sayes *Aristotle*, if at least wise the *axiome* bee his; but your Lordship out vies him and will needs have it *plusquam genere*, upon what warrant I know not; Now this *axiome* (as your Lordship would beare us in hand) Master *Archdeacons* opinion doth so wholly oppose, as that it concludes cleane contrarie, because forsooth it makes the same *species* incorruptible in it selfe, but corruptible in its individualls; Whereas Master *Archdeacon* never yet made the *species* to bee corruptible at all, but therefore makes it incoruptible in the individualls, because the chaine of their succession is inviolable, and what is impaired by the death of one, is repaired by the life of another; neither doth this opinion ascribe reall existence to words of the second notion, as you would inferre, but makes indeed the universalls to bee both reall & eternall, *reall* because they exist in reall individualls, eternall because the succession of these individualls is perpetuall, which I am sure is the common opinion of philosophers, and if Master *Archdeacon* err in this, he erres not alone;

But how if these two which your Lordship makes thus to differ *plusquam genere*, may bee verified of the same individuall? then may it much rather I trust bee verified of the species; yet is it on all sides confessed that every particular man, is both corruptible and incorruptible, corruptible in regard of his bodie, incorruptible in regard of his soule; nay the same body is both corruptible by death and incorruptible by the resurrection from the dead, what will you say to this? doth the same man differ from himselfe, or the same bodie from it selfe *plusquam genere*? Againe you tell us that this world in which wee now dwell is corruptible, and that the same world by renovation shall bee made incorruptible, and doth the same world differ from it selfe *plusquam genere*? For the *axiome* then wee must find out another sense, which I take to bee this,

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that two individualls whereof the one is corruptible in it ſelfe, and the other in it ſelfe incorruptible, as God and the creature, ſpirituall and materiall ſubſtances, cæleſtiall and elementarie bodies, are diſtinguiſhed each from other by a genericall difference, yet ſoe as they are all comprehended under the ſame *ſummum genus*, which is *ens*; and being ſo underſtood it is no way applyable to the purpoſe your Lordſhip hath brought it.

G. G.

And therefore ſhould they belong to two ſeverall worlds

WHen as indeed the difference betweene corruptible and incorruptible is ſuch that it is the very proper difference betweene the two worlds; for the 2 *Metaphyſicks diſcerne the two worlds, wee ſee the limits bounds and skirts of this world, the heavens ſerve for the* 3 *circumference; why then may not the* 4 *convexity as well as the concavity ſerve for habitation? when wee cannot adm*[t] *a* vacuum; *wherein then conſiſts the difference between theſe two worlds? ſome will ſay that one is ſpirituall, the other is* 5 *materiall; this is true indeed, but it is not the proper difference; for even in ſpirituall creatures there is* potentia *which hath ſome* 6 *analogie to our matter, but corruption and incorruption implying the exiſtence ſupporting all other qualities, and being the moſt generall, therefore the likelieſt to diſtinguiſh the two worlds, and in them moſt properly conſiſts the difference.*

G. H.

1. IF corruptible were the very proper difference of this world, then ſhould the fountaine of all the properties thereof bee corruption, and conſequently life, and ſence, and motion ſhould all flow from corruption, the proper difference being indeed none other then the forme which ſerves as to give the name and being to the thing it poſſeſſeth & informes, and to ſet all the faculties thereof on worke, ſo eſſentially to diſtinguiſh it from all other things.

2. In what ſence the Metaphyſicks may be ſaid to diſcerne two worlds I muſt profeſſe for mine owne part I cannot diſcerne; true indeed it is that the phyſicks diſcerne two though improperly ſo termed, the cæleſtiall, and ſublunary or ſubcæleſtiall, which to ſpeake properly are but one; but that the Metaphyſicks ſhould diſcerne two worlds, the one materiall and the other ſpirituall I cannot finde; *Ariſtotle* I know, both in the phyſicks and Metaphyſicks ſpeakes of a *primus motor* and *intelligences*, ſerving for the perpetuitie of cæleſtiall motion, (which notwithſtanding by many Chriſtian Philoſophers and Divines are rejected as ridiculous) but of any *ſpirituall* world, to my remembrance he no where ſpeakes.

3. That the heavens are the circumference of this world wee ſee, (though not by the Metaphyſicks) but that this circumference is in it ſelfe and of its owne nature corruptible wee have not yet ſeene it proved, and if this lower part of the world bee governed by it

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it (as is the opinion of all philosophers, and the dictate of sense and reason it selfe) the heavens being incorruptible in themselves, they cannot but by their *quickning virtue* and vitall efficacie impart likewise an incorruptibility to these inferior bodies governed by them, though in a different kind, namely by transmutation and succession.

That the *convexity* of the utmost heavens (if under it you *include Cælum Empyreum*) should bee habitable, is a very strange position; in as much as nothing in a naturall course and by a created power can possibly have any abode there, where is neither *locus* nor *vacuum*; Whereas your Lordship then seemes to hold that *datur locus quia non datur vacuum*, it is true in spaces capable of *localitie* and *vacuitie*, whereas that space *extra cælum* is *capable* of neither; *locus* being that *space* which is taken up by a body, and *vacuum*, though it bee not actually taken up by a body yet is *capable* of a body: Whereas *spatium extra cælum* is neither taken up by any body, nor is naturally *capable* of any body, and consequently is neither *locus* nor *vacuum*: as a stone is neither *videns* nor *cæcus*, because it is not a subject *capable* of sight, and if neither bodie nor created spirit because *finite*, can remaine *in vacuo* much lesse in a space imaginary which is neither *locus* nor *vacuum*; and if wee should imagine habitation in the *convexitie* of the utmost heavens, why not beyond that againe and so *in infinitum*? Which both philosophy and divinitie abhors; onely the *creator infinite* in himselfe not onely fils all places but extends himselfe throughout all imaginarie space what ever it bee, somewhat resembling that imaginarie time or rather duration which was before the creation, his center is every where, but his circumference noe where. 4.

---Vt tota per artus
Corporeos mens una subit, sic unus in una
Mundi mole deus, mundo tamen amplior ipso
Tendit in immensum, nulloque includitur arcu
Sphæra deus vivens, centri tumor occupat omnem
Curvatura locum nescit.

But in truth it is but a follie to dispute of these things so farre beyond the reach of our shallow understandings; *Pliny* goes farther and is bold to call it madnesse, writing of the entire globe of the universall world in the first chapter of his second booke, *Furor est* (saith hee) *profecto furor est egredi ex eo, & tanquam ejus cuncta plane jam sint nota ita scrutari extera, quasi vero mensuram ullius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat, aut mens hominis videre quæ mundus ipse non capiat.*

Your Lordship in your booke of the fall of man and in many of your letters to mee, makes this materiall world incorruptible by renovation, and yet here you make the spirituall world to bee onely capable of incorruption; which two propositions (as I conceive) incompatible, how you will bee able to reconcile, I for my part cannot possibly imagin, vnlesse you will make this materiall by renovation to bee transformed into a spirituall.

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6. If in ſpirituall creatures there bee ſome analogie to matter, and all matter have in it the ſeedes of corruption, the conſequence from thence deduced is unavoidable, that they have likewiſe an analogie to corruption, and then may ſpirituall or immateriall as well ſerve to bee their difference as incorruptible; but the truth is that their incorruptibility ſprings from their immaterialitie, and not *è converſo*, the former being the effect of the latter, and the latter the cauſe of the former; Now the cauſe it is which primarily and principally conſtitutes the difference, and not the effect ſpinging from that cauſe; whereas your Lordſhip then makes corruption which is but a privative effect ariſing from the matter to imply the exiſtence, and to ſupport all other qualities of this corruptible world; and ſo incorruption which is but a negative qualitie of the incorruptible, is doubtleſſe a paradox unheard of, and in no ſort to bee defended.

Laſtly corruptible and incorruptible cannot bee ſaid to bee the proper difference betwixt the materiall and ſpirituall world, in as much as ſome materiall ſubſtances, as namely the heavens and the firſt matter are incorruptible, but none are ſpirituall properly ſo termed; Indeed the Apoſtle calls the glorified bodie *ſpirituall* in oppoſition to our naturall bodies, not becauſe it is a ſpirit; for then could it not bee a bodie, but becauſe it is wholly ſubject to the ſpirit, becauſe it workes and moves nimbly as a ſpirit, becauſe as a ſpirit it is not ſubject to diſeaſes, or death, or hunger, or thirſt, or wearienes: finally becauſe it is quickned and raiſed perfectly ſanctified, and fully glorified by the ſpirit of Chriſt, as it there followes in the next verſe. *The firſt Adam was made a living ſoule, the laſt Adam was made a quickning ſpirit*; So that as in holy ſcripture our ſoules by corrupt nature are ſaid to bee *Carnall*: in the ſame ſenſe, and none otherwiſe, are our glorified bodies ſaid to bee ſpirituall.

1. Cor. 15. 44.

G. G.

1. *TO this reaſon I will add an example; Suppoſe Adam and Eve ſhould have vowed chaſtitie, inſteede of Gods ſentence of death, by your reaſon, they ſhould have beene incorruptible; for in them and onely in them was the whole ſpecies and nature of man. And whereas Cain did murther his brother Abel, if hee had done the like to his parents (as he had the ſame right and and was alike provoked by them) inſteed of a gibbet by your reaſon hee ſhould have beene crowned with eternity; no doubt but if this counſell had beene given him, hee would have attempted it;* [2] *I am likewiſe confident that ſince the creation ſome ſpecies have failed as well as the individualls, neither doe I thinke it impoſſible at this time to deſtroy a whole ſpecies, as in Italy this very laſt ſummer by the practiſe of a lewd mountebanke did wofully appeare.*

How individualls might have bin eternall after the ſentence of death.

G. H.

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G. H.

TO the precedent reason wee have an example added, but as that added to the first argument drawne from the Physicks is not physicall, so neither is this I thinke any where to be found in the Metaphysicks; no such names as *Adam* and *Eve* are there to bee seene. Since then the example is taken from *Divinitie*, which neither the Physicks nor Metaphysicks are acquainted with, I hope your Lordship will not here expect that I should answer as a Philosopher, but as a Divine: Philosophie cannot clearely finde either beginning or ending in the world, much lesse when it began, or who was the first man, where hee was made, or in what manner, or whether but one alone were first made; this Philosophie may seeke, but true Divinitie onely findes, according to that excellent passage of the great Earle of *Mirandula*. *Veritatem Philosophia quærit, Theologia invenit, Religio possidet.* As a Divine then I could answer, that had *Adam* vowed chastitie (which very supposition mee seemes savours a little too much of the *Monke*) the same power that created the first, might as easily have created a second or third, or of the very stones have raised up children unto him, as our *Saviour* speakes of *Abraham*; but the truth is, that it being Almighty Gods resolute determination from the first man to propagate mankinde, and so by him to replenish the earth, though it were in his power to vow chastitie, yet was that power suspended, so that he could not excercise the act thereof, and so frustrate the intent of the Creator; much like as *Christ* the sonne of *God*, being sent out of the world to redeeme a peculiar people to himselfe, though there remained after the fall in all mens wills a resistibilitie to his gratious calling, yet was the act of resisting in some infallibly removed, least otherwise it should bee left in the power of man wholly to evacuate the vertue of *Christs* sufferings, and so to make the promise and purpose of God himselfe, and the predictions of the holy Prophets of none effect.

Thus likewise it was in the power of *Adam* and *Eve*, not onely to have vowed chastitie, but to have dispatched themselves out of the life after they had vowed it, and so to have made not themselves immortall, but the race of mankinde mortall, and that in the very infancie thereof; these things I say were possible in regard of their free election, but impossible in regard of their Creators predetermination. And that which is said of *Adam* and *Eve*, may likewise bee verified of *Cain* their graceless sonne; But now I shall pray your Lordship a little to reflect upon the force of your example, and then tell me how from the immortalitie of *Adam* or *Cain*, can bee inferred the perpetuall and universall decay of nature.

Your Lordship is confident that since the creation, some *species* have failed as well as the *individualls*; and on the other side, I for my part am as confident, that none have failed; so here is confidence on both sides, but *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, it is your part to shew what *species* have failed, and till that be done you must give mee leave still to

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beleeve that none hath failed, but are all of them preſerved by vertue of their firſt benediction. And yet if any have failed, what is that to the perpetuall and univerſall decay of nature? or if it bee poſſible at this time to deſtroy a whole *ſpecies* (as your Lordſhip thinkes) what is that to the naturall decay thereof? It is one thing to be deſtroyed, and another thing in the courſe of nature to decay. As for the *Mountebanke of Italie*, he neither intended nor could performe the utter extirpation of mankinde; hee intended it not, for that at leaſt hee ſought not the deſtruction of himſelfe and his complices; and had hee never ſo much intended it, it is impoſſible hee ſhould ſo diſperſe his poyſon as to performe it; and were ſuch a thing to bee compaſſed, no doubt the Devill would have attempted it, and God would interpoſe his extraordinarie providence.

G. G.

An anſwer prevented.

For anſwer to this argument needes muſt you againe fly to the providence, for both generalls and particulars conſiſt of the very ſame principles & nature, and therefore accordingly ſhould have the ſame naturall courſe and condition, unleſſe ſome overruling providence upholding and ſupporting both ſhould prevent that in the generalls, which it permits in particulars.

G. H.

IF in caſe of a naturall decay I fly to an ordinarie providence for reparation, and in caſe of an unnaturall violence to an extraordinarie providence, I ſhould hold it no incongruitie. That particulars and generalls partake of the ſame naturall condition, is true, being underſtood of the particulars not ſingle, but collected and marſhalled into a bodie as the Creator hath ordained thē, which body being in any part ruined, the breaches thereof are againe made up in a naturall courſe, and ſo the whole body preſerved entire, which upon the matter is nothing elſe but the generall; and if the over-ruling providence you ſpeake of uphold and ſupport both the generalls and particulars, I would willingly learne how then it can bee ſaid to prevent that in the generalls which in the particulars it permits; but the truth is that the ordinary providence permits a decay in the particulars ſeverally conſidered, which by a perpetuall ſucceſſe of thoſe particulars it prevents in the generalls.

G. G.

Natural means failing they fly to providence.

FOr the overthrow of this anſwer, as in the naturall Philoſophie I conſidered the meanes whereby the providence did worke: ſo in the Metaphyſicks I will conſider the analogie or correſpondencie of Creatures, whereby wee judge of ſome by others. As when wee ſee onely one inſtance of the Moone, that ſhee borrowet h her light from the Sunne, wee doe thence conclude the reſt of the ſtarres doe the like, and ſo we affirme the Sunne alone to be the ſole fountaine

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taine of light. When wee ſee but one 3 drop of water how apt it is to incircle it ſelfe; wee thence conclude that the whole element of water makes but one globe with the earth, by the aſcent of one 4 ſparke of fire, wee conclude the whole element of fire; for the ſwift motion of the heavens is no ſufficient demonſtration.

G. H.

WEE now come to examine whither your Lorſhip have overthrowne this anſwer of mine, and not that which you have fancied to your ſelfe and put upon me; this you pretend to doe by a Metaphyſicall ſpeculation conſiſting in the correſpondencie of the Creatures, whereby wee judge of ſome by others, but in what 1.
place of the Metaphyſicks this correſpondencie is to bee found, or how it belongs to that ſcience I know not, ſpecially in particulars as you deduce it.

That the *Moone* borrowes her light from the *Sunne*, may evidently 2.
be demonſtrated, but that therefore all the other ſtarres ſhould doe the like, there may perchance bee ſome probable preſumption, but ſurely not ſo neceſſarie a demonſtration: And if they doe, and the Sunne be ſtill the ſame, why ſhould not likewiſe the Moone and ſtarres bee the ſame; and conſequently theſe inferiour bodies which are governed and ſupported by them? truely hee that would prove a decay in univerſall nature muſt firſt prove it in the Sunne, under God the fountaine of the perpetuitie thereof, as the courſe of nature is now by him ſetled; this indeed were to ſtrike at the roote, and unleſſe this be ſoundly done, all the reſt is but a verball diſpute, or a nibling at the branches and twigges.

That the element of water makes but one globe with the earth is 3.
proved, becauſe in its naturall motion it ſeekes the ſame center as all earthly bodies doe, but the aptitude of a droppe thereof to incircle it ſelfe, rather inferres the rotunditie of the whole element; and the truth is, that it incircles it ſelfe for its owne preſervation: which one thing ſufficiently ſhewes how mightily all things by the ſecret inſtinct and impreſſion of nature ſtamped upon them, ſtrive for their preſervation; and of themſelves runne not headlong to corruption, as your Lordſhip would have it.

Though the ſacred Scriptures mention no element of fire, and ma- 4.
ny Philoſophers and Mathematicians as well ancient as moderne, have in their writings declared theſelves againſt it, being thereunto induced (as they conceived) by ſtrong reaſons, yet for mine own part I conceive the reaſons urged by the *Peripateticks* for it, to bee ſtronger then thoſe which are brought againſt it; and among thoſe which are produced for it, the aſcending of a ſparke I take to bee the weakeſt, and the ſwift motion of the heavens the ſtrongeſt; however ſure I am, that the one is drawne *à poſteriori*, and the other *à priori*, which I truſt your Lordſhip will not deny to bee the moſt convincing demonſtration: But now to looke backe a little, all theſe inſtances borrowed from the light of the ſtarres;

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ſtarres, from the water, from the fire, I take to bee Phyſicall, and not Metaphyſicall as your Lordſhip pretends.

G. G.

THus wee judge of the nature of the whole by the parts, which muſt needes have ſome congruitie to point out the identitie of the maker, and that bee doth not vary in his intentions.

G. H.

WE are now come to the application of thoſe inſtances, and that is, *thus to judge of the whole by parts*, which is true in homogeneall parts and eſſentiall properties; thus every part of bloud is bloud, and the leaſt quantitie of it hath in it all that belongs to the eſſence of bloud as well as the greateſt, but in heterogeneall parts it is otherwiſe in them, there is not the ſame reaſon of every part, nor of any part as of the whole; no no man is ſo unreaſonable as to ſay that there is the ſame reaſon of the little finger as of the whole man. Againe, even the homogeneall parts themſelves, though they all partake of the ſame eſſentiall properties with the whole, yet in other qualities and effects they doe not; as a great quantitie of bloud may laſt longer then a leſſer, and fill a place or nouriſh a bodie which a leſſer cannot; thus many things may bee verified of the element of fire, which of a ſparke cannot, though the definition of fire agree equally to them both. And thus ſtands the caſe with generalls and particulars, which are as it were the homogeneall parts of the generalls. *Socrates* though an individuall, may as truly be ſaid to be a reaſonable creature, as *homo*, though the *ſpecies* of *Socrates*; but *homo*, becauſe a *ſpecies*, by ſucceſſion becomes eternall, which *Socrates* cannot, becauſe another individuall of the ſame kinde may ſucceed *Socrates*, and ſo in *infinitum*; yet *Socrates* becauſe an individuall cannot poſſibly ſucceed himſelfe, and therein though a *part*, hee differs from the *whole*. Neither can we without manifeſt errour judge of the whole by a part thus conſidered, every part of every element is immediately tranſmutable into their neighbour elements, and mediately all of them one into another, yet take the whole regions of the elements and none of them is wholly periſhable, being ſtill repaired by a compenſation of new parts, as the *ſpecies* is ſtill maintained by a perpetuall ſucceſſe of new individualls, but how this proportion of the parts to the whole, ſhould *point out the identitie of the maker*, or ſhew *that he doth not vary in his intention*, to mee is a riddle; neither can I poſſibly underſtand it.

G. G.

1 *BVt the providence of God is alike intereſted and ingaged in particulars as in generalls, the preſervation of both makes alike for his honour.* 2 *And if the end of both bee alike, diſſolution and a renovation, (as wee ſay) but an annihilation*

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annihilation (as you say) why should not the meanes tending and conducting to this end be alike? or why should not the meanes be fitted and proportioned to the end in generalls as well as in particulars? 3 *All the dimensions and all the qualities of this world are finite, why should not the continuance bee finite? If nature doth ever proceed by degrees,* 4 Natura non facit saltum, *why should wee thinke that the world in her full vigor and strength should suddenly bee annihilated? but rather that an end and period should come by degrees, though in an insensible manner:* 5 *As we say that clockes goe truly, and strike the just houre, yet wee doe not thereby imply but that they are worne out with use, how much more insensible is the decay of this world, as the workemanship is much more admirable?* 6 *Which notwithstanding wholly to deny, were in effect to place the individualls here in a lower region subject to stormes and tempests, but to elevate the generalls to an upper region, or rather to another world so to exempt them, whereby you commit a fallacie.* A bene compositis ad male divisa, *when as generalls onely subsist in their particulars, and therefore must share and partake with them in their passions.*

G. H.

THe Providence of God no doubt extends it selfe to all his workes both great and small, there is not a Lilly growes in the field, nor a haire falls from our heads, nor a sparrow lights on the ground without the Divine Providence; yet may it not be denyed but that it extends to some in a more speciall manner then to others, as namely to his *Church* in a more speciall manner then to other men, and to men in a more speciall manner then to unreasonable creatures; which no doubt gave occasion not onely to that demand of the *Psalmist*, *Lord what is man that thou art mindefull of him, or the sonne of man that thou visiteſt him?* but to that likewise of the Apostle, *Doth God take care for Oxen?* Thus also his providence reacheth both to generalls and individualls, but to generalls more especially (becaus they more immediately conduce to the perfection of the world, and consequently to the advancement of his honour) but to the individualls in relation to their generalls. Thus *Du Moulin* in his anatomie of *Arminianisme*, *cap.* 3. maintaines, that God from eternitie did not decree how many eares of corne should grow in the *Neapolitan*, nor any other field. *Aquinas part.* 1. *quæst.* 27. *art.* 7. conceives, that a certaine number of men are predetermined, but not of oxen, and gnats, and such like, save only in generall a competent number for the conservation of their *species*; and againe, *Contra Gentiles, lib.* 3. *cap.* 113. he affirmes that the unreasonable creatures are by God directed in their acts, not with any respect to the *individuum*, but onely to the *species*: And *Ferrariensis* generall of the *Friers predicant*, in his Commentaries upon that place gives us this note; *Advertendum quod hæc ratio supponit id quod in præcedentibus est ostensum, scilicet ea quæ sunt semper sunt propter se provisa.* But S. *Hierome* in his Commentaries on the first of *Habbacuck* goes further, and I thinke somewhat too farre, telling us in plaine termes that it is absurd, *ad hoc Dei deducere Majestatem ut sciat per momenta singula, quot nascantur pulices,*

&

& quot moriantur, quæ cimicum & pulicum & muscarum sit multitudo, quanti pisces in aqua natent, & qui de minoribus majorum præda cedere debeant: which opinions I will not in all points undertake to warrant, but by them all I conceive their meaning to bee, that the Providence of God is in a more speciall manner directed and carried to the generalls, then to the particulars for the preservation of them, in as much as one particular (by Gods ordinance) may and doth succeed another.

Et quasi cursores vitaï lampada tradunt.

But in an ordinary course nothing in that kinde can succeed the generalls, and in that regard it stands more with Gods providence to preserve them safe and sound from any such declination as the particulars are subject unto, and this he doth by the succession of particulars, and therefore it is that the *Angels* who succeed not one another (every particular constituting in it selfe (as *Aquinas* teacheth) both a *species* and an *individuum* remaine in themselves eternall, or to speake more properly, æviternall or immortall.

2. That the end as well of generalls as particulars in materiall substances is alike, that is to be dissolved I grant, but that this dissolution is to be effected in a manner alike, that I deny; the particulars being by the Creators wisedome ordained to bee dissolved in the course of nature, but the generalls by his owne immediate and extraordinary power, and consequently there needed meanes conducing to the former, but to the latter none other then were requisite before the creation; and if meanes proportionable be thought requisite to mine *annihilation*, I beseech you, why not to your *renovation*? Yet how a naturall decay can in reason be assigned as a meanes proportionable to a supernaturall *renovation*, is I confesse past mine understanding.

3. *But all the dimensions and all the qualities of this world are finite, why should not the continuance?* And may not I upon as good grounds demand the same question? All the powers and faculties, all the qualities and actions, and the essence it selfe of Angels, and the soules of men seperated from their bodies are finite, and why should not then their continuance bee finite? yet your Lordship I trust will not deny but that in duration they are both of them infinite, *à parte post* I meane, for *à parte ante*, none is infinite but God. Againe, I hope your Lordship holds not that either the duration of the world after it is renewed shall be finite, or that the dimensions and qualities thereof shall bee infinite; so neither is it incongruous to say that the duration of this finite world should indeed bee infinite, had not God by his extraordinary power determined to cut it off.

4. To this *axieme*, *Natura non facit saltum*; I say againe (as I have often said, and I wonder your Lordship takes no more notice of it) that the Annihilation of the world shall not bee the worke of nature, but of the Creator himselfe, the Author and commander of nature; neither can I tell how your Lordship can otherwise avoide this *saltus*, if the world worne out with a perpetuall decay, should suddenly leape into a *renovation*. And for your pretended insensibilitie in Natures decay, I much marvell how you will accord it with her, wholly inclining and

præcipice

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precipice to corruption', which you so much beat upon in your first argument; Can shee wholly incline and runne headlong to corruption, and yet her decay be insensible?

As for your similitude of Clockes, it strikes not right; for though Clockes weare out with use, yet doth not nature; and besides, Clockes being wrong, there followes in them an irregularitie of motion, farre different from that which was at first; so as they goe not truely, nor strike the right houre; which I suppose your Lordship cannot shew to bee in nature; specially in the celestiall motions, the measure of that time which the Clocks are made to point out.

And thus may wee wholly and safely deny the decay in generall; and without troubling your Lordships World with them, suffer them to remaine where they are, yet well enough sheltred from the stormes and tempests whereunto individualls are subject; because it belongs not to the essence of the individualls (which alone constitutes the *species*) to be subject to such stormes, and beaten with tempests, that being onely essentiall (not onely by way of constitution, but of consequence) wherein all the individualls equally and necessarily participate, and therefore agrees *omni soli & semper*; so as you cannot justly lay to my charge the fallacie, *A bene compositis ad male divisa*: but I may justly fasten on you the contrary, *A bene divisis ad male composita*. Your argument holding in particulars divided each from other, but failing in generalls, which upon the matter are nothing else but a composition or collection of particulars into a bodie. Thus you both begin and end this argument with *Logick*, (if I may call it an argument consisting of so many and different parts) though you intitle it to the *Metaphysicks*; but the very truth is, that the greatest part thereof is neither *Metaphysicall* nor *Logicall*, but rather *Theologicall* or *Physicall*, and consequently to bee referred either to the first which goes before, or to the third which followes after; and now presents it selfe to bee examined.

G. G.

1. *In* Theologie *the first argument.*

Constancie and immutabilitie as supposing the ground worke of wisedome and power, are reckoned among the attributes of God, not onely in his owne nature and essence, but likewise in his actions and operations. 3 *Thus as things proceeded from God, so no doubt they are unchangeable, and this I affirme of all Creatures in generall, as they are immediately created of God; but if otherwise there are meanes under God, and a course appointed by God, by vertue hereof they may have a revolution as it were going from God and returning to God, and then it is no inconvenience, but rather stands with the Providence, that such Creatures may be changeable, as in themselves so in their whole kinde.*

The naturall course of creatures admits corruption.

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G. H.

1. YOur Lordship being by profession a *Divine* and a *Christian* Bishop, mee thinkes should in ranging your arguments rather have given the precedencie to *Divinity* the Mistresse of all other sciences to which they serve as hand-maides, then to have made her thus in regard of order to have waited on them. And yet how this argument (as you call it) is drawne from *Theologie* I know not, containing in it such positions as I thinke before your Lordship never any *Divine* hitherto so much as dreamed of, and such *Christian* Philosophers as have written of the Metaphysickes, thither reduce the attributes of God, for that hee alone is *ens primum* and *per se*, and none but hee; though I well know the Schoole *Divines* handle these as they doe many other questions, which properly belong to the *Physickes* or *Ethickes*.

2. Absolute immutabilitie is such a propertie of the Creator, as it is altogether as incommunicable to the Creature as is *omnipotence*, *omniscience*, *omnipresence*, perfect eternitie or infinitie, and therefore doth hee challenge this attribute as peculiar to himselfe, *Ego Deus & non mutor*; and in another place *I am*; because hee is independent and still like himselfe: yet in some sence may the Creature bee termed unchangeable, when in essence it remaines the same as doe all immateriall substances, the coelestiall bodies, the elements, and the *species* of bodies elementarie, though in a different manner.

3. That all Creatures come from God as the first efficient, and againe returne to God as the utmost finall cause of their beeing, their faculties and operations I willingly acknowledge; but how some of them may bee said to returne to God by their decay I cannot conceive, much lesse what the meanes are which God hath appointed to worke a change by decay, not onely in particulars, but in the whole kindes, which cannot bee but a great inconvenience, nor can well stand with the Divine Providence; for that they make to the perfection and preservation of the World, the principall or at leastwise in regard of us the most conspicuous object of that Providence.

G. G.

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G. G.

AND this makes the great difference betweene ſpirituall and corporeall ſubſtances, for the ſpirituall being created immediately by God, and all in an inſtant; and all in their full perfection, being thus created they doe thus ſubſiſt to eternity, for here is no hearſe nor meanes by which they might wander as it were going to and from their Creator.

The eternity of the ſpirituall world.

G. H.

IF this bee indeed the great difference betweene ſpirituall and corporeall ſubſtances as you affirme, then muſt it conſequently follow, that as all ſpirituall ſubſtances are immutable in regard of decay, ſo ſhould all corporeall bee mutable; in the ſame reſpect, as rationall and irrationall, being the great difference betwixt man and beaſt; it cannot bee but the one ſhould agree to all beaſts as the other doth to all men, and yet (as if you had forgotten what here you affirme, and poſitively lay downe as a fundamentall principle) within a few lines you tell us of ſome corporeall ſubſtances immediately created by God, as immutable in regard of any decay as the ſpirituall, which is in effect as if you ſhould tell us that ſome beaſts are reaſonable; ſo as either this is not the great difference betwixt ſpirituall and corporeall ſubſtances; as here you beare us in hand, or no corporeall ſubſtances have the priviledge which there you pretend. Againe, in your ſecond argument immediately going before you ſay, that the proper difference betwixt the materiall and ſpirituall world (which with you is the ſame as ſpirituall and corporeall ſubſtances) is corruptible and incorruptible; which if it be ſo, mutable and immutable cannot bee it, in as much as many things are mutable which are not corruptible; the Apoſtate *Angells* by their falling away from God ſhewed themſelves to bee mutable, though they be not corruptible, and the firſt matter though it be not corruptible, yet it ſhewes it ſelfe to bee mutable, by changing into a thouſand ſeverall ſhapes every moment; and if by mutable you underſtand a mutabilitie to decay, and ſo to corruption, (which notwithſtanding is but one branch of mutation) then is this argument coincident with the former, pretended to bee drawne from the Metaphyſicks, ſave onely that there you except no corporeall ſubſtances from corruptibilitie as here afterwards you doe.

To affirme that all ſpirituall ſubſtances were created in an inſtant, if the meaning be (as it ſeemes) that that they were all created in one and the ſame inſtant, it is unwarrantable, except we ſhould deny the daily creation of mens ſoules, or hold with *Origen* that before this corporeall world was made, they were all created at the ſame time with the *Angells*; and your Lordſhip cannot be ignorant that many of the Ancients maintained both the ſoules of men and the *Angells* to bee corporeall. That the elect *Angels* who ſtand by grace were originally created in

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that full perfection of knowledge & obedience, which they have now through mercy obtained, cannot be defended; in as much as the Apostate *Angels* were created, and still remaine if not wholly, yet for a great part in the same naturall perfection together with them; and though in regard of this naturall perfection it be true, that they subsist to eternity, yet in respect of the malice of their wills, *Theologie* will assure us, that they found a meanes to wander and start aside from their and our Creator; and this wee may not improperly call a *going from him*, as on the other side the elect *Angels* found a meanes of cleaving so inseparably unto him, as now there is no possibility of their falling away: and this we may not improperly call *a going to him*, both which you deny; your meaning perchance being holpen out by a favourable construction may passe, but truly you have involved it in such ambiguous termes, as may give just occasion to the reader at leastwise to suspect it, if not to condemne it as erroneous.

G. G.

BVt it is otherwise in corporeall natures; for in them there was a double Creation, a Creation ex nihilo, *and that was in an instant, and immediately by God*, In principio creavit Deus cælum & terram, *where by the way that opinion in Philosophie is confirmed concerning the double matter of the heavens and the elements, which you impugne as you doe many other undoubted ancient truths. Now this heaven and this earth thus immediately made of nothing, should so have still continued to eternity out of the constancie of Gods actions, for what should destroy Gods creatures when there is nothing but God? Yet I pray what kinde of heaven and earth should then have subsisted? surely a heaven without starres or beauty, and the earth should have beene* inanis & vacua, *for here was the first Creation* ex nihilo, *and thus things should have subsisted to eternity; this overthrowes your* Annihilation, *because your* Annihilation *overthrowes the constancie and immutabilitie of Gods will; if he should thus make and unmake his Creatures, which would much disparage his fore sight, for as no cause did move him to the making of them but his mercy, so still the same mercy might move him for their preservation.*

The constancie of Gods actions excludes *Annihilation.*

G. H.

BEfore I proceede any farther in the examination of the force of this argument (by reason of a *Remora* which you have cast in my way) I shall bee inforced to make some stay, and because you here assault mee somewhat fiercely; a while to insist upon mine owne defence; you accuse mi for impugning the double matter of the heavens and the elements, as you say I doe many other *undoubted ancient truths*, and for the double matter you take it as granted, to bee proved out of those words in the first of *Genesis*: *In principio creavit Deus cælum & terram.* Heere is my charge, now for my discharge; I will first shew that I impugne not this double matter; Secondly, that it is no such

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such undoubted truth as you pretend: Thirdly, that it cannot be proved from those words of *Genesis*, but rather the contrary; And fourthly, that the opinion of a double matter in the celestiall and sublunary bodies makes for mee in the maine Controversie, but strongly against you; and these foure points being sufficiently opened, I shall earnestly desire your Lordship hereafter to bee more sparing, and advised what you peremptorily affirme, and upon what grounds; and the reader to judge of your uncharitable censure of me in the rest, by the clearenesse and fulnesse of mine answer in this.

First then for my selfe, that I absolutely impugne not this double matter (as you pretend) mine owne words shall testifie, which in the second booke and second Section of mine *Apologie* are these. 'This 'point will never I thinke be fully and finally determined, till wee be 'inhabitants of that place whereof wee dispute; for hardly doe wee 'guesse aright of things which are upon earth, and with labour doe wee 'finde the things which are at hand; but those things which are in hea-'ven who hath searched out? Yet for the present I say I should state it 'thus, that they agree in the same originall matter; and surely *Moses* 'mee thinkes seemes to favour this opinion, making but one matter (as 'farre as I can gather from the text) out of which all bodily substances 'were created; so as the heavens though they bee not compounded of 'the elements, yet are they made of the same matter the elements are 'compounded of. These are my words in that place, Is this then to impugne the double matter? to say the point is in my judgement undeterminable; yet for the present (till I bee better informed) to deliver therein what I conceive most probable, because *Moses* seemes to me to favour this opinion, truly (my Lord) I well hoped the indifferent reader would herein have approved and commended my modesty, rather then have censured mine obstinacie, especially considering that the controversie in it selfe is so difficult, and the single matter hath beene anciently maintained, not onely by the gravest Doctours in the *Christian Church*, but by the greatest Philosophers (*Aristotle* and his desciples onely excepted) among the *Gentiles*, which is the second thing I undertooke to shew, and comes now to be evidenced.

For the *Gentiles*, it is the assertion of *Aquinas part. 1. quæst. 66. art. 2. Plato & omnes Philosophi ante Aristotelem posuerunt omnia corpora esse de natura quatuor elementorum.* And truly I thinke we may well credit *Aquinas* as a witnesse unpartiall in this point, in as much as himselfe herein followed *Aristotle* against the streame of the Ancients; yet herein hath he said no more then both *Plutarch* in his second booke *de placitis Philosophorum*, and *Theodoret* in his booke *de materia & mundo*, have told us before him, where we are taught that before *Plato*, *Trismegistus*, *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Heraclitus*, *Thales*, *Xenophanes*, *Hesiodus*, *Anaximander*, *Xenocrates*, *Anaximenes*, and others, were of the same opinion with him, that the celestiall and sublunarie bodies agreed in the same matter, either as being compounded of the elements, or of the same matter of which they are compounded, and *Eugubinus* in his *Cosmopœia* hath observed as much: And in all likelyhood the *Grecians*

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herein followed the opinion of the *Hebrewes*, the *Caldeans*, and the *Ægyptians*: Nay even after *Aristotle* it should seeme by *Ovid*, that this was in his time the most common and current opinion.

Vnus erat toto Naturæ vultus in orbe
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles,
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners, congestaque eodem,
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.

And would your Lordship then beare us in hand that the opinion of the double matter is the most ancient, because *Aristotle* defended it, as if there were no Antiquitie or Philosophie in the world worth the looking after before *Aristotle*?

But this opinion of the double matter, perchance you will say is among the *Christian Doctours* the most ancient: truly nothing lesse, nay I will bee bold to say that you cannot shew mee so much as one father either *Greeke* or *Latine* for a thousand yeares after *Christ*, who ever defended it; and for any thing I can yet finde among the *Christian Divines*, *Aquinas* (being in all points a most zealous disciple of *Aristotle*, so farre as *Christian Religion* would any way permit him) was the very first who set abroach this double matter: And some of the Schoolemen no babes in Philosophie, but of eminent note have herein opposed him, as namely *Bonaventure*, *Occham*, and *Ægidius*, and will your Lordship then charge mee for impugning an undoubted and ancient truth, which was never defended by any *Christian Divine* for at least a thousand or twelve hundred yeares after *Christ*?

Now because you make your opinion of the double matter, not only ancient but undoubted; I will make bold to propose a doubt or two against it, and shall crave your Lordships helpe for the solving of them: Whereof the first shall bee drawne from the distinction of these two matters, for if they be two, distinguished they must needes bee, and so distinguished by somewhat. Now the Philosophers teach with one consent, that it is the forme and onely the forme which distinguisheth one thing from another, and that the matter in it selfe hath no distinctive propertie at all, which being so the consequence from thence deduced, is in my judgement most infallible, that the formes of the celestiall and elementary bodies being abstracted from their matter, in their matter there can remaine no distinction, and if no distinction it must of necessity be one.

My second argument is likewise grounded upon a received *axiome*, that *in quolibet causarum genere datur una prima*, which no doubt is true as well in materiall causes as efficient and finall. God then being without all controversie the first efficient and last end, it seemeth likewise reasonable and requisite, that in the course and order of materiall causes there should bee but one first matter, as being the last resolution of all corporeall substances, that as there is one *purus actus*, so there may bee one *pura potentia*, in the nature of things correspondent thereunto, which can bee none other then the first matter: And thus much the very adversaries themselves of the single matter

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seeme to confesse, in as much as debating the question they alwayes speake of the *first matter* in the singular number and not of the *first matters* in the plurall, which in truth seemes as absurd in reason as it is harsh to the eare. My Lord these are my doubts, which when I shall see clearly and fully satisfied, I will yeeld your opinion of the double matter to bee an undoubted truth, but till then I shall crave leave to keepe my standing where I am.

But your Lordship happily makes account to put all reason to silence with one Scripture. *In principio creavit Deus cælum & terram* In the exposition of which words it cannot bee denied but the fathers differ much one from another, and in diverse parts of their writings from themselves, yet certaine it is that the current opinion in the Christian Church for the space of well nigh these last thousād yeares hath beene that by *heaven* in that place is to bee understood *cælum Empyræum*, and by the *earth* (which in the next verse is said to bee without forme and voide) that undigested Chaos out of which all the moveable cælestiall spheres together with the elements and elementary bodies were made, and why this first matter should thus bee shadowed forth unto us under the name of earth they give their reasons endeavouring likewise to prove their opinion from a passage of scripture which among many of them passed as *Canonicall*. *Thy almighty hand made the world of matter without forme* upon which words *Iansenius* the learned *Bishop* of *Gaunt* thus commenteth, *Nec est quod quisquam miretur hic dici deum creasse mundum ex materia cum fide teneamus mundum creatum ex nihilo, In principio enim Deus ex nihilo creavit omnem materiam quæ cum esset ut nos legimus inanis & vacua aut ut habent 70 ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, id est invisibilis & incondita, Deus ei per septem dies induxit omnes corporum formas & distinctiones quas videmus modo*; Where by it appeares, that the author of the wisedome of *Solomon* held but one *first matter* out of which all corporeall substances were made; and that *Iansenius* soe understood him; Neither can I possibly understand how those *Schoolemen* who follow *Thomas* in making a double matter, can reconcile their opinion with their interpretation of those first words of *Genesis*; and if your Lordship will stand to that common exposition, that verse is soe farre from affording any countenance to your *double matter* as it makes directly against you.

Lastly whiles you seeme to fight against me for impugning this *double matter* the very truth is that you confute your selfe and manifestly strike at the throat of your owne cause, though perhaps unawares, in as much as both the *Aristotelians* and the *Thomists* grounnd their double matter upon the *incorruptibility*, *inalterability*, and *impassibility* of the heavens, which you deny, so as though with them you pretend to hold this double matter yet you oppugne them in the maine reason wherefore they hold it, that so you may the better maintaine your imaginary decay of the world; One of the two then you must of necessity chuse, either to leave them in their opinion of the double matter, or together with them admit the impassibility of

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the cæleſtiall bodies and conſequently the indeficiencie of this inferior world the perpetuation of whoſe vigor depends upon their impaſſibility!

And for my ſelfe who encline more to the opinion of the ſingle matter, you may herein ſee mine *ingenuitie* in declining that opinion which in appearance makes moſt for me, and in leaning to that which ſeemes to make againſt me, becauſe I find it moſt conſonant to the ſcriptures and the *tenent* of the moſt ancient divines, and to the dictate of right reaſon moſt agreeable; And yet together with the ſingle matter I defend the impaſſibility of the heavens not onely by the ſupernaturall power of God as both the *Platoniſts* and the Fathers of our Chriſtian Church ſeeme to hold, but in a naturall and ordinarie courſe by indewing that part of the firſt matter with a forme ſo excellent and ſo noble as it is therewith wholly ſatiated, the appetite thereof from longing after any other forme being thereby altogether reſtrained if not utterly extinguiſhed, it hath onely *appetitum complacentiæ* but not *deſiderij*, whither wee take that word for want or deſire of a farther perfection, in as much as all ſuch deſire ariſeth either from a ſence or at leaſtwiſe a ſuppoſition of want.

Now though this digreſſion have extended it ſelfe ſomwhat beyond my purpoſe yet I hope your Lordſhip will not thinke it impertinent or ſuperfluous being by your ſelfe provoked thereunto, and ſo I returne to the argument, in diſcuſſing of which if I inſiſt ſomewhat longer then in the reſt, I truſt it will be thought the more pardonable, for that it properly belongs to our profeſſion.

I will begin with that paſſage of *Geneſis* upon which you ground your argument; and will conſider the ſence of it the more fully, partly becauſe they are the very firſt words of the *ſacred oracles* regiſtred for our ſalvation, and partly becauſe the opening of them conduceth not a little to the clearing of the maine controverſie, and herein I will firſt make bold to waigh your interpretation and after that to propoſe mine owne. You by the heaven in that place ſeeme to underſtand the æthereall bodies above the element of fire, though imperfect and impolis'd *without ſtarres* and *voide of beauty*, but I ſhould then demand where you would finde the creation of the element of fire or of the vaſt regions of the aire, which in all likelyhood *Moſes* in his deſcription of the creation omitted not, it being ſo noble and neceſſary a part of the *univerſe* as without it neither man nor beaſt can ſee or heare or move or live ſo much as one moment, under the name of heaven you comprehend it not, and under the name of earth you cannot well comprehend it, there being ſo little affinity betweene earth and aire in regard of their different natures, uſes, *qualities*, and operations. Againe I would willinglylearne according to your interpretation how out of *Moſes* we can any way aſſure our ſelves of the Creation of *Angels* the moſt glorious excellent and Divine creatures, that Almighty God made; and though it bee true indeed that he make no particular mention of them, yet I cannot beleeve that hee wholly either forgat or neglected them; Laſtly I would deſire to bee informed what you underſtand by the

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firmament of heaven which was the worke of the second day; for if ther-by you understand the cælestiall orbes as of force you must, in as much as in the firmament of heaven were set the two great lights, then were not the heavenly bodies at all created till the second day; noe not imperfect, and consequently they cannot bee understood in the order of the creation to bee spoken of in the first *verse*, unlesse wee should say they were created before the first day of the Creation; and before the light which was the worke of the first day. These bee my reasons that I cannot subscribe to your exposition of those words *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

But for mine owne opinion I should rather (under correction of better judgements) fixe upon that exposition of *Chrysostome*, the soundest interpreter I thinke of all the *Greeke* and *latine* fathers, who conceiues that *Moses* in the first *verse* summarily comprehended the whole worke of the Creation which afterwards he was to deduce and draw as it were by peecemeale, as if (saith he) a man should say first in generall termes such a skillfull *Architect* built this house, and then descend to the view of the severall parts thereof, the foundation, the walls, the roofe and the particular roomes. In this sence are the words *heaven* and *earth* to bee taken in very many passages of holy Scripture; and noe doubt to these first words of *Genesis* do the first words not onely of the Apostles but of the *Nicene Creede allude*, where we haue a kind of breefe commentarie added unto them, *I beleeve* in God the father almighty *maker of heaven and earth*, and of all things visible and invisible, giving us thereby to understand that by heaven and earth is implyed the intire frame of the universe, together with all the visible and invisible Creatures therein; which S. *Paul* breefly expresseth, *God that made the world and all things therein*; But in another place somewhat more distinctly, *By him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible*, which very words served no doubt as a patterne to the fathers of the *Nicene Councill* for the extrance of their confession. Now as this exposition pleased S. *Chrysostome* marvelous well; so S. *Basil* in his third *Homily* upon *Genesis* assures us, that it was unto them delivered over from their prædecessors; and S. *Augustin* howbeit in diverse parts of his writing hee bring diverse interpretations yet in his eleventh booke de *Civitate dei* and 33. chapter, hee seemes to preferre this before any other, *In principio* (saith he) *fecit Deus cælum & terram, quibus nominibus universalis est significata creatura, vel spiritualis & corporalis quod est credibilius, vel magnæ duæ mundi partes quibus omnia quæ creata sunt continentur, ut primitus eam totam proponeret, ac deinde partes ejus secundum mysticum dictum numerum exequeretur.* This interpretation I embrace, and thereby shunne those rocks which your Lordship fals upon, in as much as it includes the creation of *Angels*, and reserves the creation not only of the celestiall sphæres but of the two great elements fire and aire to the worke of the second day, they being all three comprehended under the name of *firmament* or rather *expansion* as the originall signifies, and both *Tremellius* a *Iew* by birth, and the learned *Arias Montanus* have translated it, *Hence* it likewise followes that as those

Acts. 17. 24.

Colos. 1. 16.

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two elements were created at the ſame inſtant with the heavens, ſo likewiſe out of the ſame matter, yet inveſted with ſuch different formes as the one thereby becomes corruptible, in regard of the parts, but the other altogether incurruptible ſave onely by the power of him that made it. I have done with the text and come now to examine the argument.

The force of the argument, if there bee any in it, ſeemes to lie in the diſtinction of a double creation, whereof the one your Lordſhip makes to be of the firſt matter *ex nihilo*, and that in an inſtant and immediately by *God*, the other *ex indiſpoſita materia*; whereas it is certaine that all things which are created are immediately by *God* himſelfe and in an inſtāt created, it being not in the power of one creature to create another, not of an *Archangell* to create a ſilly worme, noe not ſo much as inſtrumentally or miniſterially becauſe all creation requires an infinite power, and all creatures being finite whither we take them ſingle or united they cannot poſſibly hold any correſpondent proportion to that which is infinite. Now as all creation is *immediately* by the hand of *God* ſoe is it undoubtedly in *an inſtant* which is one of the ſpeciall conditions and properties whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from generation, the latter requiring time for the perfecting thereof, at leaſt wiſe in regard of the *previous diſpoſition* thereunto, though the introduction of the forme bee indeed in an inſtant, but the former requires no time becauſe it workes without all motion or preparative alteration. Beſides, the formes of thoſe beaſts and birds and fiſhes and foules and plants which were the worke of the ſixe dayes, were not only created in an *inſtant* and *immediately* by God but *ex nihilo*, they were not made of the matter but brought into the matter already made, as teacheth *Zanchius* in his firſt booke and firſt chapter *de operibus Dei*; the forme then being by many degrees the moſt excellēt & noble part of the ſubject, we may ſafely cōclude that at leaſt wiſe in that regard the whole worke of the ſixe dayes was in an inſtant imediately from God and *ex nihilo*, and conſequently you make a diſtinction where there is none, ſave onely in reſpect of the bodies of corporeall ſubſtances, which I grant were compoſed out of the firſt matter yet immediately by God too and in an inſtant, and that without any motion or præparative alteration or precedent diſpoſition, which is therefore by *Divines* called *Creation* though ſomewhat improperly, becauſe it is every way matchable and equivalent to that *Creation* (properly ſo termed) which is out of noe præexiſtent matter; it belonging noe leſſe to an infinite power to make the body of a man out of the ſlime of the earth, then to make that earth or the matter thereof or the ſoule which informes that body out of nothing, and thus much the *Devill* (by vertue of that natrall and experimentall knowledge which ſince his apoſtaſie is yet left him ſeemes to have knowne and acknowledged: If that thou be the ſonne of God command that theſe ſtones bee made bread, thereby confeſſing, that it is a part of the Divine prærogative to make bread immediately out of ſtones, noe leſſe then to make ſtones out of nothing.

The

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The edge of this distinction being thus taken off, so as it cann or now peirce to make any deepe or dangerous wound, I proceed to the examination of an *axiome* and an inference built thereupon; the *axiome* is that the first matter should have subsisted to æternitie out of the constancie of Gods actions; for what (say you) should destroy Gods creatures when there is nothing but God? Which *axiome*, I very well allow of, and shall be bold to turne the edge of it against your Lordship in the next section; Your inference is that hereby my *Annihilation* is overthrowne, because it overthrowes the constancy and immutability of Gods will; But your Lordship promised me in one of your letters to meddle with nothing in your arguments save only with the worlds decay, and in one of my letters I desired you to reconcile your selfe to your selfe in the point of annihilation, in as much as in your booke of the fall of man you affirme, that the creatures incline to a returne into nothing, and withall that God will hasten the inclination of the creature: both which propositions I laid downe in your owne words, from whence I inferred (and as I still conceive unavoidably) that in your Doctrine the world must of necessity bee annihilated, so as I might well forbeare to make any reply hereunto till you had in some sort discharged your selfe; yet to give you some satisfaction, mine answer for the present is, first, that nothing could have *annihilated* this first matter but *God* himselfe, and that *God* himselfe could I trust you will not deny; *Secondly* that the will of *God* may remaine, constant and immutable in it selfe, though the effects thereof be diverse or contrarie; neither is this I hope any disparagement to his foresight at all if he æternally in his will decreed it, nor yet to his *mercy* in as much as of that *Materia indisposita*, or indigested *Chaos* there was no use nor could bee either for the setting forth of *Gods* glory, or for the good of the creature save onely in reference to a future building to bee raised thereupon. And againe, why should it not bee as much or more disparagement to his foresight, if hee should out of that confused masse raise his creatures to that perfection which now wee behold, and yet (as your Lordship holds) at the same time sowe in them such seedes of decay and corruption, as should uncessantly tumble them downe from that perfection & at length, reduce them to that lumpe againe or unto nothing; and then when they were even come to the brinke of this destruction to restore them to a farre greater glory by a renovation, and that when the end wherefore they were created shall bee abolished *Lastly*, in your second argument pretended to bee drawne from the *Metaphysicks*, you tell us that the great difference betwixt the two worlds (as you call them) that is the spirituall and materiall creatures is, that the one are incorruptible and the other corruptible, and yet here you assure us upon your word, that the first matter should have subsisted to æternity, if the matter out of which all corporeall substances were made, were it selfe no part of the materiall world.

G. G.

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G. G.

As things are composed, so may they be dissolved.

BVt *in this corporeall nature there was a second creation ex* indisposita materia, *which, indeed was likewise the setling of the course of nature, and it was the worke of the sixe dayes, and by this course of nature I doe here place a latitude in the creatures for their comming from God, and returning to God; so that here God leaves the Creature in a sort to it selfe* producat terra herbam virentem. *And for the light which was created the first day and which did more immediately* incubare *and was so necessary in the conception of this world, out of it God created the sunne and the starres, therefore, noe inconveniency that the sunne and stars should of themselves returne againe to that confused light out of which they were created; so for the* vegetatives *that they should returne againe to* terram manem & vacuam; *soe for the fish, and the foule that they should returne* ad Abyssum, *as they were made out of the waters.*

G. H.

WE are now come to the second part of the distinction, which you call a second creation *ex indisposita materia*; whereas in truth the formes of all things (by which they essentially subsist) were as well created out of nothing as that *indisposita materia* was, (where by the way I observe that unawares you mention only one single matter in the singular number, not a double in the plurall) and if the *first* matter because it was created *ex nihilo* in an instant, and immediately by God subsist to æternity, what sufficient reason can bee yeelded why the formes of all things being created in the same manner should not likewise subsist in the same manner, though not in themselves yet by propagation & succession? which upon the matter is nothing else but a perpetuall continuation of that primitive vitall efficacy which was at first infused into them. This you call a *setling* of the course of nature, and though I should put a difference betwixt the creation of nature, and the setling of her course, yet I will not insist upon that, but would willingly learne, how the course of nature can be said to be *setled*, if shee be left to her selfe (as afterwards you tell us) and so suffered to runne on to a decay.

That this second creation (as you terme it) was the worke of the sixs dayes, you likewise affirme, and yet afterward make that light which was the worke of the first day and no way created out of the first matter, to have in it selfe a power of subsisting to æternity aswell as the first matter it selfe, and if the worke of the first day might so subsist, I pray why not of the rest? Moreover whither these severall workes of the six dayes are to bee distinguished as *Moses* hath described them according to the succession of the things created, or all in an instãt & are so set forth for our capacity, great Doctors as well in the *Iewish*, as *Christian* Church have much doubted, as namely *Philo*, S. *Augustin*, *Gazæus*, & *Cajetan*, who all maintaine, that all the parts of the world, and all the Crea-

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Creatures in their ſeverall kinds, were created in one & the ſame inſtant; And *Aquinas* in his *ſummes* though hee encline to the common opinion, yet will he not condemne that of S. *Auguſtin*, (either for the reverend reſpect he bore him, or for the great probabilitie of the opinion it ſelfe; But for my ſelfe though it make againſt your diſtinction and another part of your diſcourſe which followes in the next ſection, yet I muſt profeſſe that I cannot eaſily be drawne to embrace it, not ſo much becauſe it croſſeth the common opinion, as becauſe the common opinion (in my judgement) is grounded upon more weighty reaſons.

Why you ſhould place a *latitude* (as you call it) in the workes of the ſecond creation, rather then in thoſe of the firſt, you do not ſufficiently demonſtrate, neither can I conceive any reaſon thereof, in as much as they are both the effects of a ſupernaturall tranſcendent power; nor yet well underſtand (ſuch may bee my dulnes) what you meane by the creatures comming from God and returning to God; that they all come from God as their firſt efficient, and againe returne to him as their laſt end I willingly acknowledge, but that they ſhould all come from him, and only ſome of them returne to him, & that returne conſiſt in their decay, which is their reſolution or revolution into their originall principles, this I muſt profeſſe is above the reach of mine apprehenſion, and ſuch a peece of divinity as I never yet met with; but the ſence hereof I muſt bee forced to pick out of the former *ſection*, where you affirme that all the Creatures in generall are unchangeable, that is ſubſiſt to eternity as they are immediatly created of God; from whence I inferre that all creatures being created, and all creation being the immediate action of God (as all Divines teach with one conſent) it neceſſarily followes, that all creatures were by him immediately created, and conſequently are unchangeable, and ſo in that courſe wherein they are ſet by the wiſdome and power and goodnes of the *Creator* might ſubſiſt to eternity, either by duration in themſelves, as the *Angells*, the ſoules of men, and the heavens, or by a mutuall tranſmutation, as the elements, or laſtly by a perpetuall ſucceſſion of inviduals each to other, as the ſeverall *ſpecies* of all things elſe.

But here I ſhould deſire to bee informed, why the addition of a farther and greater perfection by the ſecond *Creation*, ſhould diminiſh any thing from the naturall duration of the creature, and bee a meanes to haſten it to decay; or why there ſhould not bee as much inconvenience in your pretended returne of the ſunne and ſtarres to the confuſed light, or of the *vegetatives* to *terram inanem & vacuam*, or of the fiſh and foule *ad abyſſum*, out of which they were made, as that ſpirituall ſubſtances; or the confuſed light, or *terra inanis & vacua*, or *abyſſus* ſhould of them ſelves returne into that nothing out of which they were created: ſurely there muſt a better reaſon bee given for this then your Lordſhips *placing of a latitude*; for as you demande *what ſhould deſtroy Gods creatures when there is nothing but God?* ſo may I aske what ſhould deprive Gods creatures of the perfection which hee gave them, when there is nothing of power to doe it but God? Certainly as nothing but the immediate power of God advanced

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them to this perfection from that confuſion, ſo nature is no more able to reduce them thither againe then to reduce that confuſion into nothing, or how is it poſſible if there be in nature ſuch an uninterrupted and indeficient chaine of generations and corruptions unceſſantly ſucceeding one another (as all *Philoſophers* conſtantly teach) that naturall bodies can of their owne inclination returne againe into that confuſed maſſe, unleſſe at leaſt they may by degrees deſcend to ſuch a corruption whereunto no generation ſhall ſucceed; which argument I am confident will never be anſwered to the worlds end.

The onely reaſon which your Lordſhip ſeemes to alleage for this returne of the Creatures into that indigeſted *Chaos* out of which they were made, is, that being made God leaves them in a ſort to themſelves; which poſition I thought had beene impoſſible to have fallen from the pen of a Chriſtian Divine, there being ſo many and expreſſe Scriptures to the contrarie which in mine Apology and anſwer to your firſt letter I have ſet downe in particular and at large; but truely me thinkes the very reading and remembring of that one *That hee upholds all things with the word of his power* ſhould bee enough to determine this controverſy; for if hee uphold them how doth hee forſake them or leave them to themſelves? and if hee leave them to themſelves how can hee bee ſaid to uphold them? nay more then ſo it is I am ſure the common tenet of Divines, that did hee not in ſuch ſort uphold them they would in an inſtant returne into that *nothing* out of which they were made, not into the *Chaos* but into *nothing*, and thereupon they conclude that Creation and Conſervation differ rather rationally then really, Creation being as it were nothing elſe but the firſt onſet of conſervation, and *Conſervation* againe nothing elſe but the continuation of Creation, or rather Creation continuated.

Your poſition of Gods leaving the Creature to it ſelfe you endeavour to confirme by thoſe words, *Producat terra herbam virentem*, which I take to bee as improper and impertinennt to the confirmation of that poſition, as the poſition it ſelfe is harſh and unwarrantable; not onely becauſe the earth could not then poſſibly bring forth graſſe in the courſe of nature, in as much as by the teſtimony of *Moſes* in the chapter there following, noe raine had yet fallen upon the earth, and the ſunne was afterwards made; but cheefely becauſe Almighty God by vertue of thoſe words, gave ſuch a quickning power to the earth (the ordinary meanes which hee hath appointed being applied thereunto) that it thereby ſtill continues as vigorous for the ſpringing of vegetables, as it was many thouſand yeares agoe; ſo as the force of that command being in ſtead of a benediction to open the wombe of the earth and to make it fruitfull, did not onely extend to thoſe times, but as *Arias Montanus* hath obſerved, being delivered as a law in the future tenſe reacheth alike to all ſucceeding ages as to that preſent; and truely I thinke that ſcarſe a ſtronger argument can bee brought from *Scriptures*, againſt the worlds decay, then the powerfull efficacy of that firſt law and command ſtill operative in the creatures of God, according to that of S. *Baſil* in his *Hexameron*, *Intelligas velim*,

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lim opificis Dei verbum per orbem terrarum discurrat, quod quidem & tunc operari cepit & inusque operatur & operabitur etiam semper quousq; mundus fuerit consummatus; alluding there withall, as it should seeme to the words of our Saviour, *My father worketh hitherto, and I worke*; which no doubt are to bee understood of almighty Gods continuall preservation and guidance of the creature in its essence, its faculties, its operations; whereupon the same great *Doctor* compares that first imparative ordinance given to the Creatures, to a round ball, which being rolled downe the hill, never leaves tumbling till it come to the bottome, so the force of that first word (saith he) never leaves working in the Creature till the end of the world, where if we should presse the comparison for our best advantage the vigor of the Creature should now be more masculine then at first it was, as the ball moves swifter & the more forcibly, the nearer it approaches the center. But I should rather hold the motion of this inferiour nature in the working of the Creatore, to be circular in imitation of the cælestiall motion, and consequently uniforme, so as by her motion since the first creation she hath neither gained nor lost any thing for that she moves neither slower nor swifter; & so much the same *S. Basil* in the same place for the farther repressing of his meaning seemes to acknowledge; *Omnium ipsorum natura recens semper nova; perinde atq; nunc incepisset tempus hujus sæculi concomitatur*, which very words of that holy Father if they be of any waight and credit are enough of themselves to stop the mouth & stay the pens of all gainesayers which plead for the Creatures decay, and thereby though perchance unawares weaken the force of the Creators pole-deed as it were his grand-charter or originall command given the Creatures at their first appearance before him, by force of the same command; If your Lordship would prove then that the Creator hath in any sort left the Creature to it selfe, it must bee by some other argumēt, not from the text in *Genesis* & the worke of the creation, this by the consent of all interpreters, *Hebrew*, *Greeke* & *Latine*, will rather make strongly against you then any way for you.

If I were disposed to quarrell, I could take many just exceptions to that which followes in this section; you say that the light which was created the first day, did immediately *incubare*; whereas we read indeed of the moving or incubation of the spirit of God upon the face of the waters, but of the light no such matter. *Againe*, you say that this light was necessarie to the conception of the world, & yet withall you grant that the world was conceived before the light was created. *Lastly*, that out of it God created the Sunne and the starres, whereas great Divines are of opinion that this primogeniall light was none other then the very light of the Sunne it selfe dispersed, but afterward collected and compacted into the bodie of the Sunne, together with the addition of some new properties and qualities bestowed upon it, and for the starres your selfe tell us in your argument taken from the *Metaphysicks*, that they borrow their light from the Sun, & if so, how were they created out of that first light? Neither did that confused light (as you call it, but upon what ground I know not, sithence God saw that it was good) belong to the *Chaos*, as you suppose there being before the creation of it

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nothing elſe but darkeneſſe upon the face of the deepe. Theſe things I doe but touch, that your Lordſhip may ſee how open you lie on all ſides, but inſiſt not upon them, becauſe they are impertinent to the deciſion of the maine queſtion.

G. G.

The ages of the world betoken the decay of the world.

BVt now in the returne of all theſe as it is in the life of man, God never ſuffers man to come to that laſt period of nature, but hee ſuddenly cuts off the threed, and therefore the day and houre of the conſummation of this world is uncertaine. Thus the Fathers *compare the dayes of the Creation to the ſeverall ages of the worlds continuance, and doe number them accordingly; Thus the world it ſelfe as it came to its perfection by degrees, ſo by degrees in probability it ſhould againe fall from its perfection; man naturally haſtens to his death, yet were it great preſumption to point out the day of his death, and ſo it is in the decay of this world; yet* Scripture *will teſtifie that theſe are the latter times or the laſt dayes, which cannot bee ſo properly ſaid, if you will ſuppoſe an eternity, for the times are in reſpect of it ſelfe and not in reſpect of God: Thus when as God placed the ſunne in ſome point of the firmament, ſuppoſe in* Aries, *or in* Libra; *(for either the world was created in the ſpring or the Autumne) the ſunne ſo placed might runne through all the ſignes of the* Zodiack, *and againe returne to its firſt place, yet not contrarie to Gods action, ſeeing God in the Creation did beginne, inſtitute, and order things, as it were ſetting the firſt wheele a going.*

G. H.

IN this ſection you huddle ſo many things together, and (in my apprehenſion) ſo incoherent, as I may truely call it a rope of ſand, but I will take them in their order, though I cannot finde their coherence: Upon a ſuppoſition of a returne of the Creatures back againe into that confuſed lumpe out of which they were made, (which as yet is onely ſuppoſed and no way proved) you proceed to informe us that God will ſuddenly cut off the threed of this returne, as he doth the threed of mans life; never ſuffering him to come to the laſt period of nature. which latter aſſertion of yours, how farre it is juſtifiable I cannot determine, neither will I diſpute; but verely beleeve it would very much trouble your Lordſhip to make it good, there being many no doubt whoſe lampe never goes out till the oyle be cleane ſpent, elſe ſhould no man die a naturall, but all a violent death; yet I will for the preſent & for quietneſſe ſake, take it *de bene eſſe* (becauſe your Lordſhip will have it ſo) and only examine the compariſon, which if it hold, then muſt Almighty God by cutting off the thread of the naturall courſe of the Creatures, haſten their returne into the *Chaos* out of which they were made, as by cutting off the threed of mans life, he haſtens his return into that duſt out of which he was framed; & how this can ſtand with the renovation of the Creatures & the lifting of them up to an higher, a more excellent, & noble degree of perfection I cannot underſtand; And againe, what were

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were this but for God to offer violence to his owne worke, for which cause you condemne mine annihilation, though that be none other the the withdrawing or rather witholding of his presence & power in supporting the Creature when there shall bee no farther use of it; but what you intend by cutting off the threed of the naturall course of the Cretues in their returne, I know not; Indeed by this meanes I confesse the day and houre of the consummation of this world will be uncertaine; But for mine owne part I hold the yeare thereof to bee as uncertaine as the day and houre, and withall I must still adde that I hold it indeed to be a consummation by way of *abolition* and not of *perfection*, as you doe though here your use of the word imply the contrary.

Wee are now suddenly to leap into a new matter touching the Fathers, comparing the dayes of the Creation to the severall ages of the worlds continuance, and their numbring of them accordingly; but had your Lordship vouchsafed to have named those Fathers or have alleaged their words I should have made a clearer answer.

S. *Augustin* I am sure (the greatest I thinke of all the fathers) could not well make this comparison, except he would manifestly contradict himselfe, in as much as before hath beene observed and evidently it appeares, as in diverse other parts of his writings, so most clearely in his fourth booke *de Genesi ad literam cap.* 21. and in the following chapters to the end of that booke, that hee held no reall distinction of dayes in the worke of the Creation, grounding himselfe chiefely upon those words of *Siracides* as the vulgar *Latin* hath it, *Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia simul*; And againe in his enarrations upon the 89. Psalme, or as wee compute it the 90, commenting upon those words, *a thousand yeares in thy sight are but as yesterday*; hee purposely disputeth against those who allowed sixe thousand years to the worlds duration, according to the number of the dayes allowed for its creation, and in sundry other places, as namely in his 78 *Epistle* to *Hesichius*, and in his 78th booke *de civitate Dei, cap.* 53. hee professeth the end of the world to be so uncertaine as no certaine period of time can bee named, but that for any thing is revealed to us it may last beyond it; *frustra igitur annos qui huic sæculo remanent computare ac definire conamur, cum hoc scire non esse nostrum ex ore veritatis audiamus*; and againe, *omnium verò hac de re calculantium digitos resolvit, & quiescere jubet ille qui dicit; Non est vestrum scire tempora quæ Pater in sua posuit potestate*; which doubtlesse hee would never have written, had hee conceived the ages of the world were to bee numbred according to the dayes of the Creation.

Now for the rest of the *Fathers*, I deny not but many of them seemed to bee of this opinion, but had your Lordship examined their writings you could not possibly have followed them therein, in as much as from thence it will appeare that by their computation sixe thousand yeares and more since the birth of the world have already passed, and from hence it is that *Nicephorus* therein following the *Greek* fathers makes the 33d yeare from the birth of *Christ* to bee the 5538th of the world; but *Eusebius* with such as follow the *Septuagint* place the birth of *Christ*

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in the yeare 5100 of the world or there about; And among the *Latins* *Lactantius* (who indeed held that proportion which you speake of) though hee liued not much above 300 yeares after *Christ*, speakes as if even then the sixth *millenarie* from the Creation were not only begunne but almost runne out. *Sciant Philosophi* (saith he) *qui ab exordio mundi sæculorum millia enumerant nondum sextum millesimum annum esse conclusum, quo numero expleto consummationem fieri necesse est.* And from this errour no doubt arose that strange confidence, that bold prædiction of his cap. 25. of the same booke, *omnis expectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum*, so that if you follow his *Computation*, you must allow seven dayes at least for the workes of the creation, there having by his account above 7000 yeares already passed since the Creation; And yet *Sulpitius Severus* who wrote his ecclesiasticall (or as hee calls it) his sacred history much about 100 yeares after *Lactantius*, followes as it should seeme the same account, making his entrance with these words *Mundus a Domino constitutus est abhinc annos panè jam sex millia* Nay the great S. *Augustin* himselfe in 20th booke and 7th cap: *de civitate Dei* treating of the thousand yeares mentioned in the 20th of the Revelation, plainely affirmeth, that they then lived in the latter end of the sixth millenary from the Creation, *Cujus nunc spatia posteriora volumntur.* Now that which induced the fathers to this computation might perchance be the error of *Iosephus* herein, who in his first booke and first chapter of the antiquities of the *Iewes* tells us that the sacred bookes of holy Scripture (whereby no doubt hee meanes the bookes of the old testtament) containe in them the historie of 5000 yeares; What will your Lordship say to this? surely (as I conceive) you will bee inforced to forsake the fathers in their computation or comparison or both; and the very truth is (be it spoken with all due reverence to their persons) their comparison is as uncertaine as the calculation is certainely erroneous, and confessed by Divines on all sides so to be.

Lib. Instit. 7. cap. 14.

And if wee should leave the fathers in their computation and take the comparison according to our present account, I must professe I cannot see how it makes any way to your purpose, but rather directly against you it being most evident that the world not on the first or second day of the Creation, but on the last arrived to its full perfection; then it was, and not before that man was made in the image and after the likenesse of his Creator the Lord, the end the modell of all the Creatures, then it was and not before that *God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good*, good it was before, but then the whole worke being fully finished very good so as if your comparison held, resembling the severall ages of the world, to the severall dayes of the Creation, it will infallibly follow that the latter ages of the world by vertue of that comparison are more perfect then the former, and consequently are to be preferred before them.

In the next place you tell us that as the world by degrees came to its perfection, so by degrees in probabilitie it should againe fall from its perfection; which reason carries indeed some colour in it, had the graduall perfection thereof beene naturall, but to argue from a gradu-

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all perfection ſupernaturall to a graduall declination naturall, is a very weake inference and as an unſound a concluſion. Againe, that originall perfection though it were graduall in regard of the whole, (the parts being added ſucceſſively each to other) yet was it not ſo in regard of the parts themſelves, they all receiving their perfection in an inſtant, becauſe by Creation; whereas your Lordſhip would have the world to decay by degrees, not in regard of the whole onely, but of thoſe ſeverall parts which ſerve to make up the whole. And beſides, if the ſeverall ages of the world proportionably anſwer the ſeverall dayes of the Creation, it cannot poſſibly decline by degrees, but rather grow on to a farther perfection, in ſuch inevitable contradictions, (as to mee it ſeemes) you involve your ſelfe within the compaſſe of very few lines.

After this wee are brought backe againe to the uncertaintie of the worlds end, becauſe it were a great preſumption forſooth to point out the day of a mans death; whereas Phyſitians notwithſtanding by infallible ſymptomes in the courſe of nature, daily doe it and thinke it no preſumption, neither is it ſo thought by *Divines*; and if it bee ſo in the worlds decay, then may, though not the particular day, yet the time of the death and finall expiration thereof in a latitude ſomewhat more generall be fore-told; and yet our *Saviour* hath aſſured us, not onely of the houre and day that no man knoweth it, but alſo *that it is not for us to know the times and ſeaſons, which the father hath put in his owne power*; hee ſaith, not the day and houre onely, but the times: It is S. *Auguſtines* obſervation, *Non dixit diem, vel horam, ſed tempora, quæ in brevi ſpatio non ſolent dici*, and a while after he calls them *ſpatiorum volumina*, adding thereunto, *tempora ergo computare ut ſciamus quando futurus ſit finis hujus ſæculi, nihil mihi aliud videtur quam ſcire velle, quod ipſe ait ſcire neminem poſſe*: So that (for any thing I can gather from S. *Auguſtine*) it was as uncertaine in his time when the end of the world ſhould bee, as it was in our *Saviours*; and truely for mine owne part I hold it as uncertaine now as it was in S. *Auguſtines* time, or our *Saviours*. Wee are well aſſured (as that excellent Doctour ſpeakes) that the time of the worlds diſſolution and conſummation of all things dayly approacheth nearer and nearer, in regard of the ages paſt, but in reſpect of thoſe to come, wee are ſtill as uncertaine as they that lived many ages before us. Ep. 78.

Yea but the Scripture you ſay will teſtifie that theſe are the *latter times*, or the *laſt dayes*, which *cannot be ſo properly ſaid if we ſuppoſe an eternity, for the times are in reſpect of it ſelfe, not in reſpect of God*: But in what ſence the latter times or laſt dayes are in holy Scripture to bee underſtood, I have ſufficiently declared in the ſecond Section and 12 chapter of the fourth booke of mine *Apologie*, they comprehending the entire duration of *Chriſts* Kingdome, which may comprehend (for any thing to my knowledge we finde in Scripture) as many ages for the future as thoſe which are paſt; ſure I am they were called not onely the laſt times, but the laſt houres 1600 yeares ſince.

And notwithſtanding, this denomination of the *latter times* we may well

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well enough ſuppoſe an eternity, or rather to ſpeake more properly an æviternitie in the courſe of nature: It is not the courſe of nature that informes us of any laſt dayes, or *latter times* as neare approaching the end, but the Scripture, and the ſame Scripture withall aſſures us that this end ſhall be the immediate worke of God, and not of nature, which is in effect as much as if it had aſſured us an æviternitie in nature, but an end by the onely power of the God of Nature. The times then may be ſaid to bee ſooner or later in regard of themſelves, as ſome ages goe before and ſome come after, but in relation to the end of all time they cannot ſo bee ſaid, but with collaterall reference to the promiſe and power of him who is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the beginner and finiſher of time.

Now for that which followes in this Section touching the placing *of the Sunne in* Aries *or* Libra, *and the worlds creation in the* Spring *or* Autumne, *and the Sunne running through all the ſignes of the* Zodiack, *and againe returning to his firſt place*; I cannot ſo much as conjecture either what connexion it holds with that which goes before, or how it is any way appliable to your purpoſe, but am ſure that the laſt words teaching us that in the Creation God did begin, inſtitute, and order things, as it were ſetting the firſt wheele a going, makes much for mee, for hee ſo ſet the firſt wheele on going, that hee never ſince tooke off from it the hand of his ordinary influence and concurrence, but ſtill keepes it going, which the Schoole-Divines therefore call *manutenentiam*: He ſo wiſely *inſtituted* and *ordered* things in the beginning, that *Hee made them faſt for ever and ever, hee hath given them a law which ſhall not be broken; Yea they continue this day according to his ordinance.* If the Sunne in his firſt revolution returned to his firſt place, I know not what ſhould hinder him, but hee might doe the like in the ſecond and third, and ſo hold on in his invariable conſtant courſe till this preſent time; and if this bee true in the motion of the Sunne, I ſee no reaſon but it may as well bee verified of the Moone, and other ſtarres; and conſequently of the elements and elementarie bodies, which are governed by them.

Pſal. 148. v. 6.

Pſal. 119. 91.

G. G.

Nothing is to be affirmed for a certaine truth in *Philoſophie*, unleſſe meanes be aſſigned.

TO this reaſon I will adde an example, there was a time in the ſtate of innocencie, when man himſelfe was no more ſubject to death then his ſpecies, or indeed the whole world; for as then the ſentence of death was not paſt upon man, as hee had originall grace for his ſanctitie, ſo was it accompanied with naturall perfections: conſider then how man ſhould have beene preſerved from decay, not but that naturall principles might even then admit a decay, for man ſhould have had the ſeverall periods of his age, parents ſhould have ingendred, we ſhould have had our infancie, our youth, and the ripeneſſe of our age, and ſo accordingly wee might have had a declination, as wee might, and did fall into ſinne; and therefore the decay in nature proceeded not from any puniſhment of ſinne, but from the very principle of that corporeall nature, whereby out of her weakeneſſe ſhee is apt to bee worne out with uſe: And this

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should have befalne her in the state of her integritie, but since the punishment of sinne this decay is more hastened, by a continuall combate and conflict of contrary qualities, which before were not so inraged, and did not so furiously assault each other as now they doe: thus then man in his innocencie was subject to decay, but should have beene preserved by the speciall favour and mercy of God, yet not without meanes, for his dwelling or habitation should have beene in the garden of Paradise, where in effect there was a perpetuall spring, a most sweet wholesome aire, so that he was subject to no forraigne annoyance. In this garden there was a tree of life, as a soveraigne medicine, or an excellent antidote against natures consumption; in so much that after the sentence of death was past upon man, God tooke speciall care that man should not touch the tree of life: Thirdly, neither the healthfull place, neither this soveraigne cordiall were sufficient to preserve man from decay, but in due time there should have beene a happy translation.

G. H.

TO this reason (you say) you will adde an example, but truely as farre as I can judge your example is little sutable to your reason, the example being concerning man alone, the reason concerning the whole world; and againe, the reason is touching the naturall inclination of the returne of the corporeall creatures, into that *Chaos* out of which they were made, which inclination (you say) God will hasten by cutting of the threed of nature; but here in the example you teach us that though man in his innocencie were subject to decay, yet should he have beene preserved by the speciall favour and mercy of God from decay, and the meanes of his preservation you assigne: If man then should have beene preserved from decay, and yet the world made for mans sake, should have beene suffered to runne on to decay; I much wonder how this example can bee brought to strengthen or illustrate the reason.

Yet afterward againe in the close of this Section you contradict your selfe, assuring us that neither the healthfull place of *Paradise*, nor the soveraigne Cordialls of the tree of life were sufficient to preserve man from decay even in the state of innocencie, but in due time there should have beene a happy translation, as if there could not have beene a translation without a decay. Sure I am that those of the Ancients (whom your Lordship pretends to plead for) who have written of the tree of life, ascribe unto it such a vertue, either naturall as some, or supernaturall as others, that being applied it was of force not onely to extend the life of man to some thousand of yeares, (as you seeme to hold) but to keepe him from all kinde of diseases, infirmities, old age, or any decay whatsoever; so that man having tasted thereof, should still have remained in the flower of his youth, or in the ripenesse of his age even to immortality, had hee not beene translated: And because the drift of your example lies in this, to shew by the decay of man even in the state of integritie, (notwithstanding his free accesse to the tree of life) the decay of the great world likewise, though man had not fallen;

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len; I will a while insist upon the point, that man in the state of innocencie was not, nor could be subject to any kinde of decay.

If it were possible for him in that estate not at all to die, then was it likewise possible for him not at all to decay; in as much as decay is the way to death, and death the finall period of decay. Now that such a possibilitie there was is the consent of antiquity; *Nisi peccasset* (saith S. *Augustine* in his seventh booke *de Gen. ad literam cap.* 25.) *posset non mori*, and him followes S. *Gregorie* in his Expositions upon the third chapter of *Iob*, *Si non peccaret etiam non mori posset*: yet both of them hold, that hee was even in that estate mortall by the condition of his body, but immortall by the blessing of his Creator; *Mortalis erat conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris*: Neither doe I see how that of the *Apostle* can otherwise well be verified, *that by one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne*; for if death entred by sinne, then undoubtedly diseases and decay the preparatives thereunto.

Now this blessing of immortality, some there are who ascribe to the vigor of the soule informing the bodie, others to the vertue of the tree of life; of the first ranke, and I thinke the first in that ranke is *Aquinas*, *part.* 1. *quæst.* 97. *art.* 1. *Corpus Adami* (saith hee) *non erat indissolubile per aliquem immortalitatis vigorem in eo existentem, sed inerat animæ ejus vis quædam supernaturalis divinitus data, per quam poterat corpus ab omni corruptione preservare, quamdiu ipsa Deo subjecta manssisset*; and hereunto hee addes his reason: *Cum enim anima rationalis excedat proportionem corporalis materiæ, conveniens fuit ut in principio virtus ei daretur, per quam corpus conservari posset supra naturam corporalis materiæ.* How sound or unsound this reason of *Aquinas* is I will not dispute, but onely from hence observe, that he thought and taught the bodie of *Adam* during his innocencie to be incorruptible by an extraordinary quickning power given to the soule before the fall; but the greatest part chuse rather to ascribe this gift of immortalitie to the vertue of the tree of life.

Which some of them to be supernaturall, and among them is Saint *Augustine*, who in sundry places most evidently ascribes this vertue of immortalitie and indefectibilitie to this tree, as namely in his eighth booke *de Gen. ad literam*, and fifth chapter. *Illud quoque addo quanquam corporalem cibum, talem tamen eam arborem præstitisse, quo corpus hominis sanitate stabili firmaretur, nec sicut alio cibo, sed nonnullâ inspiratione salubritatis occultâ*: And againe in his 13th booke *de Civitate Dei cap.* 20. *Corpora primorum parentum ante peccatum sic erant affecta ut licet senio non veterascerent, ut necessitate perducerentur ad mortem, qui status eis de ligno vitæ (quod in medio Paradisi cum arbore vetita simul erat) mirabile Dei gratia præstabatur, tamen & alios sumebant cibos, præter unam arborem quæ fuerat interdicta*: And within a while after, *alebantur alijs cibis quos sumebant, ne animalia corpora molestia aliquid esuriendo ac sitiendo sentirent, de ligno autem vitæ propterea gustabatur, ne mors ijs undecunque subreperet, vel senectute confecti, decursis temporum spatijs interirent; tanquam cætera essent alimento, illud sacramento, ut sic fuisse accipiatur lignum vitæ in corporali, sicut in spirituali, hoc est intelligibili Paradiso sapientia Dei, de qua scriptum*

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est, lignum vitæ est his qui apprehenderint eum, & qui tenuerint eum: And after this againe *cap.* 33. of the same booke, *Adam* (saith hee) *non immortalitate illa absoluta & indissolubili, sed ligno vitæ à mortis necessitate prohibebatur, atque juventutis flore retinebatur.* And by Divines is that sentence of his in his 14th booke *de Civit. Dei*, much renowned, *Aderat homini in Paradiso cibus ne esuriret, potus ne sitiret, lignum autem vitæ ne senectus eum dissolveret.* And lastly that in his booke *de quæstionibus Veteris & Novi Testamenti, quæst.* 19. (it the booke bee his) *Gustus arboris vitæ corruptionem corporis inhibebat*; and after a few lines, *cibus aliarum arborum vires præstabat, vitæ autem arbor medicinæ modo corruptionem omnem prohibebat, sic enim homini erat quasi inexpugnabilis murus.*

With the great S. *Augustine* in this point doth the master of the sentences fully accord in his second booke and 17th Distinction, *Lignum autem vitæ dictum est, quia divinam accepit hanc vim ut qui ex ejus fructu comederet corpus ejus stabili sanitate, & perpetuâ soliditate firmaretur, nec ulla infirmitate, nec ætatis imbecillitate in deterius vel in occasum laberetur.* And him doth the greatest part of the Schoole-men follow, as namely *Bonaventure* writing upon that distinction, where speaking of the tree of life; *Quippe* (saith hee) *perpetuam tribuens homini vitam, & indissolubilem faciens corporis & animæ unionem*; and not farre off. *Dicta autem arbor vitæ, non ob effectum quem ipsa habuit, sed ad quem ordinabatur, & quem sine dubio habuisset si homo in Dei gratia perseverasset*; and to shew that he held this vertue to be supernaturall, hee there addes, *Nec mirum esse debuit ejus arboris fructu potuisse hominem disponi ad immortalitatem, cum multa sint aromata veluti myrra & balsamum quæ longissimo tempore corpora servant incorrupta, ergo sicut sacramenta nostra non creant gratiam, sed divina virtus ipsis assistens in eorum legitima perceptione gratiam infundit, sic fructus ejus arboris non dabat immortalitatem sed divina virtus, cum fructus ille comedebatur, immortalitatem homini largiebatur.*

Others there are who make this vertue of the tree of life to bee meerely naturall, as *Strabus.* *Lignum vitæ naturaliter hanc virtutem habebat* (saith hee) *ut qui ex ejus fructu comederent perpetua soliditate vestirentur, nulla infirmitate, vel anxietate, vel senij lassitudine fatigandus.* And with him agrees *Hugo de Sancto Victore.* *Lignum vitæ habuit in se naturam, ut perpetuaret hominum vitam si competenter ederetur.* By all which wee see that the Ancients with an uniforme consent made man in the state of innocencie immortall, though in the cause thereof they somewhat differed, some ascribing it to the vigor of the soule, and others to the vertue of the tree of life, which some againe made to be supernaturall, and others naturall; but in this they all accord that man before the fall was noway subject to death or decay, no nor after the fall; neither had hee not beene restrained from accesse to the tree of life, *etiam post peccatum potuit indissolubilis manere, si modo permissum esset illi edere de arbore vitæ*; they bee the words of the author of the questions of the bookes of the Old and New Testament in the places before alleadged, and seeme to bee grounded upon the lively oracles of the Scriptures themselves, where we read that *Adam* even after the fall was banished from the garden of *Eden*, least hee should eate of the tree of life and

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live *for ever*, not for a long time, but *for ever*; which your ſelfe alſo in this very Section to mee ſeeme to grant, in as much as you tell us that after the ſentence of death was paſt upon man, God tooke ſpeciall care that man ſhould not touch the tree of life, for that it was an antidote againſt natures conſumption; from whence it evidently appeares that your Lordſhip in this Section contradicts not onely the ancient and moderne Divines, and in them the truth, but your ſelfe too, and that by a forceable argument; for if this tree of life were an antidote againſt natures conſumption after the fall, then undoubtedly much more before the fall.

Now for application hereof, you aſſure us that as it was with man in the ſtate of innocēcie, ſo was it with nature in generall, the decay wherof you ſay proceeded not from any puniſhment of ſinne, but from the very principles of this *corporeall nature*, wherby out of her weakneſſe ſhe is apt to bee worne out with uſe; as if the *corporeall nature* were an Aſſe grinding at the mill, and wearied out with labour, and not rather the workemanſhip and hand-maide of Almighty God, framing her by his goodnes, guiding her by his wiſdome, ſupporting her by his power, & directing her to his glorie: Why my Lord, if this decay ariſe from the *principles of corporeall nature*, why is it not in the heavens? No man I thinke hath obſerved that they are yet worne out with uſe; why not in the *Chaos*, and your renovated world? both which though your Lordſhip frees from mortalitie; If it proceed from the *principles of corporeall nature*, then muſt you of neceſſitie comprehend under that *maxime* all corporeall natures, and not at your pleaſure include ſome and priviledge others: And for the aptnes of it to be worne out with uſe, it is doubtleſſe but a meere dreame, and againſt the tenet of the ſoundeſt *Divines*, who hold that nature not onely before the fall, but ſince is kept inviolable, ſave only in men and Angels, who wilfully caſt themſelves away, as I have ſhewed at large in mine anſwer to your firſt letter, I will now onely inſtance in the words of *Arias Montanus* in his Hiſtory of Nature, *numero.* 8. in direct termes oppoſite to yours. *Nec uſu atteritur univerſum, nec vetuſtate exeſum deteritur*; which may ſufficiently be juſtified from that in the firſt Chapter of the *Wiſedome of Solomon*, where wee are taught. *That the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyſon of deſtruction in them*: And to this very paſſage doth your Lordſhip ſeeme to allude (at leaſtwiſe during the 'ſtate of innocencie) in your booke of the fall of man, *pag.* 396. where 'you tell us that all things as they are ordained for mans uſe in ſervice, 'in their owne roote, and in their firſt ground of nature, are freed 'and priviledged from all poyſon and infection, onely ſome after 'chance, ſome ill husbandman came, who after the ſowing of the 'good Wheat did ſow his cockle; whereas here you ſeeme to ſay that God himſelfe was that husbandman, who at firſt ſowed the principles of poyſon, infection, and corruption in the world; this I was bold to warne you of in mine anſwer to your firſt letter, making it evident how by this meanes, through natures ſides you wounded Gods honour; but of this you take no notice, and very little of any thing elſe

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else which I have formerly written with diligence and desire to give you satisfaction. My Lord, you assure mee in one of your letters, that you make the agitation of this controversie betweene us to be but your recreation, farre from any serious studie, which I easilie beleeve as you handle the matter, but in very truth my Lord, (if you will give mee leave to deliver my minde freely) if you indeed desire (as you pretend) to finde the truth, and to give satisfaction to others as well by answering, as opposing, you will be enforced to make it somewhat a more serious studie then hitherto you have done, or to yeeld mee the bucklers.

G. G.

TYPES and Figures, or rather an earnest for our assurance herein, wee had in the state of nature the walking of Enoch *with God, and God taking him up from the earth; in the time of the Law wee had the carrying up of* Elias *in his fiery Chariot; and in the Gospell wee have the Ascension of* Christ, *(or as some write the Assumption of the blessed Virgin) and thus good* Mr Archdeacon, *when I speake of mans preservation, I shew the meanes by which Gods providence doth worke, I shew the Analogie by producing examples, but I feare you can doe neither.*

Man though at first immortall, yet had meanes to preserve him.

G. H.

WHat need there should be of types and figures, or any earnest to assure us of that, whereof there was no promise or probability when they were given, I cannot conceive: That the translation of *Enoch* and *Elias* might be types and figures, and that the ascension of our *Saviour* was an earnest of our future ascension I finde; but that they were types and figures, or an earnest of *Adams* translation, that I finde not; Nor doe I well understand to what end your Lordship should insist upon the proofe of mans translation in this place, unlesse it bee from thence to prove the renovation of the world, but then as *Enoch* was translated in the flower, and our *Saviour* ascended in the ripenesse of his age, so should the world be renovated in the flower or ripenesse, not in the decay and dotage thereof.

That *Enoch* and *Elias* were translated, and that our *Saviour* ascended I grant, but that the blessed *Virgin* was assumed (though some write it) I finde it not sufficiently proved; sure I am that the first supposed Authour of this pretended assumption, was one that goes under the maske of *Dionysius Areopagita*, who affirmes that himselfe was present, and was an eye-witnesse thereof; whereas not onely the Writers of the reformed *Churches*, but *Theodorus Gaza*, *Erasmus*, *Valla*, and *Cardinall Cajetan* make him a counterfeit, specially for that Saint *Hierome* in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers* remembers no such famous man, which in all likelyhood hee could not have forgotten, had the writings of any such man beene extant in his time;

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Neither was it possible that *Dionis* the *Areopagite*, converted by Saint *Paul* to the *Christian* faith at *Athens*, could be present at this assumption as a *Christian*, it being seventeene or eighteene yeares at least after *Christs* Ascention before hee was converted, whereas the blessed *Virgine* died the fifteenth yeare after the Ascention of *Christ*; both which are granted and proved by our *Rhemists*, (though perchance unawares) and yet for proofe of this assumption, they sticke not to produce the testimonie of this *Dionis* as an eye witnesse. Another passage to the same purpose is alleadged out of a Sermon of *Athanasius*, whereas *Nannius* himselfe, his Interpreter in his preface prefixed to the workes of that *Father*, and directed to the Bishop of *Arras*, rejects that Sermon as counterfeit: And these my Lord are that *some* who write of the assumption of the blessed *Virgine*, & from them *Damascen*, *Metaphrastes* & others have borrowed it; and had our *Church* beleeved it, I presume they would never have expugned that Feast out of the *Calendar*: But for my selfe I say with *Epiphanius*, toward the latter end of his 78 *Heresie*, *Sive mortua est Sancta virgo & sepulta, in honore ipsius dormitio, & in castitate mors, & in virginitate corona, sive sublata est, velut scriptum est, animam ipsius pertransibit gladius, inter martyres est ipsius gloria, & in laudibus sanctum ipsius corpus, per quam lux exorta est mundo; sive mansit, nam non est impossibile Deo omnia facere quæ vult*, finis enim ipsius nemini notus est, *non convenit colere sanctos ultra decorum, sed honorare ipsorum Dominum*; In which words (as wee see) *Epiphanius* speakes not a word of her assumption, but makes the manner of her departure to bee altogether uncertaine.

In the conclusion of this Section, your Lordship tells me that when you speake of mans preservation, you shew the meanes by which Gods providence doth worke, and shew the Analogie by producing examples, but feare Mr *Archdeacon* can doe neither; Whereas the meanes which you assigne for mans preservation, is not naturall and found out by reason, but supernaturall and knowne onely by religion, though the heathen Poets write of *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, *Moly* and *Nepenthe*, by which men became immortall by an apish imitation, (as *Justin Martyr* thinkes in his second *Apologie for the Christians*) as well in this particular, as many other things of this kinde from the sacred Scriptures, and by a cunning stratagem of *Satan*, that so men might give no more credit to those Divine oracles, then to the fables of Poets: Yet (in your Lordships opinion) were not those meanes powerfull enough to preserve man, but that by degrees (even in the state of innocencie) hee would have fallen into a declination and decay, and consequently into death it selfe, had it not by a timely translation beene prevented; And thus your example should have beene suited to your reason, which was brought to prove the worlds decay, and yet here (as if you had forgotten what you intended to prove) you tell us that you have shewed the meanes by which Gods providence doth worke for mans *preservation*, and that you have shewed the Analogie for producing examples, whereas the example is much too narrow for the reason, and the reason

is

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is brought for the worlds *decay*; the example as you say for mans *preservation*, which you prove only by meanes supernaturall, and then againe deny it when you have proved it.

But Mr *Archdeacon* you feare can doe neither, that is (as I conceive, for I can but guesse at the sense) can neither shew the meanes for the preservation of the world, nor the Analogie by producing examples; whereas if your Lordship will assigne the meanes for mans preservation, you will bee forced to seeke them farther then the sweet aire of *Paradise*, & the tree of life, in as much as after the multiplication of mankinde, which must needs have beene excessive, specially the threed of their lives being drawne out to such a length before their translation, neither the garden of *Eden*, nor scarcely the whole globe of the earth could have contained them, and then how they could all have made use of the tree of life planted in that garden, is somewhat hard to assigne the meanes.

And for Mr *Archdeacon* he hath assigned such meanes for the worlds preservation, by freeing the heavens from all kind of corruption, or passive alteration, by repairing the elements with equivalent compensation, and the *species* of all things by a perpetuall succession of individualls, and to these meanes hee hath added such forcible reasons, and to these reasons againe such multitudes of instances, as I presume your Lordship will not in haste either discover the insufficiencie of his meanes, or put backe the force of his reasons, or equall the number of his instances.

Of supernaturall effects revealed and recorded in Gods word, none other meanes can be justly expected or rendred then supernaturall, and of naturall effects which wee finde and see to bee true, it is many times hard to assigne the naturall and proper meanes; I will instance onely in the bounds of the Sea, so as the waters thereof returne not againe to cover the face of the earth; this wee cannot well deny to bee naturall, as the course of nature is now setled, yet difficult it is to finde out the naturall meanes by which it is effected, and therefore doe the Scriptures wholly ascribe it to the immediate power of God, he said, *hitherto shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves bee stayed.* Job. 38. 11. *Thou hast set a bound that they may not passe over, and that they turne not againe to cover the earth.* Psal. 104. 9. *Will yee not tremble at my presence which have placed the sand for the bounding of the Sea by a perpetuall decree, that it cannot passe it, and though the waters thereof tosse themselves yet can they not prevaile, though they roare yet can they not passe over it.* Ier. 5. 22. Shall wee then deny the providence of God in preserving the earth from the incursion of the waters, because wee cannot shew the meanes how hee doth it? Nay rather let us conclude with S. *Chrysostome* in his Commentaries upon those words, *Et erant valde bona: Licet nos ob nostræ rationis imbecillitatem ignoremus factorum causam, ipse tamen juxta suam sapientiam & potentissimam misericordiam omnia produxit.*

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G. G.

Plaine texts with the exposition of the Ancients, not mens own collections, are to be admitted.

SEEing this Argument is taken out of Theologie, *when as neither meanes in Naturall* Philosophie, *nor Analogie in the* Metaphysicks *can be produced; let us see whither any promise in* Scripture, *or Gods will revealed there, can give us any assurance of his providence for preserving this world in one and the same state of continuance; How you are pleased to expound the texts of* Scripture, *which to my understanding sound a decay, I shall examine in the due place, and what texts you alleadge for the continuance of this world, if you please to compare them with some promises of God made to particular persons, you shall finde them to bee of no greater force, or any larger extent; And herein I shall likewise give you farther satisfaction in the proper place.*

G. H.

THe former part of this Section I must professe, I know not well what to make of, and the latter I must referre to future performance; yet two things there are in it which I must say somewhat unto; the one that you seeme to charge me for expounding the Scripture according to mine owne fancie, and to serve mine owne turne; whereas your Lordship cannot but remember that in my last papers sent unto you, all the passages of *Scripture* by mee alleadged (which were neither few nor improper) I shewed to bee appliable to my purpose, by the interpretation of the soundest and gravest expositors, as well ancient as moderne, both *Romanists* and reformed; neither have I dealt otherwise in mine *Apologie* with those, which perchance to your understanding sound a decay.

The second thing which I am to speake to is, that texts by mee alleadged for the Worlds continuance, are of no greater force then some promises of God made to particular persons, wherein I know not what your Lordship should understand but the promises made to *David*, which indeed were not made to his particular person, but to his seed, and are verified in *Christ*; *His seede will I make to endure for ever, and his Throne as the dayes of Heaven. Psal.* 89. 29. And againe, *vers.* 36. 37. *His seede shall endure for ever, and his Throne as the Sunne before mee; it shall bee established for ever as the Moone, and as a faithfull witnesse in Heaven*, Selah. From which words all Interpreters inferre and conclude the stabilitie of *Christs* Kingdome, from the stabilitie and indeficiencie of the heavenly bodies, and those glorious lights planted in them; and such promises I much doubt whither your Lordship can shew us to bee made to any particular persons, save onely as they are members of the Church, the mysticall body of *Christ*: And truely in my poore judgement so to affirme, is to weaken the assurance of the promises made concerning *Christ*, and to derogate from the certaintie of the stedfast continuance of his Kingdome.

Lastly,

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Laſtly, I never affirmed (as your Lordſhip here in this Section would put it upon me) that the world continues in one and the ſame ſtate, this I have often diſavowed, but you take no notice of it; That which I affirme is, that the whole world and every part thereof in ſome reſpect varies every moment, yet ſo as the whole is preſerved from any perpetuall and univerſall decay, and if your Lordſhip will diſpute punctually againſt me, your propoſitions are to conclude the contrary to that aſſertion.

G. G.

IN *the* interim, *that God did never reveale any ſuch providence, that the world ſhould thus be continued without any decay, I will onely uſe one* Theologicall *reaſon; had there beene any ſuch promiſe in generall, then what needed ſuch a ſolemne particular promiſe, together with ſuch a remarkeable, or ſuch a ſacramentall ſigne in the cloudes, that God would preſerve this world from a deluge in particular, if God either had or would oblige himſelfe for the generall; or how falls it out that here in the particular there ſhould bee ſuch a ſolemne promiſe, when as for the generall you are enforced to uſe rather your owne expoſitions of* Scripture, *then any plaine and direct text? If a Phyſitian undertake that his patient ſhall not die of the dropſie, will you therefore conclude him immortall? when this is rather an argument that hee ſhall die of ſome other diſeaſe, ſo God excluding a deluge, hee doth thereby imply that the whole ſhall otherwiſe decay: And as the deluge came by degrees, ſo no doubt what decay befalls this world ſhall come by degrees, the overflowing of humours is proper to youth, a great drought with violent unnaturall inflammations are proper to old age; the great world may herein hold a proportion. And as in all chymicall workes things are purified by fire, ſo the common received opinion of the conflagration of this world may betoken the worlds renovation, and wholly annihilate your* Annihilation.

The Deluge an earneſt of the worlds decay.

G. H.

HOwſoever it pleaſe your Lordſhip to terme this reaſon *Theologicall*, yet *Logicall* I am ſure it is not; in as much as the generall promiſes from the worlds preſervation, from any ſuch perpetuall and univerſall decay as you pretend, are to bee referred to the bountie of Gods ordinarie providence, appearing in the ſtate and ordinarie courſe of nature; but his particular promiſe for the preſervation of the world from a ſecond deluge, to the reſtraint of his extraordinarie judgements in that kinde; and of this promiſe though the raine-bow were then made a ſigne when the promiſe was made; yet being naturall as well as ſacramentall, that it was ſet in the cloudes before it was ſacramentall I make no doubt; *Almightie God* hath promiſed to preſerve this world from decay, upholding all things by the word of his power, and yet in other places hath hee threatned to deſtroy it with fire; this latter being referred to his extraordinarie judgement, the former to his ordinarie providence, and were not the

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world by this ordinary providence upheld and preserved from decay; I see not how there needed a threatning of an extraordinarie judgement for the destruction thereof.

But for any generall promises of the worlds preservation, you say I am rather inforced to use mine owne expositions then any plaine and direct text: Why my Lord, I will insist upon that very text, which together with the generall promise of the worlds preservation from decay, includes the particular against a second universall deluge: *While the earth remaineth, seed time, and harvest, and cold, and heat, and summer, and winter, and day, and night shall not cease.* Now that this promise is not onely *particular* from any future universall deluge, but *generall* from any universall decay; I use not mine owne exposition, but of *Chrysostome*, *Aquinas*, *Ferus*, *Pererius*, *Pareus*, *Mercerus*, *Martyr*, *Calvin*, and *Iunius*, no babes in Divinitie. *Aduſque ſæculi conſummationem*, immotum *eorum permanebit miniſterium*; So *Chryſoſtome*. *Omni tempore durabit* debita *alternatio*, ſo *Aquinas*: *Hæc omnia divinâ ordinatione* conſiſtunt, ſo *Ferus*: *Prædicta viciſſitudo* immutabilem *rationem motus orbium cœleſtium ac ſyderum neceſſariò conſequitur*, ſo *Pererius*: *Iam Deus pollicetur naturæ, quæ prius inde à creatione fuerat, reſtitutionem* immutabilem *in integrum*, ſo *Pareus*: And againe, *Commoda quæ ex hoc ordine pendent, ſanè inæſtimabilia iterum pollicetur, idque* immutabiliter: And againe, *Nos hic agnoſcimus immenſam Dei bonitatem, qui in noſtri gratiam quaſi naturæ ſe ſubjicit, & ad ordinem ejus* inviolabiliter *ſervandum nobis ſeſe obligat; ut intelligas non ceſſatura, quin per ſuas vices ſeſe gerant, & in terra in uſum hominum locum habeant, juxta ſyderum curſum*, ſo *Mercerus*: *Tu vero hic attentè conſidera in hac mundi inſtauratione fermè omnia illa & repeti & confirmari, quæ facta ſunt dum mundus prima inſtitutione conderetur*, ſo *Martyr*: *His verbis reſtituitur mundus in integrum, & quamvis non ita temperatur ut perpetua ſit æqualitas, cernimus tamen prævalere naturæ ordinem*, ſo *Calvin*: *Deus adductus eſt ad inſtaurationem univerſitatis faciendam, cujus inſtaurationis loci duo ſunt, prior Deum non eſſe deinceps huic univerſitati importaturum exitium*, verſ. 21. *Poſterior naturæ ordinem in hac univerſitate gratiosè conſervaturum eſſe*, ſo *Iunius*. Whereunto may be added the words of *Muſculus*, in his Commentaries one the ſame place: *Veritas itaque pacti hujus, quo poſt diluvium Deus iſtâ ſementis & meſſis, frigoris & æſtus, æſtatis & hyemis, noctis ac diei viciſſitudinem, initio quidem mundi inductam, poſtea vero propter malitiam cordis humani ſublatam*, in integrum reſtituit & confirmavit, *anni curſum in eo ſervat ordine quem ſingulis annis videmus & experimur; Qua in re admoneri poſſumus quam ſit firma & infracta pactorum Dei veritas, uſq; adeo videlicet ut in hunc uſque diem nullâ quantumvis immodicâ mortalium malitiâ infringi potuerit.* By all which it appeares that the words alleadged out of *Geneſis*, (notwithstanding the particular promise against a second universall deluge in the verse immediately going before) not by mine owne exposition, but by the interpretation of all those learned expositors include a generall promise for the worlds preservation, in that goodly order in which it was created; and consequently in keeping it from a perpetuall and universall decay.

Neither

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Neither doe I goe about to inferre a generall promiſe from a particular (as your Lordſhip would thruſt it upon me) which were indeed a ridiculous kind of reaſoning, but onely affirme that the particular and generall may well enough ſtand both together, the particular againſt that extraordinary judgement, and the generall for his ordinary providence in the worlds preſervation, till the finall conſumma tion therof, And why theſe two may not well enough ſtand together I muſt profeſſe as yet I ſee no ſufficient reaſon.

Yea but God excluding a deluge, doth thereby (you ſay) imply that the world ſhall otherwiſe decay, which is an inference (I thinke) that never any Divine made before you, neither can the deluge be properly called a decay, there being in every decay a loſſe without a reparation, whereas the deluge was onely a confuſion of the elements, or rather a returne of the element of water to its proper ſituation, without any ſuch loſſe in the whole as ſhould imply any decay in the univerſe, much leſſe in the celeſtiall bodies, the element of fire, and the higher regions of the aire, which by the deluge were ſo farre from being impaired as they were not thereby at all diſtempered, or any way touched, and yet your Lordſhip throughout this ſection (upon what grounds I know not) ſeemes to make the deluge an univerſall decay; which as it came by degrees ſo no doubt (you ſay) what decay befalls this world ſhall come by degrees, whereas our *Saviour* in the Goſpell hath aſſured us that *in the very dayes before thee flood they were eating and drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, till the day that Noah entred into the arke, and knew not till the flood came and tooke them all away*; it being ſudden and violently ruſhing upon them, as the ſecond comming of Chriſt to judgment ſhall bee: but to grant that there was a preparation to it, yet that this preparation went on by degrees from the Creation of the world, and that by a naturall decay in all the parts of the world, that am I confident will never bee proved to the worlds end, nor yet that the conflagration thereof ſhall by degrees ſteale upon it by preparative inflammations, which opinion ſeemes to attribute it rather to the ordinary courſe of nature then to the extraordinary and immediate power of God; whereas *Aquinas* hath truly taught us; *Illa mundi deflagratio quæ paulo ante univerſale judicium futura eſt, non ad aliquam naturæ vim, ſed ad divinam potentiam referri debet*; And this I thinke is the unanimous judgement of the ſoundeſt Divines.

Your compariſon of the world with man, overflowing with humours in youth, and abounding with heat in old age, is ſomewhat ſtrange, in as much as heate is rather prædominant in youth, and cold wateriſh humors in old age, ſo that following the courſe of nature, the world ſhould rather have beene burned in *Noahs* time, it being then in the prime and ſtrength of youthfull vigor, and reſerved for a flood at the laſt day, it being now by reaſon of the Sunnes deficiency, (in your Lordſhips opinion) not

'notwithstanding his nearer approach to the earth, Seized upon with 'degenerous and *feminine humors*, farre from that masculine heat which 'caused that generall conflagration in *Phaëtons* time, which gave occa-'sion to the fables of the Poets; as your Lordship hath expressed your selfe in your booke of the fall of man. These things I formerly observed partly in mine *Apologie*, and partly in my last papers sent unto you, not knowing which way to reconcile them, yet you still come afresh with the same againe, as if they were new arguments and I had said nothing to them.

The close of this section is, that as in all *Chymicall works things are purified by fire, so the common received opinion of the conflagration of the world may betoken the worlds renovation, and wholly annihilate my annihilation.* Why my Lord if they be onely purified by fire they are not burnt up, which the very word *conflagration* imports, and consequently if there shall bee a *conflagration* of the world, (which is both the common and mine opinion) it shall bee burnt up, and so consumed not purified onely. And so much I am sure doth S. *Peter* warrant, The heavens *shall passe away with a great noise*, not bee purified but passe away; and againe, the heavens being on fire *shall be dissolved*; not purified but dissolved; And lastly as the heavens so the earth also and the workes that are therein shall *be burnt up*, not purified, or refined, or renovated, but burnt up, so saith S. *Peter* and so I beleeve, and so must your Lordship too if you will hold a conflagration, which in the propriety of the word implies a burning up and not a purifying.

Yet your Lordship from hence inferres a renovation, whereas the conclusion by you to bee inferred was a declination and not a renovation of the world, this seemes onely to bee drawne in thereby to have a fling to mine *annihilation*, or to expresse your conceit of annihilating it, or to draw me away from the maine question, and so whiles we pursue two hares at once wee shall take neither; But whereas your Lordship is pleased to terme it *mine annihilation*, you cannot be ignorant upon the reading of mine *Apologie* and my papers sent you since, that I stand not single in this opinion, but (beside many evident passages of the holy scriptures) herein am joyned with many great and grave Divines of *France*, of *Germanie*, of the *Netherlands*, and some of the ancients; Nay my Lord till you have answered my inferences drawne out of your *booke* of the *fall of man*, that by inevitable consequent it is your owne tenet, I will bee bold to call it *your annihilation* aswell as mine. And farther I will add that whosoever shall maintaine a naturall decay in any one *species* or *individuall* in the world, bee it the least that is, or can either possibly bee, or but imagined to bee, and shall withall maintaine no addition, to somewhat else arising out of that decay, (as they necessarily must who maintaine the decay to bee universall) hee will thereby bee forced at last to grant an *annihilation* even in the course of nature, which for mine owne part I durst not defend, for that it is *aquivalent* to creation, and so peculiar onely to the transcendent almighty power of the Creator; who by his servant *Iob* hath told us. 'Man lieth downe & riseth not till the heavens be no more, not till they be purified or renovated but till they be no more. *cap.* 14. *v.* 12. G. G.

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G. G.

Proofes by Instances.

YOu will bee pleased to consider that generall truths are ever best proved and confirmed by generall grounds, principles, reasons axiomes, and not by instances; yet truly Mr Archdeacon *though your booke bee full of good learning you are a little defective in these generall reasons and grounds, and your proofes doe most consist of instances, as if because there is no generall rule without many exceptions, therefore you will use the exceptions to overthrow the generall rule.*

Reasons are better proofes then instances.

G. H.

YOUR Lordships title promiseth proofes by instances, whereas you spend the former part thereof in disproving my instances.

That generall truths are best confirmed by generall rules I grant, yet that by instances both those truths and rules are made more evident it cannot be denyed. Here you tell me that my proofes do most consist of instances, and that I am defective in generall rules, and yet in your letter dated the second of *August* you assure me that my generall rules are my best proofes; and truely as defective as I am in them your Lordship I presume will never bee able to answer them, I have often desired an answer to that one *Corruptio unius est generatio alterius*, acknowledged to bee most infallibly true in the course of nature by all the universities of the Christian world, but I am confident shall never see it answered by your Lordship or any man living to the worlds end.

You say mine instances are exceptions to a generall rule, which I use to overthrow the rule it selfe, whereas the truth is that they are deductions or branches drawne out for the better illustration and strengthening of the rule, all rules being first grounded and built upon the observation and induction of many instances, and then the instances serve to add both light and life unto them.

G. G.

YOur instances likewise are without relation, first to the times; thus Henry *the eight, and* Charle Brandon *are reckoned among the ancients, but gunpowder which is thrice as ancient, you take it for a new and moderne invention.*

Time.

G. H.

IT is a renowned saying of the great S. *Augustin* (though I confesse in another case) *Distingue tempora & concordabis scripturas*; *Ancient* and *moderne* being relative termes, and applyed to tyme, being diversly applyed, the same time to which they are applyed may as truely and properly

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properly bee ſaid to be both, as the ſame man may bee ſaid to bee both a father in regard of his Sonne, & a Sonne in regard of his father. Thus *Henry* the *eight* & *Charles Brandon* may be reckoned among the ancients in regard of us, & on the other ſide the invention of gunpowder (though thrice as ancient as they) being compared with *Moſes* or *Davids* times may not improperly be ſaid to be moderne.

G: G.

Place. *SEcondly to places, for writing in Engliſh and to our people, you ſcarce mention any one of our ancient records, who knowes not the great difference betweene Southerne and Northerne people? as great in effect as I will admit in the decay of Nature.*

G. H.

THough I write in Engliſh & to our people, yet happily my booke hereafter may bee tranſlated into *Latin*; And though I tie not my ſelfe to the hiſtory of our owne nation, yet many inſtances have I borrowed from thence, as namely of ſuch exceſſive diſtempers in the weather, ſuch raging peſtilences, and other ſtrange contagious diſeaſes, ſuch miſerable famines & unnaturall warres, with other miſcheifes and outrages waiting thereupon, as our age hath not knowne; Neither doe I compare the ſoutherne people with the Northerne, but the Southerne which have beene, with the Southerne which are, and ſo in the Northerne; Neither doe either of theſe alwaies remaine the ſame, but varie according to diverſe conſtellations, cuſtomes, lawes, princes, manner of dyet, exerciſe and the like; And if they degenerate in courage, or age, or ſtrength, or ſtature, or wits in one place, they grow more maſculine and vigorous in another, and in the ſame place at another time; And ſo upon the matter all cards being plaid and all reckonings caſt up, there is no loſſe to the whole. The barbarous Nations which live moſt according to nature are doubtleſſe leſſe effeminate, & the moſt civill nations which now are, may againe in future ages become as barbarous as they, and the moſt barbarous bee civillized, or returne againe to that civility which perchance in former ages they practiſed, and by this meanes is the ballance of humane affaires kept upright.

Now whereas your Lordſhip tells us that there is as great difference betweene the Southerne and Northerne people, as in effect you will admit in the decay of Nature, in your letter dated the 2. of Auguſt you come nearer, affirming that you doe not thinke that ſince the Creation there is at this day a greater decay in nature then appeares betweene two ſeverall nations though adjoyning, yea which is more, then appeares in one and the ſame Nation betweene the inhabitants, in their ſtature, ſtrength, witt, and continuance of yeares, and yet in the ſame letter you ſuppoſe the world to have declined much about a fourth part ſince the deluge, and that about *Moſes* his time 80 yeares held the ſame pro-

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portion in the ordinary duration of mans life, as 50 doe now, which is above a fourth part, and yet *Moses* lived about 500 yeares after the deluge; nay in your booke of the fall of man pag. 359 you confidently assure us, that *Galen* (who lived at least 200 yeares after Christ) usually drew sixe or seven times as much bloud as wee do now a dayes. And againe pag. 378. That since *Ptolomees* time (who lived about the yeare of the Lord 140) the Sunne hath descended much lower by many degrees; which supposed declination had it indeed constantly kept since the Creation thereof, by this time we had had no Sunne at all to warme us: But the truth is that this position is so evidently erroneous, that *Bodin* who confidently held it in his method of history, afterwards upon better reason in the first booke of his *theatrum naturæ* as ingenuously recants it; Lastly in some places you make the worlds decay to be insensible, and in others againe (as namely in your letter of the second of Iuly) *excessive* and *exorbitant*, nature wholly inclining and running headlong to corruption, as you tell us in the first of these arguments, which contradictions I know not how to accord, but wish your Lordship would bee pleased to make tryall how it may bee done.

G. G.

THirdly in your instances you observe no order, no method, but they are all culd and chosen out, yet I will disprove them with other instances of the same time, and rather then I will not observe an order, I will follow the method of the Alphabet or the Kalendar. Order.

G. H.

IN the third place I am charged for want of methode and order in the producing of mine instances, and truely were I therein guilty, yet doubtlesse your Lordship is no fit man to accuse me, there being no order that I can finde in the producing of your arguments, you may perchance observe some method to your selfe out of the topicks (as in your last you tell me) but sure it is *methodus Cryptica*, so closely conveyed as no man can understand it but your selfe. That my instances are culd and chosen doth not argue that they are immethodicall, but rather that they are methodicall enough being applied to my generall rules, as throughout my booke you shall find them to bee; And if you intend to disprove them by instances of the same time (as you pretend and promise) yet that will not bee sufficient unlesse withall you bring them from the same place and either applie them to the rule, or disprove the rule as well as the instances, your following of the method of the Alphabet I cannot disallow; And for your method of the Calendar I must professe mine ignorance, I know not what it meanes, except it bee the pursuit of things according to the order of time.

G. G.

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G. G.

What is antient

AND to conclude, that it may appeare you are no way indifferent, where you cannot point out the time of any invention, that presently you claime for your owne; as if you were the Lord of a mannor newly purchased and should take up your neighbours goods for straies to your owne use, while your ancient tennants claime them for theirs. And thus you offend in the mariners card, as if our Sectaries rejecting traditions, yet finding that some make for their advantage presently they should take them for their owne, & change their old habits into some new fashion and cut; And herein you doe unjustly contrary to all lawes for what is time out of minde whereof no memory is extant that must ever bee held for ancient, or else your customes for tithes would soone bee overthrowne.

G. H.

IN the last place I am charged as being no may indifferent, but as dealing unjustly, because forsooth where I cannot point out the time of any invention, that presently I claime for mine owne, and thus you say I offend in the mariners card; Why my Lord I prove that the mariners card cannot bee antient, by the silence of all ancient authors therein, who in saying nothing thereof (being so usefull an invention) by their deep silence cry aloud that indeed no such thing was in use in their time, I prove it by their coasting not daring to adventure themselves upon the maine ocean; And lastly I prove it by the authority of *Acosta, Mariana, Malvenda, Gomara, Turnebus, Pancirollus, Salmuth, Philander, Giraldus, Cardan, Bozius, Ramus, Varrerius*, & others; And is this then unjustly to claime an invention as mine owne, which of right belongs to the ancients? Nay more then so that it may clearly appeare how unjustly you deale with me even whiles you thus charge me with unjust dealing, out of *Blondus* and *Pancirollus* I shew that about 300 yeares since it was found out by a citizen of *Malphis* or *Melphis* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and province of *Campania*; now called *Terra de Laverador*, and out of *Salmuth, Cienus, Gomara*, & *Bartas* that his name was *Flavio*; So as here wee have the name of the inventor, the place of his abode, and the time of the invention pointed out; And if our Sectaries deale no otherwise with traditions for their advantage, nor Lords with their tenants for their profit, were any just man of their Jury I doubt not but hee would soone acquit them of unjust dealing. And for customes of tithing for mine owne part I wish they were all overthrowne and the same I thinke doe the greatest part of Parsons and Vicars in this kingdome.

G. G.

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G. G.

I doe then first instance in those elements which are most palpable, the earth and the water making one globe; suppose the highest mountaines and rocks, if the world should have an eternity needs it must follow that these mountains and hills should bee washed downe with many showres, gutta cavat lapidem, *so that at length they would come to bee levell; who sees not the rocks how they daily moulder away, and in effect want reparations; or if you live not neare rocks and mountaines, when you see the red waters and the great land flouds, from whence comes this sand and this gravell? how is it possible that any recompence should bee made to those places from whence this earth is fallen? doe you thinke that the aire and the raine upon the tops of the hils may be congealed and turned into earth? your selfe deny* decuplam proportionem *and say that one drop of water may make* 100 *drops of aire, which though I do not beleeve, but do love old principles in philosophie, yet I take it as a strong argument against your selfe, For your other conceit that your countrymen doe carry the blew sand of the sea and lay it upon their grounds I wonder you should insist upon it, for I dare boldly say that it is not the* 1000000 *part that is soe caried, for that husbandry is onely proper to* Devonshire, *and reasons may bee given of that course; if then you will conceive that these mountaines should yearely loose but one dram of earth (as indeed they loose many millions) surely at length in a farre shorter time then eternity, they would bee made levell, and soe prove a bottome, and then you shall have them rich meadowes.*

The daily irrecoverable decay of mountaines and rocks.

G. H.

WE are now come to your Lordships instances, and first you say you will instance in those elements which are most palpable, the earth and the water making one globe; whereas your instances are but three in all, but all are borrowed from the earth and water, so as you needed not have told us that you would confine your first instance to these elements, which notwithstanding is proper to the earth alone.

Suppose (you say) the highest mountaines and rocks, if the world should have an eternity, needs it must follow that these mountaines & hills should bee washed downe, with many showres, so that at length they should bee come levell; But what if I should say that God will cut of the threed of Nature before they come to bee levell, as you doe that hee will before all their returne to their *Chaos*? but the truth is I need not search so farre for an answer, you have shaped me another to mine hand in this very section, wherein when I seriously expected what the 'conclusion of these instances should bee, at length I found it thus re-'solved on, If then you will conceive that these mountaines should 'yearly loose but one dram of earth (as indeed they loose many milli-

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'ons) ſurely at length in farre ſhorter time then eternity they would be 'made levell, and ſo prove a bottome and then you ſhall have them 'rich meadowes; Here is the concluſion, wherein I will not quarell at words in that you tell us of a farre ſhorter time then eternity, as if eternity were time, or time had any proportion with eternity, but will only inſiſt upon the laſt cloſe, That then wee ſhall have them *rich Meadowes*; Why my Lord what loſſe is this to the world? nay what loſſe to the earth that inſtead of barren mountaines wee ſhall at length have fat and fruitfull valleyes? If I ſhould ſeeke none other anſwer then this alone it were ſufficient, and that the rather for that many learned men have beene of opinion, that before the floud there were no mountaines at all but that they were cauſed by it.

Yet for a more full reply I am of opinion that thoſe diminutions which are made in mountaines are againe repaired, and that by the very ſame meanes as they are diminiſhed; violent ſtormes doe not reave more from them at ſome times, then moderate gentle ſhowres dewes & miſts at other times repay home to them againe, which being exhaled from the ſweeteſt and fatteſt part of the ſea, and from mooriſh and fenniſh grounds, are apt for the vegetation and ſpringing of graſſe and weedes, which rotting away are converted into earth, and that earth againe by the vicinitie of the rock (agglutinating and aſſimulating it into its owne nature) converted into a ſtone; And thus by the never enough admired power and providence of the moſt wiſe Creator, the ſame meanes differently applied ſerves both to wound and cure them; And from hence it is that the Divine oracles themſelves afford
Hab. 3. 6. them the name of *everlaſting mountaines* and *perpetuall hills*, And againe,
Pſal. 125. 2. as the mountaines are round about *Jeruſalem*, ſo the Lord is round about his people from henceforth and *for ever*.

But beſide this, if any mountaines bee humbled into valleys, meanes are not wanting for the proportionable raiſing of valleys into mountaines, ſometimes by *inundations*, it being the opinion if not of all yet I dare ſay both of the greateſt and ſoundeſt part of Divines, that the mountaines, though made perchance they were not, yet were they much increaſed by the generall floud, which if it were ſo, it cannot well bee but particular floudsſhould likewiſe in ſome degree conduce to the ſame; and ſometimes againe by laſting impetuous *winds*, the ſands are driven and forced up into mighty heapes, to the making or increaſing of mountaines, which as travellers write falls out often in the deſerts of *Arabia*; where not only men but horſes and *Camells*, are overwhelmed and ſwallowed up in them, from whence the men being after a while digged forth their fleſh ſerves for that Mummi which is in uſe among phiſitions, though the moſt pretious and choyceſt of it bee taken from the imbalmed bodies of the *Egyptians*: Laſtly and cheefly by *earthquakes*, new mountaines are raiſed. Thus was *mons modernus* made neare the lake *Avernus* in *Campania*, whereof the *Conimbricenſes*, and *mons novus* or *mons cinerum* mentioned & veiwed by *Bartholinus*, which peradventure is the ſame with the former. And two others of this kinde I find obſerved

ved by our renowned *Annalist* both of thē during the raigne of the noble *Queene Elizabeth* the one in the yeare 1571. neere a village called *Kinnaston* in the *Easterne* division of *Hereford* shire, the other in the yeare 1583 but twelve yeare after in *Drosetshire* not farre from *Cerne* in *Blakemore*. Now if two of these thus happened in this part of our *Iland* within the compasse of so short a space of time, what shall wee conceive might in this kind happen in all the regions of the vast globe of the earth since the first Creation?

The red waters of the great land flouds are not so coloured (as I suppose) from the mountaines onely, but rather receive their tincture from the clayie and gravelly grounds through which they passe, or it may be from hills where are mines of lead or such like mineralls, as we see the apparrell and bodies of those who worke in the mines of *Mendipp* to bee coloured red, and the waters which flow from thence; but how is it possible say you that recompence should be made to those places from whence the earth is fallen? whereunto I shall crave leave, first to rejoyne by another question, How is it possible that if so much earth from all parts of the world, should from the Creation bee caried into the sea, and there still remaine earth, but that the greatest part of the globe of the earth would therewith bee washed away, and so fill up the bed of the sea that it would thereby of necessity bee forced out upon the face of the drie land and so make it inhabitable for the use of man and beast? My opinion then is, that all this earth, some sooner some latter is by agitation turned into water, and this water partly drayned out by rivers, and partly drawne up in vapous by the Sunne beames and carried by winds into those places from whence this earth was taken, and so thickned into water and this water by degrees condensate into earth, and from thence a sufficient recompence made though not in all places alike, yet enough for the preservation of the whole.

Yea but I deny (you say) *decuplam proportionem*, holding that one drop of water may make 1000 drops of aire, which though you doe not beleeve (but doe love old principles in philosophie) yet you take it as a strong argument against my selfe; That one drop of water may make 1000 drops of aire I never affirmed, for if it bee a drop it is not aire but water, and I thinke I was never so unadvised as to say that one drop would make a thousand drops; but that which I have written is this, that for the parts of the elements tis cleare by experience, that out of a few drops of water may bee made so much aire as shall exceed them five hundred or a thousand times at least, the meaning being evident that the aire which may bee made of that water, shall take up a space a thousand times as capacious as that of the water it selfe; And that this is cleare by experience your Lordship may make tryall when you please, by powring a spoone-full of water upon quicke coales in the middest of a spatious roome, where you may see the vapor arising from the water to fill all the roome; Now the vapor being but of a middle nature betwixt the water and the aire, if the same vapor were rarified into thinne aire no

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doubt it might extend it ſelfe to a ſpace as big againe, ſo that whereas I ſpeake of a thouſand I might as eaſily have juſtified ten times as much And upon what grounds the *Ariſtotelians* build there *decuplam proportionem*, ſave meerely upon their owne fancie, I muſt confeſſe for my part I was never yet ſo happy as to underſtand, but if your Lordſhip at your leaſure ſhall bee pleaſed better to informe me therein, I ſhall hold it a ſpeciall favour, profeſſing in the meane ſeaſon that as yet I ſee not how this my tenet makes againſt my ſelfe, in as much as for every dramme which is taken off from the earth by the water; there is retribution of at leaſt a thouſand drops of water, ſo as if ten or an hundred will not ſerve the turne for a compenſation, our hope is that a thouſand or ten thouſand may.

To your Lordſhips profeſſion that my aſſertion touching the proportion of the elements you will not beleeve, but doe love old principles in philoſophie, it is moſt certaine that *Ariſtotle* in his ſecond booke de gener: *cap. 6. text. 37.* where he ſpeakes of this proportion of the elements, applies his propoſition not only to the tranſmutation of their parts, but to the compariſon of their entire bodies each with other, the contrary whereof is moſt infallibly proved by Geometricall demonſtrations out of the opticks, and the opinion it ſelfe utterly renounced and exploded by the beſt philoſophers in the Chriſtian world; If you love old principles in philoſophy you muſt love this too, that *Cælum eſt incorruptibile*, and this, that *Corruptio unius eſt generatio alterius* inceſſantly, and this, that *In natura non datur annihilatio*; Nay your Lordſhip tells mee in your firſt letter, that my booke may juſtly bee ſtiled an *Apologie* of old philoſophy, which if it be ſo, and your Lordſhip indeed love old principles in philoſophy as here you pretend, I doubt not but wee ſhall ſoone ſhake hands and accord this controverſie; But in very truth I finde that your love is but verball not reall, otherwiſe impoſſible it is that you ſhould maintaine (as in your firſt argument you doe) that nature wholly inclines to corruption, and in your ſecond, that corruption is the proper difference of the materiall world, implying the exiſtence and ſupporting all other qualities thereof, and many ſuch like you have; My Lord this I dare avow is no old philoſophy, nor yet new I thinke before now; And therefore I pray charge mee not hereafter for leaving old philoſophy, but if you can charge mee for leaving the truth ſpare mee not.

For my other conceit that my countrymen cary the blew ſand of the ſea, and lay it upon their ground, you wonder I ſhould inſiſt upon it, for that you dare boldly ſay that it is not the 1000000 part that is ſo caried, becauſe that husbandrie is onely proper to *Devonſhire*, and reaſons you ſay may bee given of that courſe; For reply whereunto, I muſt firſt profeſſe, that I never yet had the happines to ſee any of that blew ſand which your Lordſhip ſpeakes of; Neither is this kinde of husbandry *proper unto Devonſhire*, but as much uſed in *Cornwall* (according to the quantitie of the ſhire) and ſome parts of *wales*, and whither it bee likewiſe uſed in other places of this Kingdome, or out of this kingdome I cannot determine; Neither doe I thinke

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thinke that any ſufficient reaſon can bee given why it ſhould not bee as proper for other countries (in caſe they lye neere the ſea and have no better compoſt) as for *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*, and *Wales*; And for the preſent point in hand I doe not inſtance in this cariage of ſande; as the only or principall meanes for the reparation of that earth which, by the waſhing of raine and rivers is caried into the ſea; but onely as a meanes concurrent and *coadjuvans* with others; whereof the cheefe is that which I have named by the turning of this earth into water and this water into earth againe; And were it not ſo, the grounds worne out with long tillage would never bee able of themſelves without helpe from the induſtry of man only by reſt to recover their heart and goodnes againe, as the wittieſt of Poets aſſures us they doe:

---Requietus ager bene credita reddit.

And the worthieſt.

Sed tamen alternis facilis labor.

And experience in many places of this Kingdome finds it to bee true where they have none other making for their grounds but only reſt, if I may call that making which is thus made only by Gods ordinance; without any art or labour of man.

G. G.

THe mountaines thus looſing the waters gaine, who ſees not that our great rivers are daily choaked up with ſhelves, Goodwin ſands had their beginning, and wee can point out the age, I have often conferd with old Ponnet, *the famous Engliſh Pilot who in his time did ever conduct the Kings ſhips both inward and outward, and had his penſion for obſerving the Channell, hee hath told me of the ſtrange increaſe of the ſands and how they have varied in his time, in ſo much that he hath beene enforced to goe 150 miles compaſſe, only to take the benefit of the channell, and ſhould be diſcontinue but one moneth hee were to goe to ſchoole againe, and as wholly ignorant of our ſeas as if hee had never uſed navigation; ſurely in a farre leſſe time then eternity there would bee at length a confuſion of theſe elements.*

How the ſeas and rivers are choaked up with ſhelves & ſands.

G. H.

YOur ſecond inſtance is that the mountaines thus looſing the waters gaine; which if it bee ſo there can be no loſſe to the whole, but withall you add, who ſees not that our great rivers are daily choaked, which me thinkes ſhould rather argue a loſſe then a gaine to the waters.

That of *Goodwin* ſands, and old *Ponnets* relation touching, his conducting of the Kings ſhipps, I ſee not to what purpoſe it is brought, for who knowes not that lives neare the ſea, what a continuall variation there is in toſſing the ſands too & fro by winds & tides, in removing the ſhelves hither and thither, and in turning the channell from ſide to ſide; and what the ſea gaines in one part of the earth it looſeth in ano-

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ther as I have ſhewed by diverſe inſtances in the firſt booke of mine Apologie *cap.* 3. *ſect.* 2, and againe in the ſecond booke *cap.* 8. *ſect.* 1. and were it not ſo the whole globe of the earth had no doubt long ere this become utterly inhabitable.

So as you might well upon your ſuppoſition conclude, that ſurely in a farre leſſe time then eternity, there would bee at length a confuſion of theſe elements; yet your concluſion ſhould have bin not a confuſion, but a decay, And againe in this confuſion you give the water the predominancy, notwithſtanding that in the cloſe of the argument immediately preceding, you had told us that the overflowing of humours was proper to the youth of the world, and a great drougth with violent inflammations to its old age as preparing a way to the conflagration thereof; which how it can ſtand with a perpetuall incroaching of the water upon the earth I thinke no man earthly can well underſtand.

G. G.

How grounds have bin raiſed with this ſand and ſlime of rivers.

IF you cannot take due notice herein I will then ſupply you with a homebred obſervation; take Barſtaple, *or all the cities of England, uſually ſome part of them are built upon lowe grounds for the benefit of a navigable river, aſſuredly thoſe buildings at firſt were habitable for the whole yeare, and no more annoyed with waters then now they are, and truely I thinke much leſſe; but I pray digg the ground there and you ſhall finde it a made and a falſe earth for* 2. 3. 4. *or* 5. *yeards deepe, under it you ſhall often finde a pavement and ſometimes old foundations of buildings, and ſometimes under that againe ſhells of diverſe kinds and bones of fiſhes, then ſurely the citty at firſt was built ſo low, which if it were ſo ſeated at this time it were no way habitable.*

G. H.

YOur laſt inſtance (by the ſeparation made in writing) ſeemes to have beene intended as different from the former, but indeed is coincident with the ſecond, as is the ſecond with the firſt, The Summe of it is, that if townes & cities were now ſeated ſo low as at firſt they were built, they would no way be habitable by annoyance of waters, which aſſertion cannot poſſibly be verified of thoſe townes which formerly have beene havens, but now are dry; of which number and kind diverſe might bee named as well in this kingdome as in forraine nations, whereof ſome are now 20 ſome 50. ſome 100. miles or more diſtant from the ſea, which in former ages have beene famous ports for the ſafe riding of many tall ſhips, nor yet thoſe whoſe rivers are choaked up with ſuch ſhelves as you ſpeake of. Can the rivers be choaked up & yet threaten the cities upon which they ſtand? or can townes and cities (ſtill ſeated in the ſame place) grow higher and higher with out ſome addition unto, rather thē a diminution from the earth upon which they are founded? My Lord for my part I know not how to reconcile theſe things without your Lordſhips help, & therefore conclude theſe inſtāces touching the elements with thoſe remarckable words of *Gregory Nyſſen*

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Nyſſen in his Divine diſcourſe, *de hiſtoria ſex dierum quibus mundus à Deo creatus eſt; Continua elementorum unius in alterum converſio eſt, ita ut nullum in his abſumatur, nullum augeſcat atque redundet, ſed in iiſdem quas ab initio habuit maneat in perpetuum menſuris.* Which if it be ſo, we ſhall not neede to feare any decay or confuſion of theſe elements; which notwithſtanding reach not to the vaſt regions of the aire & fire; as neither doe your inſtances at all concerne them or the celeſtiall bodies; which being ſafe and regular, there can be no danger of the elements or elementarie bodies.

G. G.

AS to my former reaſons and arguments I did annexe examples, together with ſome preparative defence againſt ſleight objections: ſo here where inſtances are my proofes, I will annexe reaſons to backe theſe inſtances.

If there ſhould bee an addition to theſe mountaines by ſhowers, no doubt but the vallies beneath muſt pertake thereof in an equall meaſure, (for the cloudes make no difference betweene both.) Yea ſometimes miſts and vapours which paſſe over mountaines are diſſolved in theſe valleys by the heat and repercuſſion; but ſuppoſe both alike and equall, yet over and above, the valleys muſt ſhare in thoſe fruitfull ſhowers which fall from the mountaines: here then for want of proportion, in time there muſt be a confuſion; and even the water which falls from the mountaines, if it make but a little gutter in the compaſſe of a whole age, yet at length it will by degrees pierce to the very center of the earth, and there undermine the foundation of your eternity.

The want of proportion betweene elements, implies a confuſion.

If you ſay the dew and miſts which lie ſo frequently on the tops of mountaines, and not imparted to the valleys beneath doe recompence the loſſe, I muſt then deſcend more particularly: Shew me any rocke in the world if it doth not apparently decay, even palpably to the judgement of ſence, I will ſubſcribe to your opinion. From rockes I come to mountaines, why ſhould they be ſo apparently barren in reſpect of valleyes? at firſt they were created alike fruitfull, for then there were no naturall cauſes which might make the difference; if there bee a ſupply of matter, why ſhould there not be a ſupply of fruitfulneſſe, and a reſtoring of both alike? and if you ſay as you doe in your booke, that the elements doe naturally encroach upon each other, ſometimes gaining, ſometimes looſing: Sir, you know what a totall overthrow was once given to the earth, when the waters overwhelmed the earth in the generall deluge, the fruits and effects whereof remaine to this day, as I have proved in my pamphlet, pag. 284 (if it be not vanity in me to quote it, being indeed not worth the naming,) now unleſſe it appeare that the earth ſhall in recompence thereof give ſuch a generall overthrow to the waters, (as all conquered nations ſhall never be able to caſt off the yoake of bondage and thraledome, untill they make themſelves maſters of the fielde;) I ſhall never expect that theſe two elements ſhould ſtand upon equall termes, or that the earth ſhould recover her firſt inbred naturall perfection, and faylings herein, needes in time muſt there be a confuſion.

Not probable that all mountaines ſhould bee created more barren then vallies.

The earth looſing her perfection and not regaining it, muſt more and more decay.

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G. H.

HEre againe you make your concluſion to bee the *confuſion* of the mountaines and valleys, which ſhould be the *conſumption* of the world; yet neede wee not feare any ſuch confuſion neither, the levelling of the valleys with the mountaines, tending rather to perfection then deſtruction.. And yet for the preſerving of this pleaſing variety of mountaines and vallies, I make no doubt but as more earth is brought to the vallie, ſo likewiſe by the inceſſant rooling of rivers, & incroachment of the ſea in ſome places; more is againe carried away from thence, and by this meanes the ballance is kept upright, and the valley reſtrained from aſpiring to the mountaine; And if the valley ſhould attempt it, yet are mountaines by earthquakes and other meanes (as I have formerly ſhewed) raiſed up againe: and ſo in the totall ſumme nothing finally loſt, either in their entire quantitie or due proportion, which ſingular peece of Divine providence *Ropertus* in his Commentaries upon the 103 *Pſalme*, hath thus elegantly deſcribed: *Ergo nec iſtud magnifici Dei laudibus deeſſe debuit, quod aſcendunt montes & deſcendunt campi in locum quem ille fundavit eis: fundavit (inquam) videlicet, ut neque montes ſemel aſcendere juſſi, deſcendant, neque campi ſemel depreſſi conſurgant.*

Your imaginarie gutter cannot undermine the foundation of that eternitie which I defend; for ſuppoſe that the water ſhould at length by degrees (as you ſay) pierce to the very center of the earth, yet how it could there undermine the foundation of the earth it ſelfe, (much leſſe of the heavens the maſter peece of the world) I cannot underſtand; for if the water and earth make one globe, as both authority, reaſon and experience teach us, then may the earth as well conſiſt though water ſhould peirce to the Center, as when it floates upon the ſurface thereof; and no doubt but water is to bee found much lower in the bowells of the earth, then any gutter cauſed by the fall thereof from the mountaines; which by reaſon of earthquakes and violent windes, and ſuch other cauſes are not ſo conſtant and unchangeable as you ſuppoſe, but are often altered as are the channells of rivers and the courſe of the Sea, by making dry townes havens, and againe havens dry townes.

You ſaid you would in this Section annex reaſons to backe your inſtances, yet here are you faine againe upon another inſtance touching the decay of rockes, which if they doe not apparantly and palpably decay even to the judgement of ſenſe, you ſay you will ſubſcribe to my opinion: I thinke you would ſay that they *have decayed*, for that they *doe decay* can no more bee apparent to ſenſe, then that the tree growes, which no man yet ever ſaw: But what time will you aſſigne for this apparent decay, and to whoſe ſenſe will you referre it? if to your owne, you may perchance bee partiall, if to mine, you muſt undoubtedly ſubſcribe to my opinion; for that as yet I never obſerved any ſuch palpable decreaſe in rockes as you ſpeake of, neither doe I thinke

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thinke, it can be obſerved to any conſiderable proportion in the ordinary age of one man; And withall I verily beleeve, if any ſuch there bee (which in ſome parts and places I deny not) that in other places and parts amends is made by their increaſe, which my ſelfe by experience found in a deep vaſt rockie denne called *Ochy Hole*, not farre from *Wells* in *Sommerſet-ſhire*; whereinto entring and paſſing through a good part of it with many lights, among other many ſtrange rarities well worth the obſerving; we found that water which inceſſantly dropped downe from the vaut of the rocke, though thereby it made ſome little dint in the rocke, yet was it turned into the rocke it ſelfe, as manifeſtly appeared even to the judgement of ſenſe, by the ſhape, and colour, and hardneſſe; it being at firſt of a more cleare and glaſſie ſubſtance then the more ancient parts of the rocke, to which no doubt but in time, it hath beene and will be aſſimilated: And this we found not in ſmall peeces, but in a very great quantity, and that in ſundry places enough to loade many carts; from whence I inferre that as in this cave, ſo no doubt in many other, (where they ſearched) the rocks would bee found to have increaſed immediately by the dropping of the water, beſides that increaſe which they have from the earth in the bowells therof, which ſtil continuing as it doth, there can be no feare of their utter failing. This made the Prophet *David* profeſſe, *The Lord is my rocke*, that is my never failing defence: and our *Saviour* to promiſe, that hee would *build his Church upon a rocke*: And in another place to liken him who heareth his ſayings and doth them, to a wiſe man *who buildeth his houſe upon a rocke*, thereby implying the indefectibilitie thereof: *The raine ſaith hee deſcended, and the flouds came, and the windes blew and beat upon that houſe, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rocke.* Now if the rocke it ſelfe ſhould by the raine, or flouds, or windes bee impaired and moulder away without any reparation or proportionable recompence of increaſe; impoſſible it is that the houſe built upon it ſhould ſtand, but muſt of neceſſity fall. And beſides it hath beene obſerved in the opening of ſome rockes that ſhells have beene found in them, which could not bee in the ordinary courſe of nature, did not the rocke grow. But put the caſe all the rockes in the world ſhould utterly decay, cannot the world conſiſt without them? Or doth this argue an univerſall decay of all the parts of it?

Pſal. 18. 2.

Matth. 16. 18.

Matth. 7. 24.

From the rockes you come to the mountaines, and demand the queſtion why they ſhould be ſo apparently barren in reſpect of the vallies, if the ſupply bee proportionable, conſidering they were created alike; but that they were indeed created alike fruitfull in the vallies you prove not, nor I thinke can. Hee who created the *Angells*, made them not all *Seraphins*; he who created the ſtarres, made them not all ſunnes; he who created the elements, made them not all fire; hee who created the foules made them not all eagles; hee who created the fiſhes made them not all whales; hee who created the beaſts made them not all lyons; hee who created the trees made them not all Cedars; hee who created the graines, made them not all wheate; hee who created the mettalls made them not all gold; and laſtly, he who created the ſtones made

made them not all diamonds; why ſhould wee then imagine that hee made all the parts of the earth fruitfull alike? I ſhall wee conceive that the whole world was as fertile and pleaſant as was *Paradiſe* it ſelfe? Truely my Lord, I ever conceived that varietie, and diſparitie in that varietie, ſerving for ornament, uſe, and delight, might likewiſe thereby ſerve to ſet forth the wiſedome, power, and goodneſſe of the Creator, no leſſe then his greateſt and moſt glorious workes. Indeed in your booke *of the fall of man*, to impeach nature of degeneration; you ſay, that ſhee being defective and not able to produce couragious Lyons, brave Unicornes, fierce Tygers, ſtout Elephants, makes it her taske and imployment to bee the mother and midwife of baſe and contemptible wormes, (as you are pleaſed to call them) of gnats and butterflyes: whereas the great S. *Auguſtine* found as great reaſon to praiſe God in the gnat as in the Elephant; *Fortaſſe uberiorem capias fructum, cum Deum laudas in humilitate formicæ, quàm cum tranſis fluvium in alicujus jumenti altitudine.* In like manner I thinke that all things conſidered, wee have no leſſe reaſon to bleſſe God for the leſſe fruitfull mountaines, then for the fat and fruitfull vallies. It is obſerved that mountaines by reaſon of the cleareneſſe of the aire, the dryneſſe of the ſoile, and a more temperate diet thereby occaſioned, are for the moſt part ſtronger of limbe, healthier of body, quicker of ſence, longer of life, ſtouter of courage, and of wit ſharper then the inhabitants of the valley: As they dwell nearer heaven, ſo commonly have they more generous ſpirits and ſublime thoughts, ſpecially in preſerving their libertie, and vindicating themſelves from thralldome: Neither are they uſually ſo much captivated to thoſe baſe vices of idleneſſe and luxury, which as I thinke gave occaſion to the Proverb, *Bona terra, mala gens*, verified in the *Sodomites* and *Gomorrheans*, who dwelt in a plaine for fruitfulnes and pleaſantneſſe, *like to the garden of God*. Some fowle there are, and thoſe not of the worſt kinde, and ſo likewiſe of graines, of wines, of trees, of plants, of fruits, of ſpices, which delight more and thrive better in hilly grounds, then in plaines or vallies: And for ſheepe which feede upon hills, it is obſerved that as they are freer from diſeaſes, ſo both the fleſh is ſweeter and their wools finer, then thoſe which are fatted in the deepe paſture of the vale. And againe, the mountaines be they never ſo barren, yet by Gods providence may they well ſerve to guard the lower Countries from the violence of blaſting and fierce windes; to bridle the fury of the inraged Sea, to marke out the bounds and borders of Nations, to ſtop the ſuddaine invaſions of enemies, and to preſerve hay, and corne, and cattle, and houſes, and men, from the danger of land-flouds, which overflow the plaines by the riſing of rivers. Finally, though ſome mountaines be ſo barren in their ſurface and upper cruſt, that they afford little or no nouriſhment for the uſe of man or beaſt, yet doe they abundantly recompence that defect by the goodly quarries of marble, the rich mines of gold and ſilver, and the inceſſant ſprings of water which iſſue from them and deſcend upon the vallies, to the cheriſhing and refreſhing of them.

pag. 19.

De Gen. Cont. Manich. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Gen. 13. 14.

So that to imagine the mountaines were not made by God, as wee now

now see them, because they are not so fruitfull in grasse or corne as are the vallies, is in my judgement not to consider sufficiently of his works, and so to wound his wisedome through the sides of decayed nature. Such doth *Theodoret* sharpely taxe in his first Sermon *De Providentiâ*; *Desine igitur ingratus esse; desine per ipsius Providentiæ munera, illi calumnias struere; desine inquam, bona quæ tibi data sunt, contra datorem & largitorem ceu tela ejaculari. Quin potius in omnibus quæ hactenus dicta sunt, Dei providentiam agnoscere discito, quæ omnia regit & gubernat, simulque omnium bonorum copiam tibi liberaliter parat.* And againe in his second Sermon *De Providentiâ*; *Et cum Providentiæ munera quotidiè percipiant, illa ipsa tamen quæ percipiunt convitijs lacerant, & per ea quibus fruuntur, rectorem & gubernatorem suum oppugnant.*

As before you inferred a confusion of the mountaines and vallies; so here likewise in the last place a confusion of the elements of water and earth, which being granted, yet doth it not argue any confusion in the other elements, much lesse in the heavens, or a decay of the whole world, which is the matter in question, and by you to bee concluded. This confusion you endeavour to prove, because the waters once gave a totall overthrow to the earth; the effects whereof (you say) remaine to this day: and unlesse the earth in recompence thereof give the like to the water, and cast off the yoake of bondage by becomming Master of the field, needes in time must there bee a confusion.

For reply whereunto, I first professe, that a generall deluge I verily beleeve, & hold him not worthy the name of a *Christian* that beleeves it not, but that it was effected by naturall causes, which your argument implies, this I utterly deny. That which I speak in my book of the elements mutuall encroachment each upon other, sometimes gaining, sometimes losing, can none otherwise be understood but of their naturall changes; whereas the universall floud which you speake of, was undoubtedly a supernaturall effect of the Divine justice for the sin of man, and in these we cannot (as I conceive) in the grounds of Divinitie, expect a mutuall recompence or exchange; otherwise then it shall please the Almighty Creator by his extraordinary power to effect it. The fire sometimes gave a totall overthrow to *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, must wee therefore expect a confusion, unlesse that land by way of recompence give the like to the fire? But the fruits you say of the generall deluge are yet to be seene; so are the markes and prints of that fire, if wee may beleeve travellers. And for those signes of the floud, you referre us to, in your booke of the *Fall of man*, p. 284. If you please to re-examine them, you shall finde them either to be no necessary effects of a deluge, or at leastwise not of any universall floud; nor that the violence of *Noahs* floud did so much alter and deface the earth, or was the chiefe cause of mountaines and vallies as you pretend; in as much as *Moses* writing of *Paradise*, and other places and rivers, about 860 yeares after the floud, was most exact in setting downe the names, limits, and whole description of them, as though they had remained to bee seene in his dayes. Neither were the buildings so defaced, but that one of the

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pillars erected by *Seth* the ſonne of *Adam*, was to be ſeene in the Coun-
Antiq.lib.1.c.3. trey of *Lyſia* (as *Ioſephus* witneſſeth) in his time, who lived at leaſt forty or fiftie yeares after *Chriſt*. *Beroſus* likewiſe teſtifies that the Citie of *Enoch* was not demoliſhed by the floud, the ruines whereof, as *Amnius* in his Commentaries reports, were to bee ſeene in his time, who lived during the raigne of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*; and by *Pomponius Mela*, it is alſo written that the Citie of *Ioppa* was built before the floud, of which *Cepha* was King, whoſe name with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds & Principles of their Religion were found after the floud graven upon altars of ſtone.

Neither was there any ſuch totall overthrow in regard of the vegetables given to the earth as you pretend; for had all the trees beene overturned (as you pretend) the Dove ſent forth of the Arke by *Noah*, could not have plucked off an *Olive leafe*, as the text in expreſſe termes tells us ſhee did; neither could *Noah* have gathered the decreaſe of the floud, if ſhe had taken it floating upon the waters. And for thoſe trees which are ſaid in ſome Countries to bee buried in the ſlime, it might well be that they were caſt downe and overwhelmed by ſome provinciall and nationall flouds, which are commonly more impetuouſly driven by outragious windes, then the generall floud by any naturall meanes could poſſibly be; in as much as all great agitation of the watet, muſt of neceſſity in the courſe of nature proceed either from the ebbing and flowing thereof, or from ſteep deſcents or fierce windes: Neither of which could fall out in the generall floud; not the firſt, there being then no indraughts, bayes or creeks to receive a floud; not the ſecond, for what deſcent of waters could there bee in a ſphericall or round body, where no part is higher or lower? not the third, for that after the floud was riſen to the utmoſt height and not before, it is ſaid, that *The Lord God cauſed a winde to paſſe over the earth, and the waters aſſwaged*; which could not then be cauſed by any other ſecond meanes, but meerely by the extraordinary power of God; in as much as being a hot and dry exhalation, it could not bee extracted from the waters which are of qualitie cold and moiſt, and then ſurmounted the higheſt hills by fifteene cubits: And therefore (as I take it) it is ſaid *ſignanter* that the *Lord God* cauſed this winde; that is, by his extraordinary power, as well in regard of the generation as the efficacie thereof. All which conſidered, I ſhould thinke that the waters of the generall floud rather moved in a gentle and calme manner, then they that were carried with any ſuch raging or overbearing violence, and thereby gave ſuch a totall overthrow to the earth as you preſume.

Now as that which you call a totall overthrow to the earth given by the waters, ſufficiently appeares not to have beene ſo *totall* as you imagine; ſo I nothing doubt but that it will likewiſe ſoone appeare to be no *overthrow* at all: An overthrow indeed it was to the Inhabitants of the earth, (thoſe only excepted which were reſerved in *Noahs* Arke) but to the earth it ſelf as it is an element, which is the thing in queſtion, an overthrow it could not bee, nor in any wiſe properly ſo be termed, in as much as it is as proper for the the earth in that reſpect to bee

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under the water, and the water to bee above the earth, as it is for the aire to bee above the water, or the fire above the aire, or the celestiall bodies above the fire: As then no man ever conceived it as an overthrow, but rather a perfection to the waters to bee environed by aire, so neither can it be thought any overthrow, but rather a perfection to the earth to be environed by waters; the earth carrying the same proportion to the water in regard of the first and second qualities, as doth the water to the aire. And hence it is that *Moses* tells us, that before the earth was uncovered for the use of man, it was also covered over with water; which both *Iob* and the Prophet *David* in regard of the proper situation thereof, being considered as an element, compares to a *garment*, which is so farre from being accounted an overthrow to the bodie, as it serves not onely for the defence but ornament thereof: In which very respect the greatest part of those who with your Lordship hold a Renovation of the world, withall maintaine, that the waters being then to bee re-invested with their originall perfection, shall overflow the face of the earth as at first they did, and the earth bee againe buried under the waters as at first it was. 38. 9. Psal. 104. 8.

I should rather then (and that much more properly as I conceive) call it an overthrow to the waters, that they still cover not the face of the earth, but are forced to abandon their native scituation and naturall inclination, and to retyre themselves from that superioritie and dominion which once they quietly possessed; And thus much doth the *Psalmist* in the same place evidently imply, or rather indeed in plaine termes expresse; *At thy rebuke they fled, at the voyce of thy thunder they hasted away*: which should argue a kinde of reluctancie that was in them to leave their former possession; and were they not imprisoned as it were, fettered and manicled by those shackles and bounds, within which the hand of the *Almighty* hath inclosed them, it should seeme they have still a disposition to recover their ancient liberty and inheritance, and againe to reduce the earth as a rebell broken loose and gotten free, to the termes of subjection. The Scripture I am sure in many cleare passages beateth much upon this point; *Hee hath compassed the waters with bounds, untill the day and night come to an end.* Job. 26. 10. *Who hath shut up the Sea within doores, and set barres upon it? and said, hitherto shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves bee stayed?* Job. 38. 8. 10. 11. *Thou hast set a bound that they may not passe over, that they turne not againe to cover the earth.* Psalme 104. 9. *Hee gave to the Sea his decree that the waters should not passe his Commandement.* Proverbs 8. 29. But above all, most remarkeable to this purpose is that of the Prophet *Ieremie*, 5. 22. *Feare yee not mee saith the Lord, will yee not tremble at my presence? which have placed the sand for the bound of the Sea by a perpetuall decree that it cannot passe it; And though the waves thereof tosse themselves, yet can they not prevaile, though they roare, yet can they not passe over it.* By all which it appeares that the earth through the divine assistance & for mans use, hath now prevailed for the space of some thousands of

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yeares without interruption, and ſtill doth prevaile, and to the worlds end ſhall prevaile againſt the waters.

But happily it will bee ſaid if this be ſo, then is violence offered to the waters, and in a miraculous manner they are reſtrained from their naturall inclination, contrary to the rule in *Divinitie*; That now Almighty God ceaſeth to worke miracles, at leaſtwiſe ſo univerſally and frequently as the reſtraint of the Sea muſt needes bee; and contrary to the rule in *Philoſophie*, That no violent reſtraint can bee perpetuall; Whereunto I reply, that many of the Ancient Fathers led by the force of thoſe Scriptures, ſeemed indeede to bee of opinion, That the waters were reſtrained in a ſupernaturall and miraculous manner from returning againe to cover the earth, and that by the extraordinarie and immediate power of the Creator as it were with a bridle, they were checked and curbed from running out into a maine careere upon the habitable face thereof. This opinion did *Baſile*, *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Nazianzen*, *Theodoret*, *Hierome*, and other of the Ancients maintaine: Seconded herein by *Olympiodorus*, *Carthuſianus*, *Titlemanus*, *Catherinus*, *Aquinas*, and the greateſt part of the Moderne Divines: But on the other ſide *Cajetan*, *Lippomanus*, *Honcala*, and generally the *Ieſuites*, *Pineda*, *Pererius*, *Bellarmine*, *Molina*, *De Valentia*, *Clavius* and the *Conimbrians* leave the Fathers herein and goe another way, acknowledging none other bounds or barres ſet to the Sea, then ſuch as are naturall; in as much as being by *Philoſophers* and *Mathematicians* evidently demonſtrated to bee lower then the earth, it cannot now in the courſe of nature poſſibly riſe up and over-runne it: And that it is lower *Cajetan* is ſo peremptorie, that hee paſſionately breakes forth into theſe words; *Si quis dubitat terram quæ eſt extra aquas eſſe ſuperiorem aquis, non tam eget ratione, quàm applicatione ad ſenſum.* And againe, *dicere mare omnipotentiâ Dei teneri ne defluat in terram ineptum eſt & puerili inſcitiæ, ponere ſine cauſâ tantum & tam perpetuum miraculum.* His reaſons are, becauſe all rivers runne into the Sea, which in the courſe of nature could not bee, were not the earth higher then the Sea; and conſequently the Sea lower then the earth. Againe, the earth and the Sea make one round globe, and have one Center; which could not bee if the Sea were higher then the earth. Moreover were the Sea higher then the earth, *cæteris paribus*, ſhips ſhould ſayle ſwifter from the Sea into the harbour, then from the harbour into the Sea; and the farther they launch into the maine Ocean, the more conſpicuouſly in a competent diſtance ſhould they bee ſeene: Where-
Pſal. 107. unto hee addes the Scripture Phraſe of *going downe* to the Sea, not of going up; which is moſt improper if the Sea bee higher then the land. For ſatisfaction then to the alleadged Scriptures a better anſwer I cannot make, then that of *Pererius* in his Commentaries upon the worke of the third day; *Quod Scriptura inquit præcepto Dei coerceri aquas & teneri ne terram exundent, non arguit eas ſublimiores eſſe terrâ, & miraculosè cohiberi ne defluant ad obruendam terram, ſed indi-*

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cat aquas sic fuisse à Deo creatas, & in talibus locis collocatas, ut non queant exire ad operiendam terram; Ergo quia Deus indidit aquis vim & propensionem manendi in locis humilioribus; quia Deus fecit in terrâ loca depressa & concava, eaque comparavit, ut essent aquarum receptacula; quia Deus tertio die aquam segregavit à terra, & in prædicta loca coegit, quia Deus opposuit & objecit aquis magna scopulorum, montium & littorum impedimenta, & quasi aggere quodam ita concluſit eas, ut ex suo loco ad inundandam terram non possint effluere: ob has omnes causes dicitur Deus præceptum dedisse aquis ne loco suo exirent. Naturales verò vires & facultates rerum, per quas singula convenienter naturæ suæ operantur, quoniam à Deo omnis naturæ auctore sunt, ejus insita, ut secundum illas operentur, vocari solent in Scriptura Leges & Præcepta *Dei, quapropter* Job *inquit, Deum præcipere soli ut oriatur & occidat, & luci præscripsisse viam qua procedat.* Whereunto may be added that of *Bellarmine* in his Commentaries upon the 103 *Psalme*, (according to his division) much to like purpose with that of *Pererius*; *Porrò terminum quem Deus posuit aquis est arena ex* Job. cap. 38. *&* ex Hieremia cap. 5. *arena videlicet littoris alterius; tunc autem Deus hunc terminum posuit, quando instituit naturas elementorum; aquæ siquidem cum sint naturaliter graviores aëre semper descendunt ad loca declivia & relinquunt aëri loca sublimiora.*

But here it may perchance bee again demanded, that if the waters now be of the same nature as they were created, and at their first creation they naturally overflowed the face of the earth; how it comes to passe that either the generall deluge should bee thought to be supernaturall, or the restraint of them for the present not miraculous. For the clearing of which doubt, some there are who referre the restraint of the waters to a continued supernaturall cause, by the accumulation of the waters upon an heape, as the waters of *Iordan*, and the red Sea were for a time laid on heapes by the *Almighties* power, thereby to open a passage for his people; Thus the alleadged Fathers and their followers understand it. Others more probably referre it to the condensation of the waters, by which meanes they now take up a lesser roome then before they did. But a third sort (to whom for mine owne part I professe mine assent) to the excavation of the bowells of the earth, whereby both a sufficient receptacle or bed was prepared for the convenient lodging of the Sea below the habitable earth, and the earth it selfe in some places by the casting up of rocks and mountaines thereof made, elevated to a higher pitch, and thereby more strongly fenced and ribbed in for the making of resistance to the Sea, driven by the violence of tempestuous windes; for that the earth as long as it lay buried under the waters, in that posture which most properly belonged to it as an element, was of a perfect orbicular or spherical figure, plaine and uniforme without any inequality or unevenes of rising or falling in the parts thereof I little doubt, that figure being most agreeable to all the parts of the universe, and specially to the center thereof.

Principio terram ne non æqualis ab omni
Parte foret, magni speciem glomeravit in orbis

But being now to be made the dwelling place of man and beasts, and withall a garden of simples for their use, the waters must first be removed from the face thereof; which was done by gathering them into one place in the bowells of the earth, purposely prepared for them, according to that of *Moses* in the person of God, *Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place*; which being effected according to his command, hee called the gathering together of the waters, Seas; the originall word is *Kavah*, which as *Eugubinus* hath observed, properly signifies a gathering together in some vast denne or hollow place, from whence the word *Cava* in *Latine*, and Cave in *English* perchance is derived: Whereunto the *Chalde* Paraphrast alluding, termes this gathering *Domum Congregationis*, and *Tremelius* turnes it, *Aquarum conceptacula*; which I take to be none other then those *store-houses* spoken of by the *Psalmist*, *Hee gathered the waters of the Sea together as an heape, he laid up the depths in store-houses*: And no doubt but these storehouses were then emptied, and prepared when the deepe Seas were to bee contracted into a narrower compasse, and laid up in them: So much doth holy *Iob* at least wise imply, according to our last translation, *Who* (saith hee, speaking in the person of *God*) *shut up the Sea within doores, and brake up for it my decreed place?* agreeably to that of *Tremelius*, *Quis occlusit valvis mare, quum diffregi pro eo terram decreto meo?* upon which *Junius* gives this note, i. e. *alveos, ejus velut cunas exaravi & circummunivi.*

Psal. 33. 7.

Iob 38. 10.

Now this prepared place being thus broken up, and these storehouses, these concavities thus accommodated to the receiving of the deepe Seas into their bosome, the matter withdrawne from them was not annihilated, but in all likelihood bestowed in casting up and raising those mountaines and hills, which for the use of man and beast we see lifting up their heads through the habitable world: And this I am the rather induced to beleeve, for that it is observed by *Cosmographers*, and specially by Mr. *Brerewood*, a worthy late Writer of our Universitie, That the ordinary depth of the Sea is commonly answerable to the ordinary height of the maine land, and the extraordinary depths answer to the highest mountaines: all which being restored and paid home againe to the concavities from which they were borrowed, would in all likelihood reduce the globe of the earth to its primitive uniformitie, and againe, force out the waters upon the face thereof. For farther proofe whereof, to reason wee may adde the authority of the sacred Oracles, which likewise seeme to derive the first originall of mountaines from the waters, retyring from the habitable face of the earth, and betaking themselves to their cells: Thus the Prophet *David* in the 104 Psalme, having first told us how *the earth was covered with the deepe as with a garment*; and then, *that the waters fled at Gods rebuke*, that is, retired from the face thereof at his command, he presently addes, as *Arias Montanus*, the vulgar, and some of our *English* Translators read it, *The mountaines ascend, and the valleys descend to the place thou hast prepared for them*; which in our last translation though it be not put in the text, yet it is found in the margine, thereby giving us to understand

V. 6.

V. 7.

V. 8.

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ſtand that it may at leaſtwiſe bee ſufficiently warranted from the originall *Hebrew*. Laſtly, the mountaines being thus raiſed, then followes *the ſetting of bounds to the waters which they might not paſſe over, nor turne againe to cover the earth*: In which regard in another *Pſalme* hee tells us *that the Lord founded the earth upon the Seas, and ſtabliſhed it upon the floods*; upon which words *Bellarmine* thus commenteth: *id eſt, ut ſuperficies terræ eſſet altior ſuperficie maris*; not as ſome of our *Engliſh* notes have it, that the earth onely ſeemeth to be higher then the ſea, but becauſe indeed it is ſo.

The ſumme of all is this, that both the waters naturally floated upon the face of the earth, before their ſtore-houſes were prepared to receive them; and they being once prepared, they now as naturally reſt in them as in their beds, and there ſhall reſt till the conſummation of all things; as the learned *Zanchius* in his excellent worke *De operibus Dei intra ſpatium ſex dierum creatis*, hath ſoundly and truely determined: *Falluntur qui putant Oceanum ibi contra ſuam conſiſtere & ſubſidere naturam, ubi jam eſt; quæ enim cuique rei dedit Deus ab initio, ea ſunt illi rei naturalia, etiamſi nobis ſecus eſſe videantur. Certè naturale eſt magneti, quod ferrum ad ſe trahat; Quis tamen non inter portentoſa ponat, & contra naturam hoc eſſe non judicet? Dubitandum igitur non eſt, quin locus, quem Oceano Deus de principio aſſignavit, ſit ei naturalis; unaquæque autem res in ſuo naturali loco libenter & naturaliter manet. Inde fit ut licèt flumina & aliqua maria, quæ ab eo fluunt diverſas ob cauſas creſcant & decreſcant; ipſe tamen Oceanus, ſemper idem maneat; neque exundans, neque decreſcens. Natura enim illi à Deo data eſt, ut ſe intra ſuos limites contineat. Quare verbum eſt irrevocabile illud Domini, Congregentur aquæ in locum unum*: And from hence wee may ſafely inferre, that as the generall floud was ſupernaturall; ſo the preſent reſtraint of the waters, that they returne not to cover the earth, is not miraculous: and conſequently that the earth as the courſe of nature is now ſetled for mans uſe, may more properly be ſaid to triumph upon the waters, then the waters upon the earth; *quod erat demonſtrandum*. Now to that great God, who by his excellent wiſedome and power thus ſhut up that raging element within doores and barres, and by his goodneſſe uncovered the face of the habitable world for the uſe of man, bee aſcribed all honour and glory now and ever.

I have now done with mine anſwer to your arguments, ſo as I may truly profeſſe I have ſatisfied my ſelfe, and I hope your Lordſhip. My digreſſions though perchance in ſome places they may ſeeme impertinent, yet I truſt they will not bee thought altogether unprofitable; the rather for that a bare reply would have appeared too naked and barren: And though happily ſometimes I runne out for mine owne private exerciſe and contentment, yet I doubt not but your Lordſhip will withall from thence diſcerne, and accept my deſire and diligence to give you ſatisfaction; my paines I am ſure in writing is more then yours can be in reading, and my diſadvantage is, that *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum*, it cannot bee but in ſome things I have erred, either in miſtaking your meaning, or in laying downe mine owne opi-

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nion: Yet I am ſure I have throughout propoſed to my ſelfe the ſearch of truth, which whether I have found or no I muſt referre that to the judgement of others.

And if your Lordſhip ſhall bee pleaſed to rejoyne upon this anſwer of mine, I ſhall requeſt three things at your hands; Firſt that you will ſeriouſly intend it and make it ſomewhat more then a recreation, as hitherto you pretend to have done; Secondly, that you will unfold your ſelfe in a clearer and more perſpicuous manner, that I may not bee forced onely to gueſſe at your meaning, and ſometimes perhaps to miſtake it: And laſtly, that you will take more particular notice what your ſelfe and I have formerly written both in mine *Apologie* and other papers ſent you ſince, leaſt otherwiſe I bee conſtrained to cloy you with needleſſe repetitions, or to retort upon you evident contradictions. Thus beſeeching Almighty God to direct and aſſiſt us both, in the finding out of that truth which wee pretend to ſeeke, I wiſh you all happineſſe, and reſt

Your Lordſhips

to be commanded

G. H.

OTHER

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OTHER ARGVMENTS SENT MEE AT ANOTHER TIME FROM THE SAME *R. Reverend Prelate.*

G. G.

WHETHER your opinion bee of a daungerous consequence in religion, seeing you presse me so farre I will give you an account; yet still reserving my strongest incounter for a set treatise, where I shall marshall up mine owne forces and order them as I see cause, not following other mens methods, but using mine owne arguments to my best advantage.

Your opinion of a daungerous consequence.

G. H.

THAT my opinion was of a daungerous consequence in religion, your Lordship so often & earnestly beare upon in all your papers and letters sent to mee, that I could not for mine owne reputation and your satisfaction, doe lesse then request you either to yeeld some sufficient reason thereof, or therein to bee silent; Now after mature deliberation you send mee these reasons, which you say are not your strongest, and yet why you should reserve stronger to your selfe, and withall in the Conclusion of them *intreat mee, and most earnestly intreate mee, and as farre forth as is fit in modesty presse mee to answere them*, and all this for the *quieting of your minde*, I cannot understand; your methode for your set treatise you might keepe to your selfe if any such you intend, but why you should likewise keepe your strongest arguments to your selfe, desiring (as you pretend) to bee satisfyed in Conscience, is a straine I confesse beyond the reach of my shallow apprehension.

G. G.

IF the world may continue eternall, then in respect of its owne continuance it might have bin eternall à parte ante, *for eternity is not worne out with time, but you will say that things must have a beginning and this excludes that eternity. Pag* 23. *you quote* Scaliger *that it is only faith and religion which perswades us that the world beganne and shall have an end* with fire; *I doe a little blame your translation which you there make for your owne advantage, omitting*

Reason discernes the creation but not manner.

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mitting these two last words (with fire) for though reason may discerne an end, yet not the manner of this dissolution, but seing Scaliger points out the manner of the dissolution why may not his former words have reference to the manner of the creation? and I confesse that the manner of both is in-comprehensible to reason and only apprehended by faith.

G. H.

MAny learned *Divines & Christian Philosophers* there are, who grant the same æviternity (as they call it) to the world as they do to all immateriall substances, denying eternity *à parte ante*; your selfe I am sure will confesse, that the soules of men, the blessed *Angels*, and the Divells shall subsist to all eternity *à parte post*, and the very same you maintaine of the world it selfe after your supposed Renovation: so that either your inference is of no validity, or the edge of it may bee turned aswell against your selfe, as against me.

Having framed this argument (such as it is) you presently put an objection in my mouth, and in the very next line you make me contradict my selfe in the *quoting* of *Scaliger*; In the translation whereof you blame mee for that therein I have left out the word *incendio*, which might easily bee done by the negligence of the Transcriber or the Printer; sure I am it was not by mee purposely omitted, neither in regard of *Scaligers* opinion could the omitting of it be to me any way avayleable, considering that not onely in the place by mee alleaged, but in sundry others of the same booke, he clearely maintaineth that aswell the beginning as ending of the world, not the manner onely as you would have it, but the beginning and ending it selfe are by him beleeved by faith and religion alone. The exercitation by mee vouched is the 61 falsly printed 62 in my last edition, which makes mee doubt your Lordship never tooke the paines to reade it, there-in Section the last *Scaliger* disputeth against *Proclus*, and sheweth the weakenes of his arguments against the worlds eternity, and at last concludeth with the words by mee alleaged, before which hee hath these; *tempus autem est infinitum beneficio motus nunquam desituri*; Now if in the course of nature time bee endlesse in the judgement of *Scaliger*, by meanes of an endlesse motion, it is manifest that in the course of nature and by discourse of naturall reason, hee discerned not the worlds end; so as though the word *incendio* were unawares omitted in my translation, yet it is manifest that therein, I neither wronged him nor my *Reader*, yet to satisfie you and others, in this third impression I have now expressed it.

Now that there may bee noe farther doubt left of *Scaligers* opinion herein, and for mine owne fuller discharge, specially in a matter soe neerely concerning the maine controversie, I will produce a testimonie or two more of his, thereby to make it evident what opinion hee was of in this point: In the second Section then of the same exercitation speaking of Gods making the world hee thus concludes, *Cum facere non posset infinitum potestate, æqualem sibi: fecit ævo infinitum, similem sibi. Cælum igitur finitum magnitudine ac potestate dicendum*

dum est, propterea quod alium Deum Deus facere nequit: fecisset autem, si fecisset infinitum potestate. Idcirco infinitum ævo fecit: quæ sola poterat evenire creatæ rei perfectio. quam idcirco infinitatem finire poterit is, qui potuit dare, quando volet, sicut voluit. Which he cõfirmes exercitatione quintâ, *Ejus æternitas in successione, unitas in cõtinuatione, intelligo nunc æternitatem, perpetuationem, cui finem imponet cum ei visum fuerit.* And againe *exercit: 77. sect. 4. Cæterum ex fatigatione futurum, ut fatiscat mundus atque corrumpatur, neque philosophorum est qui illum statuunt sempiternum, neque Christianorum qui incendio absumptum iri prædicamus: sed Cardane qui fatigationem induxit in naturam. Quasi natura sit asinus ad molas, non autem Dei opt: max: potestas, quæ eodem nutu gubernat infinito, quo creavit. Quæ fatigantur, paulatim deficientibus viribus despondent animam, quæ non protendit rotationes illas aliorsum ferri, aut tardius promoveri, aut præter modum redire ostendito: tum ego defatigatus cedam tibi me admodum fatiganti.* And lastly *Exercit. 307. sect. 20. pertinet ad Dei infinitatem finiendam perpetuatio per novarum successionum singularium*; by all which as I take it, it sufficiently appeares, that *Scaliger* by his reason (which no doubt was very peircing) could not discerne the worlds end; for as if hee had left out *incendio* in the passage by mee alleaged, it had come all to one; And this being clearely manifested to bee his opinon of the worlds end, what it was touching the beginning thereof wee may now from thence easily conjecture.

G. G.

THus I doe acquit Scaliger, *but for your false I cannot excuse pag. 45. where you say that reason may grope in the darke at the beginning and ending of the world, howbeit it can never clearely apprehend it; and in your letters you have a stranger passage to this purpose. If then reason bee convinced in the eternity of the world (for this is the scope of your whole booke) and reason cannot discerne the beginning and ending of the world; doe you not deepely charge reason as wholy inclining to Atheisme, which reason being so powerfull and prevalent in man (for religion is onely proper to few) how doth Atheisme creepe into the world together with the eternity, and is not this opinion of a dangerous consequence?*

Reason doth not incline to Atheisme.

G. H.

FRom that which hitherto hath beene spoken touching *Scaliger* and his opinion, which is the same with mine, your Lordship will bee inforced (as I take it) either to acquit mee together with him, or to condemne him together with mee, if you will doe justice and not accept persons; Yet mee you will not excuse because forsooth I say, that reason may grope in the darke at the beginning and ending of the world, howbeit it can never clearely apprehend it; and in my letters you say I have a stranger passage to this purpose; which cannot bee so strange as that your Lordship will charge mee with it, and not produce it, my letters being in your owne custody; And for the passage in my booke, mee thinks in the same place where you blame me for my translation

ſlation of *Scaliger*, you ſhould not preſently have given occaſion to mee to blame you for mangling mine aſſertion, I there add that reaſon cannot apprehend it but *inlightned by the beame of faith*, which you ſuppreſſe; and againe that reaſon may bring *probable* arguments for it, though not demonſtrative, which you take no notice of, but only of that which you conceived might make moſt for your owne beſt advantage, the diſgrace of mee, and the weakening of my cauſe.

You ſay that the ſcope of my whole booke is to convince reaſon in the eternity of the world, I thinke you would ſay evince the eternity of the world from reaſon, which in truth is nothing ſo nor ſo, the ſcope of my booke being (as the title ſhewes) to ſhew the providence of God in the maintenance and government of his owne worke, not to be disjointed or unframed but by the ſame hand that firſt framed it, which much redoundeth to the advancement of his glory in the manifeſtation of his wiſedome, his goodnes, his juſtice, his power: this is the ſpeciall ſcope of my booke, which I truſt may well enough become a good Chriſtian.

Nay ſay you, but I deepely charge reaſon as wholly inclining to *Atheiſme*, in that I make her not to diſcerne the beginning and ending of the world; which upon the matter is all one as to charge my opinion as inclining at leaſtwiſe to *Atheiſme*; My Lord did I ſo conceive I would be the firſt man ſhould ſacrifice my booke to *Vulcan*, but others I hope have a more charitable opinion of it, ſure I am that *Aquinas* (whois cenſured for ſticking toomuch rather then too little to humane reaſon) tells us in plaine terms in the very Concluſion of the ſecond Article of the 46 queſtion of the firſt part of his *Summes*, *Mundum incæpiſſe ſola fide tenetur, nec demonſtrativè hoc ſciri poteſt, ſed id credere maximè expedit.* And againe in the body of his anſwere there following, *Mundum incæpiſſe eſt credibile, non autem demonſtrabile aut ſcibile, Et hoc utile eſt ut conſideretur ne forte aliquis quod fieri eſt demonſtrare præſumens, rationes non neceſſarias inducat, quæ præbeant materiam irridendi infidelibus, exiſtimantibus nos propter hujuſmodi rationes, credere quæ fidei ſunt;* So as if I deepely charge reaſon as wholly inclining unto *Atheiſme*, *Aquinas* doubtleſſe is guilty of the ſame crime with mee, and that in an higher degree, hee being indeed the principall, and my ſelfe but the acceſſory; though therein hee defend himſelfe by the authority of St *Gregory*, a man much magnifyed by your ſelfe, out of his firſt Homily upon *Ezekiel*, *Dixerat Moſes, in principio creavit Deus cælum & terram, ſed quis crederet, quia verum de præterito diceret, ſi de futuro etiam aliquid non dixiſſet*, where hee ſaies that no man would beleeve *Moſes* that God in the beginning created heaven and earth, unleſſe in the ſame booke hee had likewiſe had ſome propheſies for the future, which by experience were found to bee true; Now if reaſon could demonſtratively prove the worlds creation, ſurely St *Gregory* was in that his aſſertion much to blame, aſcribing that to divine revelation and the ſupernaturall illumination of a propheticall ſpirit, which might ſufficiently bee comprehended and demonſtrated by reaſon.

Nay doth not the Apoſtle himſelfe deepely charge reaſon as wholly inclining

inclining to *Atheisme* when hee teacheth us that through *faith understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seene were not made, of things which doe appeare* Heb. 11.3. which passage I quote in the same page of my booke for the confirmation of my position, but this you are content quietly to passe over in silence, but I intreate your Lordship would bee pleased at your leasure to consult with the best Expositors both ancient and moderne thereupon, and then to tell mee whither they likewise doe not as deepely as my selfe, charge reason as wholy inclining to *Atheisme*; Sure I am that if through *faith*, we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God (or the commanding power of God which I take to be *aequiualent*) & by faith alone wee have the full assurance hereof, then can reason but grope at this truth in the darke and produce probable arguments for it, not demonstrative, as you pretend. And the Apostles reason there added, is as I take it very sufficient to shew that creation not only of the universall world, but of any thing out of nothing (bee it never so little) is indeed above the reach of reason; and this I take to bee the reason, that none of the Heathens ever dreamed of any such beginning of the world, which we properly cald a *Creation*. True it is that some of them are of opinion, that the distinction and ornament which wee now find in it had a beginning, but for the stuff or matter whereof it was made that they held to bee coeternall with the maker; and because reason by her naturall discourse cannot finde out, that in the course of nature something may bee made of nothing, shall wee therefore presently impeach, arraigne and condemne her of *Atheisme*?

Indeede the *Apostle* in that very text by you chosen to be the ground of your discourse touching the fall of man, tells us, that the *naturall man neither receaveth nor perceiveth the things of the spirit of God*; and in another place, that the carnall minde, or (as some other translations have it, and the originall will very well beare it) *the wisedome of the flesh is enmity against* God; where by the wisedome of the flesh, wee may very well understand the utmost vigour, and strength of naturall reason, which if it cannot attaine to the mystery of the trinity, the incarnation of the sonne of God, the resurrection of the flesh & the like, why should wee wonder if shee stand amazed at the making of this spatious and goodly frame of the world out of nothing, which the higher it is above the Kenn of reason, and the more difficult for it to discerne; the more acceptable to God is the belieue thereof by faith; nay, *fides non habet meritum, vbi ratio humana habet experimentum*; for which cause wee find the creation of the world not onely among the *Articles* of our *Creede* but set in the forefront thereof, as *Moses* beginnes the bible with it; yet it is not contrary to right reason, which as *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks, is nothing else but *eterne veritatis auulsa particula*, but exceeds and surmounts it according to that memorable rule of *Aquinas*: *Rationi naturali recta nunquam contrariatur Theologia sed eam excedit sape & sic repugnare videtur*. Which scantling and dimme sight of reason in matters, divine *Prudentius* in his second booke against *Symmachus* hath thus elegantly expressed.

Quippe

Quippe minor natura aciem si intendere tentet
Acrius, ac penetrare Dei secreta supremi;
Quis dubitet victo fragilem lassescere visu,
Vimque fatigatæ mentis sub pectore parvo
Turbari, invalidisque hebetem succumbere curis?
Sed facilis fidei via &c.

Neither ought this to seeme strange, faith being as farre beyond reason as reason is beyond sence; as then reason doth in many things (as namely in the bignes of the starrs) correct sence, so doth faith in many things both correct and elevate reason; A beast is guided by his sence, a man by reason, a Christian by religion, and looke how much a man is beyond a beast, so much is a Christian beyond a meere man; and as a beast is able to judge of those things which belong to his sence, as his meate and drinke, better then some men indewed with reason, though of humane affayres as the goverment of kingdomes hee cannot judge: so the meere naturall man by the light of reason can many times judge of humane affayres or things meerely naturall or morall, better then the most illuminated and sanctified Christian; but of things divine (in which number I shall ever range the creation of the world out of nothing) he can judge no more then a beast in humane affayres, according to that of the Psalmist, *Man being in honour, understood it not, but became like unto the beast that perisheth*; And being in this case and state, his will is sometimes so captivated and fettered by his sensuall appetite, and his understanding so clouded with errour, that *in his heart* hee saith, *there is no God*, and so not only inclines to *Atheisme*, but imbraceth it, being not only without Christ, but without God in the world. *Ep.* 2.12.

But in very truth my Lord, this meethinks I cannot but finde somewhat strange, that in your booke of the fall of man *pag.*268. you should so highly magnify *Aristotle*, as to style him *Natures cheife Secretary, or best Counsellour of estate*, nay *the father of all humane knowledge*, to which I thinke I may safely add that hee knew much better what belongs to the art of reasoning and demonstrative science then either of us, yet by all the strength of his wit, by all his logicke naturall or artificiall, he could not finde out so much as one demōstration for the worlds beginning or the creating of it out of nothing (as you have many) but rather the contrary; which made him conclude (as you know) for the worlds eternity, and yet I never found him by the learned accounted for an *Atheist*; and your selfe I presume will not in that regard so hardly censure him; hence some *Christian Philosophers* (and those not of the meanest ranke) maintaine that the world might bee eternall, and yet in regard of the essence thereof eternally depend upon God as the primary efficient; which opinion some of *Platoes* schollars intitle to him, as namely *Crantor*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblichus*, *Proculus* and *Macrobius*, to whom *Censorinus* agrees; And hereunto doth the great *S. Augustin* alludeade *civit Dei lib.* 10. *cap.* 31. *Verum id quomodo intelligant, invenerunt non esse hoc videlicet temporis, sed substitutionis initium. Sicut enim, inquiunt, si pes ex aternitate semper fuisset in pulvere, semper ei subesset vestigium; quod tamen vestigium à calcante factum nemo dubitaret, nec alterum altero prius esset,*

quamvis

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quamvis alterum ab altero factum esset, Sic, inquiunt, & mundus & in illo Dij creati & semper fuerunt, semper existente qui fecit, & tamen facti sunt; And thus not only his *Schollars*, but *Cicero*, *Iustin Martyr*, *Boetius*, and *Apuleius* seeme to have understood *Plato*. Againe, if the conservation of the Creature bee nothing else but a continuated Creation, as the Schoolemen tell us, in as much as the Creature thereby still receives its being a fresh from the Creatour, and withall no tyme can bee assigned but the word might have bin created before it, then might it in reason bee thus eternally created, and yet thereby add nothing to the creature but what it is capable of, and derogate nothing from the Creator, which is properly and incommunicably his; Impossible it is that the world should bee eternall *independently* and unsuccessively as God is, but *dependently* and successively by the testimony of *Boetius lib. 5. de consol prosa 6.* it might, in which regard I see no convincing reason but wee may truly and safely conclude with *Aquinas 1. par. quæst 46. art. 1. Non est necessarium mundum semper fuisse cum ex voluntate divina processit*, quamvis possibilehoc fuerit siDeus voluisset, *nec demonstrative probari ab aliquo hoc unquam potuit*, or with *Boetius* speaking of *Platoes* opinion in the place before alleaged, *Neque Deus conditis rebus antiquior videri debet temporis quantitate, sed simplicis potius proprietate naturæ*; I am not ignorant that some good Divines ranke eternity among those attributes which are peculiar to the Creatour, and to created entities altogether incommunicable; to whom I most willingly subscribe, if by eternall they understand *interminabilis vitæ tota simul & perfecta possessio*, as *Boetius defines* it; this undoubtedly being not only proper to the first entity upon which all the rest depend, but properly called eternity, that other everlasting duration of the creature which is measured by time passing on from that, which is past by the present to the future, being indeed in propriety of speech rather to bee termed *perpetuation* then eternity.

And now my Lord to discharge my selfe a little farther from charging reason as wholy inclining to *Atheisme*, though of her selfe shee cannot clearely discerne the beginning or ending of theworld; I would willingely learne of your Lordship what you conceive of *Aristotle*, whither hee discerned it or noe; a beginninge I meane in regard of duration, truly if you can finde that in him, you will discerne more then his most qnick-sighted Interpreters & expositors ever yet could; How then? shall wee say that his opinion denying such a beginning inclines wholly to *Atheisme*? This I presume your Lordship will not affirme, in las much as of him you tell us in your booke of the fall of man ‘proved by reason, That whatsoever you had therein spoken for the ‘proofe of mans fall, and of natures corruption; you had onely borro-‘wed from the grounds and foundations of his learning; so that your ‘whole treatise might not improperly bee ascribed to him, onely the ‘errors excepted, which you claime as being due to your selfe. Why my Lord is it possible that whatsoever you had spoken there, you would vouchsafe to borrow from the grounds of an *Atheist*? or that your whole treatise, for the truth thereof might not improperly be ascribed

to him? or that his grounds could be sufficient to prove mans fall? in very truth my Lord I see no remedie, but you must either acquit his opinion touching the worlds beginning from *Atheisme*; or ascribe lesse unto him and his grounds.

But let us heare if you please, the opinion of others touching his *Atheisme*; *Theodoret* I confesse, *Epiphanius*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Hesychius*, being all of them, as it should seeme misled by *Diogenes Laertius*, held that he confined the divine providence to things above the moone; yet therein they absolue him from *Atheisme* as acknowledging a divine power; but others and that more truly, thinke, that hee likewise extended this Providence to all things under the moone, specially to the concernements of humane affayres; of which judgement is *Lactantius lib. de ira cap.* 10. where having named *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Zeno* and *Aristotle*, hee presently *adds*, *Est igitur providentia, ut senserunt ij homines quos nominavi, cujus ui & potestate omnia quæ videmus & facta sunt, & reguntur*; and with *Lactantius* herein doth *Photius* in *Bibliotheca cap* 249. fully accord; And for the cleere evidencing thereof, we neede goe no farther then the words of *Aristotle* himselfe *Top lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. Where hee teacheth, *eum qui deos colendos negat, non verbis sed verberibus refellendum, neque argumentis sed flagris castigandum*; Where though hee speake in the plurall number, yet that it was onely to satisfie the vulgar, (himselfe being of opinion, that there was onely one God.) is manifest out of other places in his *Politicks*, *Physicks*, and *Metaphysicks*, whom hee names *optimum vivens*, *primum movens*, *ens entium*, *agens infinitum*, and the like; And for his Providence, hee teacheth us in his *magna moralia lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. *Deum talem esse Dominum, ut bona malaque meritis distribuat*; and againe, in his *Ethicks* to *Eudæmus*, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 14. hee hath this golden sentence, *Deus est in universo, & vicissim cuncta in illo, moventur enim omnia ab inexistente nobis numine*; Which is in effect, and almost in words the same, with that of *Aratus*, *quoted* by the Apostle, *In him wee live, and move, and have our being*; but above all in that noble booke of his *de mundo*, hee doth most freely acnowledge it, *Quod est* saith hee, *in mundo gubernator, in curru auriga, in civitate Dux, in exercitu Imperator, hoc idem est in mundo Deus*; to which booke though *Vives* and *Lypsius* take some exception as being none of his, by reason of the elegancy of the style and the sublimity of the matter, not suteable to the rest of his works, yet *Iustin Martyr*, *Themistius*, *Philoponus*, *Cardinall Bessarion*, the Earle *Mirandula*, the Lord *Plessis*, the learned *Zanchius* and others, doubt not to intitle him thereunto and intereſt him therein; which being so, I trust your Lordship will be for the future, more sparing then peremptorily to affirme; That to say, reason cannot clearely demonstrate the Creation of the world, is to charge her as wholy inclining to *Atheisme*.

Now as I have discharged your great Master *Aristotle* from *Atheisme*, though hee could not by his reason finde that the world had any beginning in regard of duration, so I very much doubt whither your Lordship can discharge some of those Philosophers from

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from *Atheisme*, or at least wise from a maine branch thereof (which is the denyall of a divine Providence in the government of the world) who notwithstanding maintained it confidently against *Aristotle*, that the world had a beginning; The *Epicureans* I meane, whose opinion herein wee have expressed by *Lucretius*, a famous and zealous scholar of *Epicurus*.

Quod si nulla foret mundi genitalis origo,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Troiæ,
Non alias alij quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

Now what the same sect held touching the divine Providence, appeares as clearely in the same Authour,

Omnis enim per se Divum natura necesse est
Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur
Semota à nostris rebus, sejunctaque longè.

How your Lordship will construe these verses I know not, but to mee they seeme to say that the world had a beginning in time, and yet that it is not governed by any divine Providence; which as I take it was the reason, that withall they held a waxing old and decay thereof, as the same Poet hath in the name of them all avowed it.

Iamque adeo effœta est ætas, effœtaque tellus,
Vix animalia parva creat, quæ cuncta creavit
Sæcla, deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partim.

Now though your Lordship togeather with these *Epicureans* defend the worlds decay, as also that by the light of naturall reason it had a beginning in time, yet I will not bee so uncharitable as once to imagine that you also joyne with them in the denyall of the divine Providence, in the government thereof, though by the way I cannot but observe, how the one of these opinions prepares a way to the other, the former to the latter: which made mee intitle my booke touching the worlds preservation from decay, *An Apologie for Gods providence*, for which, as you now see, I had some reason.

I had here ended this section, save that your selfe who had so much advanced reason in the former part thereof, as much depresse it in the latter part, by telling us, that reason is powerfull and prævalent in man, but *religion is onely proper to few*; why my Lord if there bee a religion of the dumbe Creatures, as you intitle your sermon, and endeavour to prove it throughout, (telling us of their faith, their hope, their charity, their decalogue, their Creede, their mattens, their evensonge, and such like) doubtlesse much more of men indued with reason; nay *Lactantius* makes the proper difference betwixt a man & a beast, to consist in their religion then reason, in as much as many dumbe creatures have in them some prints & sparks, or rather some shadowes of reason, but of religion none at all, whereas universally in all men there can but be some inbred

notions of religion ingrafted and infixed in their soules, by meanes of that larger use of reason, and reliques of his defaced image, which almighty God hath of his goodnes bestowed upon them; To which purpose is that memorable speech of *Tully* in the first of his *Tusculans*, *Nulla est gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio*; Now because there may be an opinion of the Diety imprinted in mens mindes, without any perswasion of his Providence in humane affaires, which is in truth the immediate foundation of all religion, *Plutarch* goes farther and tells us, *Si terras obeas, invenire possis urbes muris, literis, regibus, domibus, opibus, numismate carentes, gymnasiorum etiam & theatrorum nescias, urbem templis disque carentem, quæ precibus, oraculo, jurejurando non utatur, non bonorum causa sacrificet, non mala sacris avertere nitatur, nemo unquam vidit.* And this assertion of *Plutarch* have wee verifyed by the experience and report of travailers, aswell ancient as moderne, into all the parts of the knowne world; bee they in manners never so savage and barbarous yet some ceremonies and formes of religion they all observe; so as in affirming that Religion is onely proper to few, if you understand religion in generall of which you professe here to speake; you are therein (as I conceive) injurious not only to the truth, but to mankind in generall, and consequently to reason her selfe for whom you pretend so much to stand; And thus I trust I have sufficiently discharged both my selfe and reason, from the odious imputation of *Atheisme*, though by it the creation of the world out of nothing cannot clearely bee discerned, and withall that mine opinion is not of so daungerous a consequence in religion as you would make it, but yours rather, which maketh reason to intercommon in that which is proper to faith and christian religion.

G. G.

Reason is not blindefold.

SVrely so daungerous, that I cannot here stay my selfe, but I must desire leave to make a digression, and only to point out some proofes whereby it shall appeare, that reason doth not grope in the darke, but discerne in the sunshine and cleerely apprehend that the world had a beginning, which being supposed, it seems very probable that the world shall have an end; for if you will admit bounds in the continuance, it is not unlike but it should bee bedged in on all sides, as in figures; if circular there is a circumference, there is a center; if straight and direct lines, where there is terminus à quo, there is terminus ad quem.

G. H.

WHy my Lord if my opinion bee so apparently daungerous as you would make it, meethinks you should not need crave leave to make digressions, neither should I needefollow you therein beeing but digressions, specially having bin so much tyred already by tracing you in those by paths; yet because you account these

theſe argumeats drawne from the light of reaſon touching the making of the world out of nothing, and the beginning thereof in tyme, ſuch invincible demonſtrations, I will for a while bee content to turne aſide in the examination of them, though drawne in rather to caſt an aſperſion or ſnare upon me, then therby to ſtrengthen your owne cauſe.

You will make it appeare you ſay, that reaſon doth not grope in the darke, but diſcerne in the ſunſhine, & cleerely apprehend that the world had a beginning, whereas *Tullie* out of *Plato* durſt not take ſo much upon him, or to promiſe for proofe hereof any other then probable arguments, let us if you pleaſe heare their words, *Si forte de deorum natura ortuque mundi diſſerentes, minus id quod habemus animo conſequimur; ut tota dilucide & planè exornata oratio ſibi conſtet, & ex omni parte ſecum conſentiat; hand ſanè erit mirum, concientique eſſe debebitis ſi probabilia dicentur. Æquum eſt enim meminiſſe & me qui diſſeram eſſe hominem & vos qui judicetis ut ſi probabilia dicentur, ne quid ultra requiratis.* Demonſtrations, if rightly collected and inferred, are of that irreſiſtable force by reaſon of the neceſſary and evident principles out of which they are deduced, and upon which they are grounded, that being offered to the underſtanding and apprehended by it, it is inſtantly convinced and quietly reſts without any farther altercation, or reluctancy, now if your Lordſhip can by light of naturall reaſon produce ſuch demonſtrations for the worlds beginning in time, and the making of it out of nothing, *erit mihi magnus Apollo.* Cicero. lib. de univerſit: plato in Timæo.

It being ſuppoſed you ſay, that the world had a beginning, it ſeems very probable that it ſhall have an end; if it had a *naturall* beginning it ſeems indeed very probable it ſhould have a naturall end, but having a *ſupernaturall* beginning, to which all your demonſtrations drive (neither can they poſſibly conclude otherwiſe) it ſeems as probable that if it have any end it ſhould likewiſe bee ſupernaturall; wherefore I admit no bounds at all in the continuance thereof, either for the beginning or ending in the courſe of nature, and by light of naturall reaſon, but by light of faith I admit ſuch bounds as hedge it in on both ſides.

Your inſtance in the *circular figure* rather makes againſt you, there being in it neither beginning nor ending; of which figure the world is & ſo are all the nobleſt parts thereof; And for direct lines it is true that where there is *terminus a quo*, there likewiſe is *terminus ad quem*, in thoſe *termini* which are from nature or art, but where the *terminus à quo* is meerely ſupernaturall, as in the worlds creation, there the *terminus ad quem* ſhould in reaſon anſwere it in the ſame kinde and no otherwiſe. But let us come to your demonſtrations which I finde in your *Corollarie* annexed to your booke of the fall of man; ſo as you might have ſpared your ſelfe this labour, and have directed mee thither, but let us now take a view of them as wee finde them. To what end you tell us here in your marginall note, that reaſon is not blindefold, I confeſſe my reaſon to bee ſo blindefold, as I cannot underſtand it.

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G. G.

The creation provedby avoyding greatinconveniencies.

REason doth demonstrate that in things which exceede reason, that that which doth least exceede is ever to bee admitted, as importing the least inconvenience; but it doth lesse offend reason that there should bee onely one Creatour which subsisting of himselfe might create all others, then that every thing should subsist of it selfe and bee in effect his owne creatour, and it is more reasonable or rather most reasonable, and therefore demonstrative rather that one should bee from eternity then that all should bee from eternity, when as eternity being without bounds is therefore incomprehensible to reason,

G. H.

IN this Demonstration as you call it, you undertake to shew that there is one onely Creatour who subsisting of himselfe, created all other things, which you demonstrate, because reason is lesse offended with this, then that every thing should subsist of it selfe. How? reason is lesse offended with this? with what? with this that there should bee onely one Creator; why but if reason bee lesse offended with this, offended it is, and if with the Creatour, with the Creation too, there is no remedie; & then I beseech you consider what the consequence must of necessity bee, That the bleare eye of reason is offended with the bright beame of the creator & the creation, and yet that it can demonstrate both, and cleerely discerne both as in the sunshine; my Lord either I discerne nothing or here is a very discernable contradiction, *nodus vindice dignus*, yet that your meaning indeed is, that reason is offended in the contemplation of an eternall and infinite Creatour (without whom there can bee no creation) is most apparent, not onely by your marginall note which is, *The creation proved by avoyding greater inconveniencies*, but by the close of this section that eternity is to reason incomprehensible; if incomprehensible then not only in the creature, but in the Creator, and consequently in his creation of the Creature,

Besides in this yout first demonstration (which should in reason have bin your strongest) you fight with a shadow, with a man of straw of yout owne making, no Christian that I know or learned *Pagan* ever affirming, that any thing but God himselfe subsisteth of it selfe; nay both *Aristotle* and *Plato* make all things to depend from one supreame entitie the cause of all causes and beings unto other things, but absolute and independent in himselfe, which if in this sense you will call a *Creatour* it is so farre from offending reason (as you affirme) that I should for my part hold him most unreasonable who denies it. All the question then is (as I conceive) if rightly stated, whither it more offend reason, or rather which is to reason more agreeable, either that the creatures should in regard of their subsistence eternally depend upon God, or that from him they should receive their being in time out of nothing; And the question beeing thus stated, I much doubt whither you will bee ever able demonstratively to prove, that the latter is more

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more agreeable to reason then the former. The eternity of the Creator I grant to be incomprehensible to reason *à priori*, what it is, but not *à posteriori*, that it is; this being clearely seene in the Creatures, even by the light of reason, *Rom.* 1. 21. and why it should more offend reason that the Creature should eternally depend upon God, then that he should eternally subsist from himselfe; I am yet to seeke. If we should suppose the Sunne to bee eternall, wee may as well suppose the light to be eternall in the Sunne, and eternally to depend upon it; against this I know probable arguments may bee brought as against all other decisions, about which reason is conversant, but demonstrative, as yet I finde none.

It is subscribed unto by the confession and consent of all Christian Divines and Philosophers as an undoubted truth, that the perfections and flowers as it were of all the Creatures, were after an eminent and superexcellent manner everlastingly united in the Creator; and againe that the modell or samplar which they call *mundus archetypus*, according to which he framed this world, as *Moses* did the Tabernacle according to the patterne which hee saw in the Mount, was everlastingly in him: So as why it might not likewise be everlastingly copyed forth (had it so pleased the Divine Majesty) in the faire and large volume of the created world, & in the characters of the severall Creatures, I must professe I am not yet sufficiently informed. Lastly, to make use of your owne weapon, and to turne the edge thereof against your selfe; If bounds you say be at all admitted in the worlds continuance, it is not unlike but that it should bee hedged in on all sides; so say I on the contrary, if no bounds bee admitted on the one side, but that it may and shall everlastingly endure, which of the renovated world (being the same in substance and dimensions with the present) you assure us, then will reason out of your principles inferre, that it is not unlikely it should, or at leastwise not impossible but it might bee hedged in on no side, and consequently that it might as well be eternall *à parte ante*, as *à parte post*, the present time having the same relation to both, and to reason it is alike indifferent, to looke downeward to a bottomelesse gulph, or upward to a top interminate.

G. G.

2 *IF all Creatures have bounded and limited natures, then the limitation of their nature proceedes from another; for nothing can or will bound and limit it selfe, therefore they had a maker and a beginning.* By the bounds of Creatures.

3 *Where there is a composition, there must bee a compounder; and things must first bee simple before they come to composition, therefore all compounds (and such all creatures are) must have a compounder and a beginning.* By the composition.

4 *If things doe carry a mutuall respect each to other; suppose the heavens to the earth, the earth to the heavens, the faculty to the object, the object to the faculty, this must needs demonstrate that they could not severally ordaine themselves, but that there was some other extrinsecall cause, which knowing both,* By the mutuall relation.

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and making both, appointed each for other, and therefore the Creatures must have a maker and a beginning.

By the reason of unreasonable Creatures.

5 *Unreasonable Creatures doe moove according to the rules of reason, and such as want understanding are guided by the direction of an understanding; this must needs demonstrate that some intelligent cause did so first ordaine them,* which now preserves them in their naturall course: *therefore the Creatures had a maker and a beginning.*

G. H.

THe limited natures of the Creatures may argue that they had a beginning of causalitie, but that they likewise had a beginning of duration (which is the point in Controverſie) that it argues not; And the ſame anſwere may not unfitly bee made to your third, fourth, and fifth demonſtrations, which all argue a beginning of conſtitution, but not of time; or if a beginning of time, yet can they inforce no more then ſuch a beginning of the Creatures in regard of their limitation, or direction to their ſeverall ends, but a beginning of the firſt matter, the ground-worke and foundation of all theſe, they doe not, they cannot inforce, this beeing as the wittieſt of all Poets tells us out of *Heſiod*, nothing elſe but

---rudis indigeſtaque moles,
Nec quicquam niſi pondus iners;

So as for the making of this firſt matter out of nothing, you will be forced to ſeeke out new Demonſtrations. To ſay nothing of *Epicurus*, *Leuſippus*, and *Democritus*, who would tell you that all this you ſpeake of might prove a beginning of duration, but of conſtitution none other then chance, after a long rotation and concretion of infinite atomes; but their opinion was in truth herein ſo unreaſonable, as it deſerves rather to be exploded then ſeriouſly confuted; and therefore *Lucilius* in *Tully* thus pleaſantly jeaſts at it: *Hoc qui exiſtimat fieri potuiſſe; non intelligo, cur non idem putes, ſi innumerabiles unius & viginti formæ literarum vel aureæ vel qualeſlibet aliquo projiciantur, poſſe ex his in terram excuſſis annales Ennij, ut deinceps legi poſſint effici: quod neſcio an uno quidem verſu poſſit tantum valere fortuna.*

Lib. 2. de nat. Deorum.

Againe, if your Lordſhip would be pleaſed to take a little ſtricter reveiw of your reaſons, and unpartially obſerve them, no doubt you will eaſily finde that they are all drawne *à poſteriori*, or *ab effectu*, which are by *Logicians* accounted but imperfect demonſtrations, and upon the matter amounting but to probable Arguments: And thus much the late learned Biſhop of *Saliſbury* Dr *Fotherby*, in his excellent booke intituled *Atheomaſtix, lib. 1. cap. 1.* hath freely acknowledged; that indeed none other can be brought for the proofe of a deitie, or a beginning of the conſtitution of things by which they are preſerved and governed; which in effect can bee none other then the Godhead. Now becauſe he was a Reverend Prelate in our owne Church ſo fully ſtudied in the point, ſo zealous in the cauſe, and withall his words to the preſent purpoſe ſo punctuall & pertinent, it ſhall not perchance be amiſſe to heare himſelfe

himselfe speake: It will (saith he) be a worke to me either easie or difficult to prove there is a God, as the Reader is prepared or unprepared to receive it. To him that is disposed to believe it there is nothing more easie to be proved, but to him that will deny it, there is nothing more hard and difficult; and againe, to him that denyeth there is a God, (as the Atheist doth against whom I write) it is not a thing very easie to prove it, for this is not a Conclusion but a Principle, yea and that the very first of all other Principles. Now Principles in all Arts are most difficult to bee proved, because they have not antecedents, being *prima* of themselves; yea & immediate propositions which have no *media* to make them Conclusions, no not in the most *demonstrative* scientificall Syllogismes; & within a while after; all Principles being *prima* and *notissima* of themselves are thereby made *indemonstrable*, because whatsoever can be brought to prove them, must needes be obscure and *posterior* unto them; and thereupon inferreth in the page there following, It is not needfull in matter of *Divinity* to bring such invincible *demonstrations* as reject all *hæsitations*, especially not in this case which hath laid his foundation, neither in sence nor in *science*, but meerely in beleife; which (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* noteth) being founded but upon the bare authority of Gods word, yet begetteth in this point a far more cleare understanding then can be wrought in man by any demonstration; *Neq; scientia accipitur demonstrativa, ea enim ex prioribus constat & ex notioribus, nihil autē est antecognitum, restat itaq; ut divina gratia & solo quod ab eo proficiscitur verbo, id quod est ignotum intelligamus*: So that, saith our pious Bishop, *Demonstrations* are here improper and unprofitable. And at last concludes with that of *Cicero* and *Plato*, before alleadged with application to himselfe, you ought to bee content if I write but what is *probable*, for it is fit you should remember, that I which write am but a man, & that you which read are but men your selves, & therefore if I bring but *probable* reasons, you ought not to exact any more at my hands. Which modest excuse of his, notwithstanding hee not onely brings the same Arguments that your Lordship doth, to prove a supreame cause, the first maker and bounder and mover of all things, but more in number, and I will bee bold to say in weight more ponderous. My Lord, it is an easie matter to talke of *infinite Demonstrations*, and to promise them, but believe me, not so easie as you imagine to performe one good and sound one; I should rather chuse then to promise at least probable Arguments, and performe Demonstrations if I could, then confidently to promise Demonstrations as cleare as the Sun shine, and then faile in the performance, by bringing but probable arguments at best; In one of your last letters to me you say, that much confidence stands not with discretion: which is doubtlesse a safe rule, and I could wish you had beene pleased in this point to make a little more use of it.

And now my Lord, to looke backe to your pretended Demonstrations, I should willingly learne of your Lordship, when you conclude, that the creatures must have a maker and a beginning, whether the beginning you therein intend, be naturall or supernatural; if only naturall,

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it could not possibly make something out of nothing, no more then naturally a *Virgin* could conceive and bring forth a sonne, or the body of a man being dissolved and turned into dust, can naturally bee raised againe and restored to life: If supernaturall, I desire to understand how meere naturall reason by naturall discourse can perfectly and demonstratively finde it out; doubtlesse as water in a naturall course can rise no higher then the head spring from which it issueth; so naturall reason by the light of nature can rise no higher then ordinarie naturall causes, extraordinary or miraculous it admits not: Or put case that naturall reason refined by a generall grace, and by exact contemplation elevated above it selfe, may finde out a supernaturall agent indued with infinite wisedome and power, so as hee could at his pleasure make something out of nothing, yet that so it pleased him, the naturall man cannot understand but by speciall revelation from God himselfe, as *Aquinas* hath rightly expressed it; *Voluntas Dei ratione investigari non potest, nisi circa ea quæ absolutè necesse est Deum velle; talia autem non sunt quæ circa creaturas vult; potest autem voluntas divina homini manifestari per revelationem cui fides innititur*; and then hee instantly applies it to the present point in controversie: *Unde mundum incepisse est credibile, non autem demonstrabile vel scibile.*

If then your Arguments conclude a beginning of constitution, it is as much as the Naturalist will grant; but you will say that a beginning of constitution necessarily implies a beginning of duration, and so in proving the one, you have consequently proved the other; whereas if this consequence were indeed necessary, then of necessity must it likewise follow, that the cause as it is before the effect in order of nature, so should it likewise bee alwayes præexistent in order of time; which no man I thinke will affirme, who knowes that the Sun-beames are contemporarie with the Sunne it selfe, and from all eternitie wee beleeve, that the second person in *Trinitie* was generated from the first, and the third proceeded from the other two, as the light is generated from the body of the Sun, and the warmth proceedeth from them both; which yet is but a shadow of that great and glorious mistirie, which dazels the eye of reason, as the brightnesse of the Sunne doth the eye of sense: Against which all that can be objected is, that where the cause and the effect are coexistent in order of time, the action is not voluntary but necessary, and consequently if the world be eternally produced by God, it would argue him to be a necessary not a voluntary agent, working by course of nature, not by knowledge and discretion of will. And this in very truth I conceive to be the strongest objection drawne from the discourse of reason against the worlds eternity, but it is not of such validitie but that the ancient Philosophers who defended the worlds eternitie, either in regard of the present existence of, or the first matter out of which it was moulded, maintained likewise the supreame cause and maker thereof, to bee an intelligent and voluntarie agent; as appeares by *Aristotle* himselfe (who is thought to have beene most addicted to Nature) not only in the places by me before alleadged, touching the divine Providence, but in sundry others. And it were altoge-

ther

ther unreasonable to grant a freedome of will to man, as they all freely doe, and to deny it to God the Author of mankinde as they confesse. Though it bee true then, that in created and finite agents to voluntarie acts performed by the freedome of their will, such a præ-election is required as presupposeth the efficient præexisting in time before the production of the effect wrought by it, yet in God it is not so: As in the opinion of all *Christian Divines*, he decreed from all eternitie to create the world, and yet freely in regard of the time, of the manner, and other concurrent circumstances; so I thinke there is as little question, but had it so pleased him, he might from before all time have as freely put that decree in execution; if an eternall decree may stand with choyce and liberty, no doubt so may an act too, and no greater inconvenience will follow upon the latter then upon the former, which generally all *Christian Divines* subscribe unto, only *Vorstius* excepted.

I conclude this high point with the words of profound *Hooker*, speaking of that eternall law which the *Almighty* hath from everlasting set unto himselfe. 'The booke saith hee, of this Law wee are neither 'able, nor worthy to open, and looke into; that little thereof which we 'darkely apprehend wee admire, the rest with religious ignorance wee 'humbly and meekely adore. And if through humane frailty I have erred in my expressions and conceptions of him, my comfort is that it is not love of errour, but an errour of the love of truth, in shewing the feeblenes and shallownes of naturall reason, not enlightned by faith and grace, in fathoming the deepe mysteries of Religion; and the necessitie of Christian Religion for our yeelding a full consent to those mysteries.

In your third Demonstration you say, that all things must first bee simple before they come to composition; where if you understand a prioritie of time as in reason you should, from thence to inferre a beginning of duration; it is certaine that never any created substance was so simple, but that in the very first moment of creation it was compounded: And besides, some good Divines are of opinion, among whom is S. *Augustine*, that the whole world as now it is, was created in an instant, and the worke of the Creation distinguished by dayes for our capacity; which if it be so, the Creatures were not first simple and then compounded, but at first compounded as now they are, and consequently though they had a compounder, yet doth it not necessarily prove that this composition was in time: the conclusion by you to be made good.

In your last Demonstration you tell us, that the same intelligent cause which did first ordaine the Creatures, doth now preserve them in their naturall course; where being upon another matter, you seeme unawares to grant, that the Creatures are by the first cause preserved from decay.

G. G.

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G. G.

As ſence ſo reaſon.

I Could be infinite in ſuch like Demonſtrations, but theſe will ſuffice, if then ſence doe diſcerne the limits and bounds of this world, the materiall heavens, and in a ſort ſurvayes the circumference, then may reaſon diſcerne bounds in the worlds continuance, though it cannot exactly meaſure them.

G. H.

IN *ſuch like* Demonſtrations I verily beleeve your Lordſhip might eaſily be very copious, yet not infinite; for then might the world as well be infinite in duration, which you will not admit: And whereas you argue from ſenſe and reaſon, I will ſtand to your owne words; Senſe you ſay, doth but in a ſort ſurvay the circumference; whence I inferre according to your owne rule of proportion, that reaſon may likewiſe in a ſort diſcerne bounds in the worlds continuance; by which one blaſt you have blowne up all your infinite demonſtrations whereby you undertooke to ſhew; That reaſon did diſcerne in the Sun-ſhine, and clearely apprehend the worlds beginning, ſo as all your Demonſtrations will at length I doubt mee, prove but probable Arguments at moſt, and ſo much I willingly granted, had your Lordſhip been pleaſed to accept it; but ſince you will not, I muſt be bold once more to jogge you in the elbow, with that of *Aquinas*, who knew what belongs to Demonſtrations better then either of us: *Et hoc utile eſt, ut conſideretur nè fortè aliquis quod fieri eſt, demonſtrare præſumens, rationes non neceſſarias inducat, quæ præbeant materiam irridendi infidelibus, exiſtimantibus nos propter ejuſmodi rationes credere quæ fidei ſunt.*

G. G.

By ſeverall ſciences.

THus in the Phyſicks by diſcourſe of reaſon wee acknowledge that privatio *is a principle, and anſwerable thereunto in the Metaphyſicks by a tranſcendencie or elevation of reaſon, before* entia particularia *we firſt admit* negatio, *whence is inferred a Creation; onely wee ſay* Semper excipiendum eſt primum in unoquoque genere; *agreeable hereunto wee finde in the Moſaicall creation; firſt* nox, *then* dies, veſpere & mane dies unus; *by this analogie of Philoſophie to Divinitie, I conclude that the Creation is demonſtrative as well to reaſon as to religion.*

G. H.

PRivation by *Ariſtotle* and his followers is made a Principle of naturall generation, but by none of the other *Philoſophers*: and in his doctrine it implies two formes, the one precedent and in poſſeſſion, the other ſubſequent and in reverſion, and withall it implies a ſubject matter capable of both; and as long as ſuch a privation is admitted in the Phyſicks, they cannot poſſibly admit of any Creation, or Conſum-

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consummation of the world in the course of nature, because it implies an endlesse circle of corruptions and generations by turnes, in things generable and corruptible: And whereas you say that in the *Metaphysicks* by an elevation of reason, we first admit *negatio* before *entia particularia*, for the admission hereof, you must I thinke elevate reason above it selfe; if by *Negatio* you understand *Non ens* to *precede* all *entia particularia* collectively taken: but if you take them severally and successively, then is it coincident with *privatio*, and needes no such transcendencie, or elevation of reason as you speake of; but I beseech you my Lord, in whose *Metaphysicks* did you finde this *Negatio*, if in *Aristotles*, I wonder hee was such a dunce as not to discerne the Creation; if in your owne, then was it reason elevated by religion, and enlightned by the beame of faith, whereof now we dispute not: And whereas you adde, onely wee say *Semper excipiendum est primum in unoquoque genere*: if you except any but the Creator himselfe, it is certaine that consequently you exclude the Creation.

You say that agreeable hereunto wee finde in the *Mosaicall* Creation, first *nox*, then *dies*; indeed wee reade of darkenesse before wee reade of light, but not of night till after the lights creation; and in *Moses* his narration the day is first named, then the night: Now if you could shew mee out of the *Metaphysickes* any such negation of light as was the first darkenesse there spoken of, I should easilie grant that Analogie of *Philosophie* to *Divinitie* you speake of; in the *Physickes* wee may perchance finde *nox* set before *dies*, not as a negation but as a privation, discarding the day precedent, and making way for the day subsequent, which is so farre from holding any Analogie with the Creation, that hardly can a stronger argument bee brought from naturall reason from the worlds eternitie, in as much as night being nothing else but the intercision of the Sunnes light, by the interposition of the earth, presupposeth a day precedent, and so *in infinitum* upward; and againe, the night a day subsequent, and that day a subsequent night, and so *in infinitum* downeward. And for *vespere* and *mane*, your Lordship who pretend to stand so much for the Ancients, will not I trust refuse their exposition of these words: I will alleadge that of S. *Basil*, with whom S. *Ambrose*, S. *Chrysostome*, S. *Augustine*, *Victorinus*, and many others accord; *Vt in ordine creationis prærogativam deferret diei, ipsius diei finem primo commemorat, qui est vespera; deinde subnectit finem noctis, quod est mane, ut ita constet priorem fuisse diem artificialem quam noctem. Prior enim ille mundi status, nimirum ante primigeniam lucem exortam, non nox dicebatur, sed tenebræ; nox enim ea temporis portio dicta est, quæ distincte se habet & oppositè ad diem; quæ quidem diei succedanea novam hanc appellationem adepta est*: Facta est igitur vespera & factum est mane, *his plane verbis diem noctemque comprehensim significans. Non tamen utrumque complexus est nuncupatione diei ac noctis, sed præstabiliori totam tribuit appellationem.* Which interpretation is as you see, point blanke opposite to your Lordships intention in the quoting of that text. For my selfe then I constantly beleeve *Moses*, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*; but for the *Physicks* or *Metaphysicks* I utterly dispaire ever

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to see it from thence concluded, That the Creation is *demonstrative as well* to reason as to religion; and truly I could wish your Lordship for the great honour you beare religion, and for which you here pretend so earnestly to fight, had spared so harsh and unjustifiable a comparison. Yet I will not deny but many of the ancient Philosophers before *Aristotle* harped much upon the same string, touching the worlds beginning that *Moses* doth, but under darke alluſions and misticall speeches, in which labyrinth they did not so much follow the threed of reasons discourse, as the light of *Moses* his writings, by the testimonies of the Fathers of the *Christian Church*, & namely of *Iustin Martyr* in his second *Apologie for the Christians*; But as in setting downe their opinions, they much differed among themselves, so doe they all differ from *Moses* and the *Christian faith*, in making the *Chaos* or first matter, out of which the goodly frame of the world was raised to be coeternall with the maker, so as wee may truly conclude of their search in this point, as *Lucan* doth of the head of *Nilus*.

——Gentes maluit ortus
Mirari, quàm nosse suos.——

G. G.

And as easie it is to discerne the dissolution of the world, as the creation, for both are ends alike; but this is the great controversie betweene us, the whole subject of our discourse.

G. H.

IF it bee as easie to discerne the dissolution of the world as the Creation, and this bee the great controversie betweene us, I much marvell your Lordship should not undertake to demonstrate the one as well as the other. That both are ends alike, will not serve your turne; for then the *Angells* and soules of men, which by your owne confession have no end *à posteriori*, might likewise as well bee without any beginning *à priori*, which you will not admit. They are finite in their essences, faculties, operations, and scituations, as it is opposed to ubiquitie; yet by the acknowledgement of all Divines they are infinite in duration, at least wise *à parte post*, as your selfe make the renovated world, and confine it to dimensions.

G. G.

YOu make strange of that argument which heretofore I have prest; Now I will onely mention it, Facilius est destruere quàm componere; *Nature stands not equally and indifferently affected to perfection and to imperfection; there are more vices then vertues, two vices at least incompasse every vertue; here is no single combate, no equall incounter. Nature in all things degenerates, and therefore must bee supplyed by art: the swart Almonds wanting good husbandry prove bitter, but the bitter will never recover their*

their sweetnesse? Pipins, *if the trees bee not lopt and pruned, will at length prove* Crabs, *but* Crabs *will never returne to bee* Pipins. *What a wonderfull care is there in the husbandman, to preserve a good broode and kinde; whereas by your reason the kinde should of it selfe fall to bee good in succession. I have heretofore made instance in infectious diseases, how one man infects a whole nation, whereas the health of one man cannot impart it selfe to another. Thus if one graine of the body were corrupt, the whole bodie perfect and sound could never recover it: but that little graine unlesse incision he made, will undoubtedly corrupt the whole body: these infections doe likewise appeare in hereditarie diseases, and therefore concerne not onely the individualls, but the* species *and kindes.*

If you say there are more sound men then sicke, and commonly wee have longer times of health then of sicknesse: alas this is nothing, for even those which are in their perfect health, yet their declination is a kinde of languishing, and not the fourth part of men doe ever attaine to their full strength and growth, but die before they come to the age of twenty foure, wherein they should bee most flourishing.

G. H.

TO the Authour of Nature it is every way as easie to make as unmake; and in the course of nature (where no violence is offered) naturall bodies decrease by the same degrees as they increased, & somtimes not so fast. It is thought that an oake is growing to its perfection 100 yeares, but is decreasing many hundreds before it come to a finall period; and as it is not in the power of any created substance to make the workes of nature, but as they are set a worke by a superiour agent, so neither can they unmake any, but some other thing is instantly made of it; so as in the totall summe nothing is lost.

That nature stands not equally and indifferently affected to perfection and imperfection is most true; it being most certaine that of her selfe she wholly inclines to perfection, and to imperfection not at all, but occasionally and accidentally: when shee cannot doe what she would, yet she disdaines not to doe what she may.

Vertues and vices I should rather referre to moralitie then nature; they being the immediate acts of mans will, which inclined not to vice at all, as Almighty God created it; but wilfully falling away from him, it became dead in supernaturalls, and in moralls much wounded: Whereas the other Creatures to the shame of mankinde inviolably observe that law, which their and our Creatour at first set them; *He hath given them a law which shall not be broken.*

To your instance in Almonds, and Pipins, & good broodes, for mine owne particular I must confesse I have had little experience in them: yet suppose, that being bettered by art, when that forsakes them, they returne againe to their primitive condition: but this would I willingly learne, whether a thousand or two thousand yeares agoe without the industrie of man, the sweet Almonds would not prove bitter, and the Pipins Crabs, as soone as now they doe; Or whether being Crabs

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they ſtill degenerate; if ſo, they muſt of neceſſity at laſt come to nothing; if not, there is no ſuch univerſall and perpetuall decay as you pretend.

You have heretofore you ſay, inſtanced in infectious diſeaſes, and heretofore you have likewiſe received an anſwer; ſo as why you ſhould heere preſſe it againe without any reply upon that anſwer I know not. One man I grant may infect a whole nation, and ſo may a whole nation bee propagated from one man: As from one man we ſee the whole world repleniſhed, and that in the courſe of nature: propagation being intended by nature but not infection, that's beſide the intention of nature, nay contrary unto it: And here againe I ſhould demaund, whether infectious diſeaſes ſpread more then they did; or more vices be oppoſed to vertue then were 1000 yeares ſince.

I wonder what ſhould move you to ſay, that one graine of the bodie being corrupt, without inciſion, the whole bodie would bee indangered; ſince wee finde by dayly experience, (as I have formerly obſerved in anſwere to the ſame objection) that light ſoares and hurts are often healed by the force of nature alone, and by meanes of the ſound parts, without any inciſion or the helpe of Chirurgerie at all; and though in more dangerous wounds or ulcers, the ſound parts cure not the diſeaſed, but rather the diſeaſed corrupt the ſound, yet will it not follow that nature her ſelfe rather inclines to corruption; for certainely the parts that are whole have a ſtronger inclination to keepe themſelves ſound, then to bee corrupted, onely their corruption proceedeth from accidentall and externall cauſes; both which are preternaturall, either beſide or contrary to nature.

The like may bee ſaid of hereditarie diſeaſes, there being many hereditarie perfections which deſcend from the parents to the children, in their ſeverall ſenſes and members, and in the uſes, tempers, proportions and connexions of the parts, for one hereditarie imperfection; which by temperate diet, exerciſe, or the uſe of phyſicke, and often by tract of time weares out againe. Theſe diſeaſes ſometimes for two or three generations may I grant runne in a bloud, or come by kinde, as we ſay, but that at any time they reach to the *ſpecies* (as you affirme) that is to *mankinde*, this I utterly deny.

If the declination of men bee a kinde of languiſhing, yet is it no more a languiſhing now, then it was many ages ſince; and moſt certaine it is, that many men live in more perfect health after their declining age, then before; but that not the fourth part of men ſhould live to the age of twenty foure yeares, thereof I much doubt; as alſo, whether that age be the moſt flouriſhing: both which being granted, yet will it never be proved that they ſo die in the courſe of nature, but by adventitious cauſes; not by ſpending the oile in the lampe, but by a violent quenching of the flame; which was as incident to thoſe of former ages as the preſent.

But now to reflect a little upon this Section, I beſeech you my Lord, what are bitter almonds, or crabs, or broodes of chicken and the like,

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or infectious or hereditarie diseases to the heavens, which are in many respects the most noble part of the world, by which all these inferiour bodies are governed, and upon which they all depend; Except you prove then a dissolution of the celestiall bodies by naturall reason, all the rest is (as I conceive) to little purpose, thereby to demonstrate the dissolution of the world.

G. G.

EAdem est ratio partium & totius; *Compare the great world with the little world, both subsist of the same elements; these elements have the same qualities, these qualities are alike active in both, these elements are mixed and impure alike in both, the same providence protects both alike, the honour of the providence seemes to bee alike engaged in both, (for all is as nothing in respect of God) I will farther adde, if the great world have severall seasons, the little world hath the like; the Spring of our infancie, the Summer of our youth, the Autumne of our riper yeares, the Winter of our old age; and so the infancie of the world is now past, the youth of the world is now past, both these are dead to the world, and the world shall never see the revolution; now is the world in her elder yeares and so hastens to a period: many yeares or an age in respect of the worlds continuance, are as a day or a minute in respect of mans life: how chearefull is man in the morning, how are his spirits wasted at noone, how is hee tyred and wearied out with his labours in the evening, and then being unfit for any further imployment, sleepie death ceaseth upon him, and bereaveth him of his strength, senses and wits, untill having rested a few houres in the grave of his bed, and there recovering strength, hee riseth up againe with alacrity: you will not hence conclude the eternity of of man, so neither can you conclude the eternity of the world by the revolution of the world. Succession may serve to preserve the continuance, but as it is a shadow and type, so it serves as an earnest of the dissolution, and therefore the Angels and the immortall spirits as they are freed from corruption, so neither will they admit a succession.*

The great world and the little world compared.

Succession is an earnest of the dissolution.

G. H.

ALL this I have already answered in other places, and therefore shall not need to inlarge.

True it is, there is the same reason of the whole and the parts, in regard of declination and decay; where the decay of the parts is not supplyed and repaired by an equivalent compensation, as in the great world it is, but in the lesser not so. Another maine difference betwixt the great and the little world is, that the great world consisteth not onely nor chiefly of the elements, but of the heavenly bodies which in the little world are wanting: The Divine providence I confesse extendeth to both, and the honour thereof is engaged in both, but not alike; it extends to individualls in reference to the *species*, and to the *species* in reference to the *universe*, and generally to the parts in reference to the whole, and consequently the honour of the Providence

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is more ſpecially ingaged in the whole then in the parts; in the *univerſe* then in the *ſpecies*, in the *ſpecies* then in the *individualls*: And though all bee as nothing in reſpect of him, yet in reſpect of us, the *univerſe* is more then any *ſpecies*, and the *ſpecies* then any individuall of that kinde.

That there is in the little world a ſucceſſion of ſeverall ſeaſons, as in the great I grant, but with this ods; the great world having run through the Spring, and Summer, and Autumne, and Winter, returnes againe to the Spring, which the little doth not. That the youth of the great world is paſt and irrecoverable in regard of duration is true, but not in regard of declination: And if it proceeded from infancie to youth, as you affirme, then it likewiſe grew on from imperfection to perfection, and conſequently could not perpetually decline as you beare us in hand.

If an age in reſpect of the worlds continuance bee but as a minute in reſpect of mans life, & the age of man bee threeſcore yeares & ten; then certainely the world cannot yet be in his elder yeares, (as you affirme) no nor arrived to his youth; there being more minutes in the compaſſe of one houre, then the world hath yet ſeene ages, if by ages you underſtand centenaries as the word is uſually taken.

You tell mee in one paſſage of this Section, that the world ſhall never ſee the revolution paſt; and in another, not many lines diſtant, that I cannot conclude the eternitie of the world from the revolution thereof: which two contradictorie propoſitions, I know not how to reconcile; and though I cannot conclude the eternitie of man from the alternative viciſſitudes of his wearineſſe at night, and cheerfulneſſe in the morning after reſt, becauſe he conſiſts of ſuch principles as are ever waſting and never fully repayred againe, yet from ſuch viciſſitudes I may conclude the worlds eternity in the courſe of nature, becauſe for every deficiency firſt or laſt a full recompence is made; and beſides in the heavenly bodies there is no deficiency or defectibility at all to bee found.

Succeſſion I grant might ſerve as an earneſt of the diſſolution, in caſe the thing ſucceeding did alwayes degenerate from that it ſucceeds unto; which doubtleſſe is not ſo, but for the moſt part equalls it, and many times exceeds it.

As the Angels and immortall ſpirits admit no ſucceſſion, ſo neither doe the heavenly bodies; which therefore by your owne rule muſt of neceſſity bee freed from corruption aſwell as they.

G. G.

Reaſon may gueſſe at the conflagration.

THus farre in oppoſition to your owne opinion; for I doe not conceive that Scaliger *is my adverſary therein; now for the manner of the end of this world which ſhall bee by combuſtion; I will not ſay that reaſon can evince this, by demonſtrations; but ſurely there are very ſtronge preſumptions and probabilities; for if fire bee of that efficacy and power that it conſumes more in a minute, then the other three elements can generate in an age; if it bee proper to*

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all bodies, that the longer they continue the more they consume their moysture, and thereby make themselves more combustible; for drought agrees with old age; and if it bee the propertie of fire to draw out elixers and quintessences by congregating homogenea *and segregating* heterogenea, *which carries some resemblance of a renovation; add hereunto that fier is the neereſt element to the heavens; and therefore if bodies terrestriall become celestiall and spirituall, and that in the transmutation degrees are observed, it is not unlike; but it seems very reasonable, that the passage should bee through fire.*

G. H.

HOw farre *Scaliger* is your Adversary in proving the beginning & end of the world by naturall reason, I have already shewed; and for your proofes that it shall end by fier, by your owne confession they are but presumptions, which though to you perchance, they may seeme very strong, yet am I confident that laying aside the light of revealed truth, they will appeare to any indifferent judgement but meere conjectures.

You say that fier is of that efficacie & power, that it consumes more in a minute, then the other three elements can generate in an age; which is a very hyperbolicall speech and so I take it; but besides, fier it selfe concurres to the generation of mixt bodies, aswell as the other three elements; the contrary whereof is heere implyed; And whereas you hold the Renovation of the world, mee thinks you doe not advisedly to presse the efficacy of fier in consuming it.

The heavenly bodies being altogether without moisture, cannot loose it by long continuance, and so become more combustible; and the same moysture still continuing in the world, though it bee lost to one body, yet is it recovered by another. And though the mixt bodies should loose the moysture, yet the aire and water cannot; and many times it comes to passe; that old age is more troubled with rheumes & catarrhs then with drought; or that drought is joyned with extreame cold, which is as great an enemy to fier as the other is a friend.

The propertie of fier is, if it bee immoderate and raging not so much to draw out the quintessence of things and so to renovate them, but utterly to devoure them and turne them into ashes.

That all bodies shall become spirituall, & bodies terrestriall become celestiall, is more then I have read or know any warrant for, or how fier can make them of corporall substances spirituall, or of terrestriall celestiall.

Lastly reason cannot determine from whence this fier should come, how it should worke upon it selfe or the heavenly bodies, how it should produce so great effects in so short a time, how it should be quenched as long as there remained any combustible matter, or how it should turne so much matter into ashes without raising mighty vapours, which being condensate in the course of nature must needs turne back into aire and water againe: So as the safest way I thinke will be to beleeve it and not to seeke out arguments from the light of reason to prove it.

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G. G.

THus farre by way of digreſsion in the behalfe and for the honour of naturall reaſon, that ſhee ſees both the beginning and end of the world, and therefore inclines not to Atheiſme, *as you do ſeeme unjuſtly to accuſe her, but rather ſhee is a handmaide to religion, prepares for religion, and indeed layes the foundation whereupon faith and religion are built; and therefore only the reaſonable creature is capable of religion; and this I feare your opinion will prove to bee of daungerous conſequence in reſpect of religion in generall.*

G. H.

MEE thinks a digreſſion (as you account this and juſtly) is ſomewhat to long in the entrance of your arguments; you ſay it is in honour of naturall reaſon; whereas you undertooke to prove that my opinion was of daungerous conſequence in matter of religion: ſo as unleſſe you eſteeme reaſon and religion to be of the ſame extent, I ſee not to what purpoſe your digreſſion is; becauſe reaſon reacheth not to the Articles of our Creed, ſhall wee therefore ſay it inclines to *Atheiſme?* If we ſhould ſay that corrupt reaſon inclines to *Atheiſme*, I trow it were no falſe doctrine; Herein then I doe not unjuſtly accuſe reaſon, but you moſt unjuſtly accuſe mee; That onely the reaſonable Creature is capable of religion (though your ſelfe have publiſhed a Sermon intituled *The religion of the dumbe Creatures*) I grant; but that the Creature onely by reaſon is capable of that religion which is neceſſary to bee beeleeved to ſalvation, that I utterly deny, and conſequenty that my opinion is of any daungerous conſequence in Chriſtian religion: all other religion being but ſuperſtition in regard of that. Though I ſhould be perſwaded of the beginning and end of the world by diſcourſe of reaſon, I might yet ſtill bee an Infidell ingard of true religion; it being requiſite thereunto, that I bee not ſo much thereof perſwaded by reaſon, which is ſubject to infinite errours: as that I bebeeve it by faith, *cui non poteſt ſubeſſe falſum*, which can neither deceive nor bee deceived.

G. G.

The eternity is of a daungerous conſequence in reſpect of the *Moſaicall* lavv.

BVt in reſpect of religion revealed, as to beginne with the Moſaicall *creation, I conceive it to bee of a much more daungerous conſequence; for hee that ſuppoſeth the eternity of the world, will not ſo eaſily beleeve that paradiſe the place intended for our habitation ſhould be already deſtroyed, Or that the world in her infancy, abounding with humors and moiſture, ſhould be overwhelmed with a deluge, naturall cauſes thereunto concurring.*

G.H.

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G. H.

HEE that ſuppoſeth the worlds eternity in reaſon, and yet withall by faith beleeves the ſcriptures, will eaſily beleeve that Paradiſe is already deſtroyed, or at leaſtwiſe defaced, in regard of the originall beauty and pleaſantnes thereof; Though I preſume your Lordſhip cannot bee ignorant, that the greateſt part aſwell of the ancient fathers, as Schoole doctors, were of opinion that Paradiſe even in regard of its primitive condition, was not deſtroyed by the floud, but was priviledged from it for the preſervation of *Enoch*. Which opinion paſſed currant till the ſtreame was turned by *Ianſenius*, *Pererius* & others; from whence I cannot but obſerve, that your ſelfe who magnifie the ancients ſo much, are well enough content ſometimes to forſake them.

How the world ſhould bee created in her infancy, and yet from the firſt Creation ſtill decline, or how being created in perfection, ſpecially the ſunne being then in its moſt ſpirituall vigour, (as you ſuppoſe) and yet withall abound in humors and moiſture I cannot conceive; but am of opinion that a man may ſuppoſe the worlds eternity in reaſon, and yet withall by faith beleeve the generall floud, as being effected by a ſupernaturall power, though naturall cauſes concurred thereunto.

G. G.

NOt to trouble you in generalls, I will make this inſtance; Adam, *was the firſt husbandman, in husbandry this is the firſt ground and principle, that there muſt bee a due proportion kept and obſerved betweene the land and the ſtocke; at firſt wee began with a couple,* Adam *and* Eve *had the whole world for their portion, then the bleſſing and promiſe was given.* Creſcite & multiplicamini, *whereas the world hath ſtill kept her owne bounds and limits, but men are exceedingly multiplied and increaſed; as by a concordancy of prophane hiſtories aſwell as divine; wee are able to ſhew where the world began firſt to be inhabited, and there being at length over peopled, how men were enforced to ſeeke out new habitations; and from hence how nations have iſſued out of Nations, thus in our tymes we have found out a new world, where to tranſplant our ſelves; And ſurely at length you muſt come to admit greater numbers of men then the earth can maintaine; Thus if your ſelfe will make ſuch ſtrange ſuppoſitions as to make men no bigger then rats and mice, give mee leave then to ſuppoſe that you ſhall not be able to make burrowes for theſe rats and mice, they ſhall ſo infinitely increaſe when the earth will fayle; For you ſuppoſe the eternity of the world, you cannot deny but men muſt multiply and increaſe, then according to the eternity of the world they muſt infinitely multiply and increaſe, yet ſtill the earth continues the ſame without any addition to her bounds; then muſt it follow, that the number of the one farre exceeding in proportion the meaſure of the other, both cannot together ſubſiſt; Yet your opinion of the eternity of the world, muſt either doubt whither wee began with a couple, or whither wee ſhall ſtill multiply and increaſe, & therefore is of a daungerous conſequence in reſpect of religion revealed.*

The increaſe of mankinde and the bounds of the world will not admit eternity.

G. H.

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G. H.

FOr anſwer to your inſtance I neede goe no farther then the *Fall of man proved by reaſon, pag.* 370. where you tell us, that for number of men wee are not able to ſend out ſuch huge armies as the ancients 'did; And againe within a few lines after, Hee that ſhall well conſider 'our law books, the exact meaſuring of land in thoſe dayes, the large-'neſſe and capacity of our Churches, the old foundations which now 'are daily raked up by the plow, ſhall (by all probable conjecture) 'conceive that the world was then as well peopled, as it is in theſe 'times; which doubtleſſe is moſt true, as many being taken away by ordinary death, by inundations, by earthquakes, by famines, by warrs, by peſtilence, & other contagious diſeaſes, as are borne into the world; Nay ſometimes in ſome places thouſands are ſnatched away for one that is borne; What multitudes might bee maintained in *Ireland*, more then there are if the land were manured as it might be: And how many millions would that new world you ſpeake of, ſuſtaine, if it were inhabited to the full: and no doubt but a great part of the habitable world lies yet unhabited and unmanured, becauſe undiſcovered, ſo as to feare the want of foode from the earth, for the ſuſtenance of mankind, by reaſon of the multiplication thereof, is a meere fancy and hath no warrant that I know either from ſcripture or prophane hiſtorie; Hee that makes the mouth makes alſo meate for it, had men the skill and deſire to ſeeke it where it is to bee found.

G. G.

The Iewes are defended.

THirdly of what daungerous conſequence your opinion is in reſpect of the Church; Can there bee a greater wounde to Gods providence, then to affirme the apoſtacy of the Church; as ſoone I will deny the viſible effects of Gods providence, as beleeve the Church ſhould fayle in a viſible ſucceſsion, and that the holy Ghoſt which deſcended with a great ſound in the forme of fiery toungs ſhould now bee ſtricken dumbe, no longer audible, and the fire which with the warmeth and light ſhould ſerve to inflame and direct men ſhould now be raked up in the aſhes, and nothing left but darkeneſſe; herein I am an enemy to you even in the behalfe of the Iewes *pag.* 233. wherere you ſay that the whole nation of the Iewes ſhould be tainted with that groſſe error of Pythagoricall tranſmigration of ſoules, that they held our Saviour to bee Iohn Baptiſt, Elias, or one of the Prophets. How improbable it is they ſhould bee tainted with that opinion alone, when as I finde no other philoſophicall notions among them, and therefore that this alone ſhould creepe in, it is not credible; why did you not rather make the beſt conſtruction, and aſcribe this to the reſurrection of the dead, or as Samuell appeared to Saul, the manner whereof I will not here diſcuſſe.

G. H.

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G. H.

THat the Church ever fayled in a visible succession or was stricken dumbe at any time I never affirmed, though this by glances you thrust upon mee, but that the most eminent and visible part of the Church may daungerously erre, and yet remaine a part of the Church, cannot well bee denyed. And because this Section concernes the *Iewes*, I will instance only in their Church. when the Prophet *Elias* complained, that hee was left alone, it is most apparent that the visible Church was grievously tainted with grosse idolatrie; yet for mine owne part I should thinke with judicious *Hooker*, that almighty God even then had his Church amongst them, not only because hee had thousands which never bowed the knee to *Baall*, but because they whose knees were bowed unto *Baall*, even they were also of the visible Church of God; Neither did the Prophet so complaine, as if that Church had beene quite and cleane extinguished, but he tooke it as though there had not been remaining in the world, any besides himselfe that carried a true and an upright heart towards God with care to serve him according to his holy will; and certainly for want of a diligent observing of those differences, first betweene the Church of God mysticall and visible, and then betweene the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more sometimes lesse, the oversights are neither few nor light that formerly have beene, and still are committed.

Now to the place by you alleaged, wherein you professe your selfe an enemy to mee; for saying that the Iewish nation was tainted with the error of the *Pythagoricall* transmigration of soules; if herein I erre, I erre not onely with *Calvin*, but with other great Divines, as namely *Iansenius* Bishop of *Gaunt* (whom *Pererius* calls, *virum admodum catholicum & doctum*) who in the 16. cap of his Concordance upon the gospells thus writes, *Rectius dicetur, Creditam olim Iudaeis sicut & nunc* παλιγγενεσιαν *hoc est iteratam generationem quam & Pythagoras docuit; Ex qua opinione* Herodes *putabat* Iohannem *quem decollaverat in vitam redijsse, & Iesum jam vecors; ex qua eodem errore, & vulgi pars Dominum Eliam, pars Ieremiam aut alium quempiam ex* Prophetis esse *putabat; Atque ex eodem errore rectissimè intelligitur eos tertiò interrogasse Propheta es tu? aliquis scilicet ex prioribus Prophetis, quemadmodum Christus à vulgi parte habitus est*; And againe in his 56. cap of the same Concordance; Plærique *Iudaeorum quae de resurrectione mortuorum ex scripturis didicerunt confundentes cum Philosophorum & Graecorum dogmatibus, crediderunt* παλιγγενεσιαν, *&* μετεμψυχωσιν *hoc est iteratam generationem & transseminationem secundum doctrinam Pythagorae.* Neither ought it to seeme strange that the people of the *Iewes* should bee infected with this errour, considering *Iosephus* in his second booke *de bello Iud. cap.* 7. attributes it to the *Pharisees* their cheife guides; whereupon *Iansenius* concludes, *ut hinc intelligere licet quàm corrupta fuerit dogmatibus philosophorum integritas fidei quae antiquitus fuit in patribus Iudaeorum*; instantly yeelding the reason there of, *Siquidem tempore*

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tempore Christi Iudæi passim Græcam magis intellexerunt quàm Hebræam linguam; and *Maldonate* commenting upon *Mat.*14.*v.*1. tells us, *Et vero Heronymus indicat nonnullos solitos hoc loco Pythagoricorum errorem confirmare*: So as herein your Lordship is an enemie not onely to me and *Calvin*, but to a learned and very Catholique Bishop, and *Iosephus*; who (as I take it) had best reason to know what his Countreymen the *Iewes* held in this point.

G. G.

The Apostles unjustly charged.

IF I should neglect the whole nation or Synagoge of the Jewes, *who notwithstanding were Gods only people, and had Christs approbation for the truth of the doctrine, yet I pray give mee leave to be very tender in the behalfe of the Apostles, that they should be charged with that* Pythagoricall transmigration of soules; *and that upon no other ground but this, the demanding of a question,* Master who did sinne this man or his parents that he was borne blinde? *for thus you seeme to taxe them in the same page* 233. *and* Mr Calvin *makes it a prodigious kinde of wonder, that among them way should bee given to so palpable a fiction, and there they are charged with stupiditie, foolish questions, rawnesse, rudenesse, ignorance, as many errours as words; I wonder much why* Mr Calvin *should so accuse them, as if he intended a reformation, not onely of the present times, but even of the Apostles. Why might not that question have reference to this schoole-point and deepe mysterie: How farre God out of his certaine knowledge and foresight of sinne may punish sinne before it be committed, for the prevention of a greater sinne.* Mr Calvin *cannot dislike this, when hee holds that God may and doth reprobate without relation to sinne, onely to manifest his owne absolute power; I cannot say justice; for where there is no offence, there is no object of justice. I doe easily beleeve if any man should disparage or detract from* Mr Calvin, *you would not be well pleased, and therefore I must needes say, that it is very offensive to mee to heare him disparage the Apostles; especially that the chiefe Apostle should be charged with ignorance after the descending of the holy ghost, when as all they who are fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God are built upon the foundation of the Apostles, &c.* Ephes. 2. 20. *then to vilifie and charge them with errours, whether this be not to weaken the foundation of Christian Religion, and so of a dangerous consequence.*

Reverence due unto the Apostles.

G. H.

THat the *Iewes* were Gods onely people I grant, but that they had in all things Christs approbation for the truth of their doctrine, that I utterly deny. The *Sadduces* (as we reade *Acts* 23. 8.) held that there was no resurrection, nor Angell, nor spirit; and the *Pharisees* made the Commandements of none effect by their traditions, *Matth.* 15. 6. All which was so farre from Christs approbation, as he altogether condemned both it and them by reason of it: But it should seeme you allude to that of our Saviour, *Matth.* 23. 2. *The* Scribes *and* Pharisees *sit in* Moses *chayre*; all therefore what soever they bid you observe, that

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that observe and doe; but will you bee pleased to take along with you *Maldonates* exposition of those words, *Cum jubet servare & facere quæ Scribæ & Pharisæi dum in cathedra Mosis sedent dicunt, non de ipsorum sed legis & Mosis doctrina loquitur; perinde enim est, ac si dicat, Omnia quæ lex & Moses vobis dixerint, Scribis & Pharisæis recitantibus, servate & facite, ut Hilarius & Hieronymus videntur intellexisse.*

But you crave leave to bee very tender on the behalfe of the Apostles, that they should bee charged with that *Pythagoricall*, transmigration of soules, and that upon none other ground; Whereas *Iansenius* much enclineth to this opinion if hee imbrace it not, as to mee hee seemeth; And *Cyrill* (as witnesseth *Maldonate*) *existimat Iudæorum opinione imbutos fuisse discipulos, qui putarent animas ante corpora creatas peccaviſſe, ac propter peccata in corpora detrusas, meliora pejoravé pro merito cujusque*; It is not I alone then that taxe them but *Iansenius* and *Cyrill*; And whereas you taxe *Calvin* for taxing them, the former part of his words by you alleaged, are not by him spoken of the Apostles (as you charge him) but of the *Iewish* nation; True indeed it is, that hee imputes rudenesse unto them but upon another occasion, which you conceale. The occasion then hereof was another question about restoring the Kingdome of *Israel*. *Acts.* 1. 6. *Maldonate* indeed tells us, that upon occasion of the former question both *Chrysostome* and *Theopylact* charge them with absurdity, as *Iansenius* doth with great rudenesse; which in them perchance you will allow but not in *Calvin*; because hee forsooth, thereby seems to intend a reformation not onely of the present times but of the Apostles; whereas all who have written any thing upon that place, together with *Calvin* condemne the Apostles for that question, as dreaming of a temporall Kingdome; Neither can they but condemne it; unlesse they should condemne Christs answere which condemneth that question.

You demaunde why that quæstion of the Apostles touching the man borne blind, might not have reference to this schoole point and deepe mystery (as you terme it) how farre God out of his foresight of sinne, may punish it before it bee committed, Which is indeed so deepe a mysterie as I thinke never any Schoolman before your selfe, so much as made a question of it; to decree the punishment of sinne before it bee committed may well stand with the divine justice, but actually to punish before sinne be actually committed, no Divine I thinke ever affirmed; and if you had but a little considered the words of the text, you would easily have found that the Apostles question could not have reference to any such quirke, it being concerning sinne past, not to come; *Who did sinne, this man or his Parents?*

After this you take occasion though somewhat impertinently, to rush out against *Calvin*, and his doctrine of Reprobation without relation to sinne, Which whither hee constantly held or no I cannot certainely determine, but this I certainely conclude, that if hee held it, I hold him not therein to bee followed, and assure you, you shall not displease mee

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by laying any just censure upon him. I willingly acknowledge him to have been an excellent instrument in the Church of God, and a man of a deepe judgment, specially in the exposition of holy Scriptures (which I think none condemne more then those who have read him least;) yet withall I freely confesse hee had his errors, which beeing but a man I mervaile not at, but should much rather have marvailed had hee been without them.

You seeme to take it offensively that a cheife *Apostle* should bee charged with ignorance after the descending of the holy Ghost; yea but then you must of necessitie bee offended with St *Paule* who withstood him to the face, because hee was to bee blamed *Gal.* 2. 11. and which is more, with St *Peter* himselfe too, who freely confesseth, that hee was ignorant of the calling of the *Gentils* to the fellowship of the Gospell, till by a vision and a voyce from heaven it was made knowne to him. *Aquinas* in his Commentaries on *Gal.* 2. following St *Augustin* in his disputations against St *Hierome* tells us, that the *Apostles*, even after the descending of the holy Ghost upon them, might sinne venially but not mortally; to which purpose hee alleageth that of St *Iohn*, *If wee say wee have noe sinne wee deceive our selves and the trueth is not in us*, 1. *Iohn* 1. 8. the like may wee say of their ignorance (the distinction beeing rightly understoode) it was a veniall not a mortall ignorance.

To your passage, that the houshold of God is built upon the foundation of the *Apostles*, you might have beene pleased to add that which there immediately followeth, *and prophets*, *Iesus Christ himselfe beeing the cheife corner stone*; where the *Apostles* are joyned with the Prophets, who no doubt were ignorant of some things, though neither of them could erre in any thing which they preached, or committed to writing, for the publique use of the Church; not but that of themselves, by the very condition of humane frailety they were subject to errour, but because therein they were most infallibly guided by the spirit of *Christ*, who therefore is called the *cheife corner stone*; In which regard *Aquinas* commenting upon the words by you alleaged, telleth us, that hee is the principall foundation, upon which the whole houshold togeather with the *Apostles* are built, and the *Apostles* themselves a secondary foundation uppon which the rest of the family is built; and that not soe much in regard to their persons as their doctrine immediately inspired from the holy ghost. And this I trust is not to derogate from the *Apostles*; it beeing noe more then themselves have left upon record to posteritie.

But now my Lord if wee should looke backe a little to these two last Sections, wee shall easily discerne that they reach not home to your purpose; which (as you professe) was to prove that my opinion touching the worlds preservation from decay, was of a dangerous consequence in religion; whereas you spend both these Sections in catching at some assertions of mine, touching some errours in the Iewish nation and the *Apostles*; Now whither this bee to prove

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mine opinion of the worlds immunitie from old age of a dangerous consequence, which was the thing you undertooke, I leave that to your owne judgement to determine.

G. G.

FOurthly to my understanding and judgement, not some particular texts, but even the whole current of Scripture seemes to runne a quite contrary course to your opinion; as that things should be compared to shadowes, that all is but vanity, the world passeth away, we groane under corruption, wee dwell in houses of clay, the world vanisheth: And to save my selfe a needlesse labour, that I may give you your owne due commendation, the very texts of Scripture which you alleadge against your selfe, are as effectuall as any I can produce, especially that page 487, where the Prophet of the New Testament seemes to allude to the Prophesie of the old: Revel. 21. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more sea. *By your answer to which place in mine owne particular I cannot receive satisfaction; for to mine understanding this text cleane overthrowes your opinion, the eternity of the world and the Annihilation.*

The very phrases of Scripture point out corruption.

G. H.

YOu say that to your understanding the whole current of Scripture seemes to runne a quite contrary course to my opinion; wherein it may happily fare with you as with the Schollars of *Pythagoras*, who having their mindes accustomed to nothing but numbers, conceived the whole frame of nature to be composed of number; yet withall you are pleased to confesse, that the texts of Scripture which I alleadge against my selfe, are as effectuall as any you can produce; To which texts I have made answers, but you no reply to them; which till you doe I shall hold them sufficient.

You instance but in one passage, culled out as it seemes for your purpose out of the *Revelation of* St *Iohn*, *I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea*: By mine answer to which place you say you cannot receive satisfaction, thereby implying, as the words import, that you have received it by mine answers to the rest; but if you had beene pleased withall to adde, why you had not received satisfaction in this, you should therein both have discharged your selfe fairer, and farther obliged mee; onely you say, that in your understanding, it overthrowes my opinions both of the eternitie of the world, and the Annihilation thereof; what both these at one clap? eternitie and Annihilation both at one blow? this were newes indeed: Why my Lord, the one of these overthrowes the other, and yet doth the same text of Scripture overthrow both? When I hold the world to bee eternall; my meaning is, as I have often and often expressed my selfe, *in the course of nature*; And I hope you will not say that in the course of

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nature we ſhall have new heavens and a new earth; Againe, either the new heavens and earth muſt ſucceede upon the abolition of the olde, and then you holde the Annihilation: or by the renovation of the World, and then you hold the eternitie thereof; And truly if there be no more ſea, as the words import, this text doth not cleane overthrow my opinion of Annihilation, as you affirme, but rather confirme it. Now for the ſenſe of the Text, what St *Iohn* meanes by the new heavens and the new earth, I have already ſo fully and clearely unfolded it in the place by you alleaged, as I preſume I ſhall not needc heere to make any farther repetition thereof.

G. G.

The ſentence of death paſt upon the World as well as upon man.

HEreunto I will adde this reaſon. When the ſentence of death paſt uppon man Morte morieris; *how probable it is, that the World was likewiſe comprehended within the compaſſe of this ſentence, ſeeing it was only created for man, and man is the end of all; Now the end fayling, neceſſary it is that the meanes ordayned and directed to the end ſhould togeather fayle with the end; to except the* ſpecies *and to faſten eternitie to it, it is only to raiſe up an idol in the fancie; Indeed generalls are gathered out of particulars, not to bee preſerved from corruption (as the Chymiſt who drawes the quinteſſence and caſts away the droſſe) but generalls are gathered from particulars, either for prædication as in Logick, or to ſupport ſome generall attributes, as in the Metaphiſicks, but eternity can be comprehended in neither of theſe, for it is no generall attribute, but it is only a duration, which is as competible to the loweſt* individuum, *as to the higheſt* genus.

G. H.

YOu ſay it is probable that when the ſentence of death paſſed upon man, it paſſed likewiſe upon the World, ſeeing it was only created for man, which is true, if by man you underſtand mankinde; the World beeing not created for any one man but for mankinde in generall: Now though it bee true that in *Adam*, the ſentence of death paſſed uppon all the ſonnes of *Adam*, that is, that all who were borne of *Adam* muſt againe returne to their duſt as *Adam* did, yet that the race of *Adam* ſhould ceaſe in the courſe of nature, wee no where finde, neither is any ſuch thing included in that ſentence, *Morte morieris*, but rather the contrary in that other *Creſcite & multiplicamini*; the vigour of which bleſſing or promiſe is yet as freſh as if it had been but now given: Since then the World hath relation to the whole race of *Adam*, which in the courſe of nature cannot ceaſe, ſoe neither can the world but by a ſupernaturall meanes; and ſoe might that Sentence *Thou ſhalt dye the death*, bee extended to it, otherwiſe in a naturall courſe it could not poſſibly be comprehended within the compaſſe of that Sentence, ſithence the celeſtiall bodies which are the principall part of the World are no way ſubject

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to death; Lastly, how can you comprehend the world within this Sentence of death, who hold that in regard of the substance thereof it shall bee eternall?

You say that the end fayling, necessary it is that the meanes ordayned to the end should together fayle with the end; which rule I cannot but approve, but must tell you againe, that the race of *Adam* shall not fayle in the course of nature, as neither shall the world; but by a supernaturall power, both shall fayle, which you hold not, maintaining that the world shall remaine when the race of *Adam* is remooved from it, and so stand not to your owne rule.

That which followes heere in this Section touching the *Species*, as if it were a meere idoll of the fancy, having no subsistence of it selfe, is in truth a meere fancy, there being some things attributed to the *species* which in no sort can bee attributed to any *individuum* of that kinde; as duration, for the purpose, which you say is as competible to the lowest *individuum* as to the highest *genus*; whereas noe *Individuum* of mankinde yet ever lasted a 1000 yeers, but mankinde hath lasted many thousand; or how can wee say with any colour of truth, that any one man may in the course of nature live as longe as the whole race of *Adam* (by a succession from father to sonne) hath don, and may do; which whole race upon the matter is nothing else but the *species* of mankinde, whither the fancie soe conceive it or noe. There is not a *species* of mankinde because wee soe conceive it, but wee so conceive it because it is; and though there were no man to conceive it, yet doubtlesse the species of other things would still remaine.

G. G.

And here I desire to bee rightly understoode, I conceive that mortality and corruption are proper to the corporeall nature, in opposition to the spirituall; soe that before the sentence of death was past, both man and the world it selfe were corruptible, as subsisting of contrary qualities, which were ever active and opposing each other; thus man should then have had severall degrees and periods of his age, hee should have bin borne an infant, and growne to the years of perfection, and the world should have had her severall seasons; but heere was the difference, before the sentence was past, Gods mercy would have preserved both from corruption, and originall grace in manssanctifying his nature, was the sure pledge of his eternity.

Corruption implyed in the very principles.

G. H.

CORruption you say is proper to the *corporeall* nature as it stands in opposition to the *spirituall*; if soe, to the cælestiall bodies and the renovated world, except you will say they are spirits and not bodies

Before the sentence of death was past, both man you say and the world were corruptible; whereas the *Apostle* tells us for man, that

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death entred by ſinne. Rom. 5. 12. and *Moſes* for the world, *God ſaw every thing he made, and behold it was very good.* Gen. 2. 30.

G. G.

Mans juſtice followes Gods juſtice.

THis the world hath an inward malady or languiſhing in reſpect of the naturall condition, & an outward wound given by the ſword of Gods mouth; when the ſentence of death paſt upon man for ſinne, it ſtood with juſtice to puniſh ſo great a ſinne not onely in the principalls, but in all the acceſſories: As if a Baron in this Kingdome ſhould commit high treaſon, not onely himſelfe ſhould ſuffer, but his Baronie ſhould bee extinct: This agrees with the juſtice of man, much more with the juſtice of God, who in Adam *did puniſh his poſteritie, even the childe unborne; and therefore much leſſe can you exempt the then preſent ſtate and condition of this world, which was* Adams *onely poſſeſsion; ſhould not the world bee corruptible, then it ſuffers nothing in reſpect of mans ſinne, but as it was ſo it is, and the Creatures cannot properly bee ſaid to be ſubject* to vanity, *or to* groane under the burthen of ſinne.

G. H.

THat the world ſhould have an inward languiſhing maladie, in reſpect of its naturall condition, is contrary to that in the booke of the *Wiſedome of Solomon, cap.* 1. *God made not death, neither hath he pleaſure in the deſtruction of the living; for hee created all things that they might have their beeing: and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyſon in them, nor the kingdome of death upon earth.* And to theſe very words doth your Lordſhip ſeeme to allude in your booke *of the fall of man, pag.* 396. where you tell us, that all things in their 'owne proper eſſence were good, not onely as they were Creatures, 'but as they are ordained for mans uſe and ſervice; in their owne roote 'and in their firſt ground of nature, they are freed and priviledged from 'all poyſon and infection; onely ſome after-chance, ſome ill husband-'man came, who after the ſowing of the good wheate, did ſow his 'owne cockle. Whereas heere you ſeeme to ſay that God himſelfe was that husbandman who at firſt ſowed the principles of poyſon, infection and corruption in the world. But the very truth is, that you ſtagger in this point, and know not well what to determine, as appeares in the ſame booke, *pag.* 26. 'I hope it will ſufficiently appeare that 'ſhee is corrupted and much declined from her firſt perfection, which 'certainely was intended by the founder, and by all probable conje-'cture was imparted to her in her firſt inſtitution.

It ſtood with Gods juſtice you ſay to puniſh the ſinne of man, not onely in the principalls but in the acceſſories; which is true, but how you will prove the world to have beene acceſſorie to the ſinne of man, I know not: All the race of *Adam* indeed were juſtly puniſhed with him, becauſe they all ſinned, *death paſſed upon all men for that all have ſinned.* Rom. 5. 12. And againe, *By one mans diſobedience many were made*

made sinners: All this I confesse to bee most true in *Adams* posteritie, aswell in regard of sinne as punishment; but that the whole world sinned in *Adam* I no where reade, and presume you will not affirme, sure I am you cannot justifie, and consequently that your argument drawne from the justice of God in punishing sinne, in the accessories aswell as in the principals in this case, is of no validitie.

But if the world say you be not corruptible, it suffered nothing in regard of mans sinne: Will your Lordship bee pleased to heare what some great Divines have held in this point? *Arias Montanus* in his booke *de constitutione mundi, cap.4. num.1.* having spoken of the fall of man and Angels thus concludeth, *Hæc duarum* tantum *partium ruina* (saith he) cæteris omnibus incolumibus; with whom accords *Ludovicus Vives de veritate religionis Christiana, lib.1. cap.17. Animantes omnes statim vergunt, natu quodam ad inclinationem perfectionis suæ*, soli *homines à sua sunt aversi & abhorrent*; and againe, *Manet in illis primigenia illa natura, in nobis degeneravit in pejus*. And to these wee may adde the noble Lord of *Plesis de veritate religionis Christiana, cap.16. Quàm turpiter inversa est in homine, in microcosmo nostro lex illa & politia quæ in universo inque singulis refulget?* and within a while after, *Denique uno excepto homine nunquid toto mundo occurrat quod gradum suum, quod dignitatem non accuratè tueatur & observet?* And if this will not serve the turne, let us heare the Prophet *David*, *They continue this day according to thine ordinance*, Psal.119.91. *Hee hath made them fast for ever and ever, he hath given them a law which shall not bee broken*: Psal.148.6. All which passages, to me seeme to imply, that all the other Creatures, men and Angels onely excepted, still inviolably observe that law which their and our Creatour at first set them, not swarving at all from their originall copie. Some irregularities I grant there may bee in some particulars, either in excesse or in defect, which may serve as remembrancers to put us in minde of the fall of man; but that the whole frame of nature should thereby be disjoynted and become subject to corruption, and a universall declination, is more then can bee warranted either from reason or scripture, or any other sufficient authoritie; yet it may not bee denied but that the Creatures are become *subject to vanitie*, and groane under the burden of sinne by meanes of wicked mens use, or rather abuse of them; tending to the dishonour of the Creatour, or the hurt of his servants, or the service of his enemies.

G. G.

For your further assurance herein, marke the proceedings of Gods judgement, The serpent is cursed, *Gen.3.14. then* the earth is cursed, *Gen.3.17. Now I pray what followes a curse, surely no lesse then death as it is intimated*, Deut.21.23. Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree; *Death and curse are so inseparable, that the sonne of God submitting himselfe to the one, could not be excused from the other.* Galat.3.13. Christ is made a curse for us, to redeeme us from the curse of the law; *whereby is implied the taking up of our sinnes, together with the death and passion of Christ; as on*

The manner & degrees observed in Gods sentence.

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the contrary, when after the deluge God promiseth not to bring on the earth any further suddaine destruction, hee saith, Gen. 8. 21. I will not againe curse the ground any more for mans sake. *But most excellently this is set forth in the last chapter of the Bible,* 22. *of the* Revel. 2. *and* 3. *where the heavenly* Jerusalem *is excellently described, there is set out the tree of life whose leaves did heale the nations, and then there shall bee no more a curse, thereby implying no longer death or corruption: If then to be exempted from these bee a speciall priviledge & prerogative to that heavenly* Jerusalem, (*the proofe whereof seemes to bee the whole scope and intent of this booke and propheſie*) *how can you then challenge this honour as belonging to these our earthly tabernacles.*

G. H.

I Was glad to see your Lordship heere in this Section so plentifull in the quotations of Scripture, but truly I could wish some of them had beene more pertinent. You bid mee marke the proceeding of Gods judgement in the curse of the serpent, and the earth; but what from that order of proceeding can bee deduced for your purpose, or what advantage you can draw from the curse of the serpent I cannot see.

That the earth is subject to death, that is to a finall dissolution I doe not deny, nay I cannot but freely acknowledge; but that it is subject either to a naturall or lingring death, or to any death at all by reason of of this curse, as yet I finde it not sufficiently proved. It is said indeed, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*; which shewes that in speciall a curse was annexed to that kinde of death; but that death should necessarily follow upon every curse, this in my understanding it implies not. And though it bee true that *Christ* as our suretie became lyable to the curse of the law, and by reason of that curse to death; yet that death should necessarily ensue upon every curse, cannot from thence neither (as I conceive) be necessarily inferred: Every excommunicate person is accursed, and upon repentance restored againe to the *Church*, and so freed from death. Your selfe alleadge those words, *Gen. 8. I will not againe curse the ground any more for mans sake*; whereby is implyed that the floud was a curse to the earth, yet was it so farre from bringing death thereunto, that it rather reduced the earth to its native and primitive condition, which was to bee covered with waters; a death indeed it was, and so a curse to the inhabitants of the earth, (some few only excepted) but to the earth it selfe as an element not so; and in case it had beene, the earth being safely delivered from that inundation, and restored againe to it selfe, might not unjustly bee said to have beene restored againe from death to life: And so much indeed is implied in the very next verse, *While the earth remaineth, seed-time, and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease*; that is, saith S. *Chrysostome* upon the place, *Adusque seculi consummationem, immotum eorum permanebit ministerium.*

Your last passage touching the heavenly *Ierusalem*, which you say hath a speciall priviledge to be exempted from this curse, hurts not me since

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since I challenge no such prerogative to these our earthly tabernacles, as you pretend; if by earthly tabernacles you meane our bodies, as the Scriptures use that phrase; and if you meane the earth, as your argument imports, I doe not wholly exempt that, neither from some effects of the curse; but that the curse brought on upon it an irrecoverable consumption, or a languishing sickenesse by degrees, inevitably tending to death and destruction, which is the thing to bee proved, that I finde not yet made good, nor I thinke can bee: What the curse upon it was, appeares there by the words immediately following; *Thornes and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, Tibi*, as S. *Augustine* hath well observed, *de Gen. ad lit. lib. 3. cap. 11. Additum est* tibi; *quia non est dictum, Spinas & tribulos pariet, sed pariet* tibi; *id est, Tibi jam ista nasci incipiant ad laborem, quæ ad pastum tantummodo aliis animalibus antea nascebantur*: Neither is it indeed likely but that the earth brought forth thornes and thistles before the curse, (the workes of the Creation being fully finished within the compasse of the sixe dayes;) but after the curse it brought them forth for the increase of mans punishment; so as the curse rather lighted upon man who was guiltie, then upon the guiltlesse earth; and herein is Saint *Augustine* followed by *Aquinas*, and many other famous Divines.

I will onely alleadge the words of two, and those (as their workes well shew) no babes in *Divinity*, *Abulensis* and *Pererius*; whereof the first commenting upon the text touching the curse of of the earth, thus writes, *Sed istam maledictionem terræ putant aliqui esse diminutionem infertilitate, quasi si homo non peccasset, fuisset futura feracior: & talem eam creatam dicunt, & permansuram si homo non peccasset. Sed istud non est verum*; quia Deus non mutavit aliquid in natura rerum propter peccatum hominis. *Nam perfectio illa & fertilitas terræ, in qua creata est, pertinebat ad perfectionem operum Dei, sed indignum est quòd Deus diminuat gloriam suam quæ est in operum suorum perfectione propter iniquitatem alienam; ergo non minuerat illam fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum. Item non est verisimile, quia si Deus statim peccante homine ablaturus esset terræ fertilitatem, frustra produxisset eam mox tollendo, cum sciret peccaturum hominem, non ergo producere eum debuisset si ablaturus erat.* *Pererius* likewise writing upon the same words accords in opinion with *Abulensis*, *Nec putandum naturalem terræ fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum, aut omnino demptam fuisse aut diminutam, eodem modo se illa habuit ante & post hominis peccatum.* Which opinion of theirs is in my judgement very probable, in as much as that curse extended not to the other elements, much lesse to the heavens by which the fruitfulnesse of the earth is maintained; all which notwithstanding was created for the use of man, aswell as the earth it selfe; of which no doubt that of the Prophet *David* might in all former ages, and in all future ages (till the consummation of all things) shall as truly be verified, *The earth is full of the goodnesse of the Lord*, Psal. 33. *vers.* 5.

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G. G.

Our decay is no dishonour to God.

THus having briefly given mine owne reasons, now I come to answer yours. I remember but two onely reasons produced; 1° that you say the preservation of the world makes more for the honour of Gods wisedome, power, providence, and the rest of his attributes, then the decay; as being most agreeable and answerable to his goodnesse; but if this reason be admitted, then your annihilation must needes be annihilated, and you might further extend your reason even to the decay of individualls, and make them all eternall, as the world it selfe is eternall.

G. H.

OF what strength your reasons are, it hath appeared by mine answers, as by your answers it will now appeare of what force my reasons are. You say you remember but two reasons produced by me, and yet your selfe undertake to answer three; and I presume had you advisedly perused my answers to your first arguments, you would have found more.

One of my reasons I confesse, and (as I still thinke) a very strong one is, that the Divine attributes, especially the Providence are more clearly manifested by the world from decay, then by the permission of a decay; but if this reason be admitted, then must my Annihilation bee annihilated; why so? Annihilation is the immediate worke of the Creatour, and equivalent to Creation, so is not decay: Againe, betweene the decay of the world, whiles man (the onely admirer and adorer of the Divine Providence) remaines in it, and the annihilation thereof when man shall bee removed from thence, is a large difference, easily discernable by any unpartiall eye.

The Providence extends to the Individualls, but in reference to the universe; and because the universe cannot be preserved in the course of nature, without the decay and death of the Individualls, therefore hath the Providence ordained the decay of the one for the preservation of the other; the perpetuitie of both being in a naturall course incompatible, impossible to consist together.

G. G.

Gods honour must be esteemed by his own will.

IT is true that to mans esteeme and repute, the glorious and immortall Angels may seeme to make more for Gods honour, then poore dejected contemptible and corruptible wormes; but in verity and truth the highest Angels are as nothing in respect of God, and the poorest wormes are alike, for they can bee no lesse then nothing; Wee must then estimate Gods honour not by our owne imaginary dignity of the Creatures, but in relation to Gods will and ordinance, that his free power may appeare in disposing his owne Creatures: And we must not prescribe him how the Creatures may bee more perfect then now they are, suppose to be eternall, and so to tend more to his glory; but we must submit all to his free

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free will and disposing. And hereof we must judge either by the meanes which hee useth to accomplish things, or by the promises which hee makes to that purpose, but meanes you can produce none, for the great world and the little subsist of the same principles, and are in all things alike: neither can you fasten or lay hold on Gods promises for eternity, since all doe agree that there must bee a dissolution of the world.

G. H.

AS all the Creatures are nothing in regard of God, so the glory and honour of God in it selfe is altogether invariable, alwayes one and the same without either addition or diminution; yet because we in this state of mortalitie cannot see it in it selfe, therefore we judge of it according to the excellencie of his workemanship exposed to our view, which is one of the great bookes he hath given us, to read his greatnesse and goodnesse in them; and the fairer the characters of this booke are, the more legible (in regard of our capacities) are his attributes therein, undoubtedly his power, and wisedome, and bountie, shine more clearely and eminently in the celestiall bodies then in the terrestriall, *The heavens declare the glory of God*, saith the *Psalmist*, that is in a speciall and singular manner; so as to affirme or conceive that one Creature doth not more fully expresse the glory of God then another, because they are all as nothing in comparison of him, is a position very unanswerable.

That we must submit all to his free will and disposing I freely grant, (though that position by your leave, somewhat savour of *Calvinisme*) but that he hath so disposed of this goodly and beautifull frame, as to let it runne to ruine, that I deny; And as we may not prescribe to him how the Creatures may be more perfect then now they are, so we may not derogate from that perfection wherein he hath created them; this being to derogate from his honour, and through the sides of corrupt nature to wound him.

But meanes for the worlds preservation you say I can produce none, for that the great and the little world subsist of the same principles, and are in all things alike. Whereunto I have often answered, that they subsist not of the same principles, nor are in all things alike, nay in the very chiefe thing they are not alike, there being nothing in man correspondent to the heavenly bodies, by which the great world is preserved from decay: And for the elements though they have their changes in the great world, yet are their losses first or last repayed and repaired by an equivalent compensation, which in the little worlde is not so, unlesse by the little world you understand not individuall man, but mankinde in generall.

Lastly, I cannot lay hold you say on Gods promises for the worlds eternitie, since all doe agree there must bee a dissolution. That there must be a dissolution by a power supernaturall all indeed agree, which may well enough stand with Gods promises, for an eternitie in a naturall course; nay in very deed I cannot see how his truth can well stand with

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with such a decay as is pretended; his truth I meane consisting in the certainety of his promises made to mankinde, *Gen.* 8. 22. to his Church the noblest part of mankinde, *Ier.* 31. *vers.* 35. 36. to *Christ* the head of the Church, *Psalme* 89. *vers.* 29. 36. 37. and all three confirmed by the stabilitie of the Creature, as I have shewed in another place; but put case there were in Scripture no promise found for the stabilitie of the Creature, experience that it hitherto hath beene so, and positions drawne from Gods word for the confirmation of that truth, should in reason meethinkes amount at least to the value of a promise.

A G. G.

YOur second argument in behalfe of modernitie, because Christian Religion hath fallen in the latter time of the worlds duration, *doth very much faile; for we must understand that religion is not inbred and naturall unto us, but revealed; and from the time wherein it is revealed wee must thence make our comparison, and so shall you easily discerne the deficiency; though I have subscribed to the Church of* England, *yet I prefer the Primitive Church for piety, holinesse, mortification, the glory of martyrdome, the great measure of faith and knowledge before the Church of* England. *I will yet adde further, that all these glorious promises concerning* Christs *Church, were verified in the Primitive Church; so that in effect I doe beleeve that Church to bee sealed and confirmed by Canonicall Scripture, and therefore God grant that it may bee the patterne and example to all other Churches. This Primitive Church I hold farre inferiour to the Church of the Apostles, where they had the Sonne of God in person, to teach, instruct, and to governe them; where they had the Holy Ghost in a visible manner descending to sanctifie their hearts, and to make them his holy temples, that with the gift of tongues and working of miracles, they might convert all nations. Heere we are now come to our first station, all comparisons must be in the same kinde and degree, as for example, you must not compare the Church militant with the Church triumphant, neither the state of grace with the law, nor the law with the state of nature, nor the like; but every of these are to be compared with it selfe, and then you shall finde that the farther the distance is from the originall, the greater is the declination.*

The honour of the Primitive Church.

How religion must bee estimated.

How religion hath declined.

Though I honour and reverence the Macchabees, *yet surely the Synagogue did exceed in the time of the Prophets; and though particular Prophets might bee inspired, yet was the state of the* Jewes *much more glorious, when* Solomons *Temple stood in his full beauty; and before this temple was built,* Davids *harpe made excellent musicke; but the delivery of the people under their Iudges and Governours was wonderfull and miraculous; yet alas all these times and persons come short of* Moses, *who spake with God face to face, and heard his voyce out of a cloud, and became the first Law-giver; and therefore no doubt the best expositour of the law, and the most Zealous observer of the law: Heere is my second station.*

In the time of *Moses* was the perfection of the law.

I proceed then to the state of nature, though the Israelites *might have the knowledge of the true God in* Egypt, *and expect the fulfilling of the prophesies, yet alas this was nothing in respect of* Jacobs *groaning upon his death-bed;* Expectabo salutare tuum Domine; Jacob *might yeeld unto* Isaacks *sacrifice,*

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fice, but the promiſe was firſt made unto Abraham, *who was the father of the faithfull and the friend of God, and therefore received the benediction of* Melchiſedeck: *Heere is my third ſtation.* Circumciſion began with *Abraham.*

So did religion decline by degrees from Noah, *as may well appeare by the ſtrange attempts of men, the confuſion of tongues:* Noah *was in effect a ſecond* Adam, *and before his time religion did decline, as may appeare by this heavy judgement of the deluge; ſo aſcending, at length we come unto* Enoch, *(miſtaken I thinke for* Enos) *who did inſtitute a ſolemne divine ſervice, yea* Abel *was the firſt Martyr with his typicall ſacrifice, and he gives way to* Adam, *who in reſpect of his knowledge, his experience of Gods mercies and judgements, the loſſe of Paradiſe, the fearefulnes of ſinne, the horror of death which himſelfe hath drawne upon all his poſteritie, the traditions of the Church doe recommend him unto us as a true Panitentiarie; and not unlike, ſeeing that in him* ſemen Evangelij *was firſt ſowne, for the promiſe was firſt made unto him,* Semen mulieris conteret ſerpentis caput: *Here is my fourth ſtation.* *Adam* a true Penitentiarie.

G. H.

MY ſecond argument (as you call it, though I know not why) doth very much fayle you ſay; for that religion is not naturall unto us but revealed. Why my Lord, the queſtion now is, whether my opinion touching the worlds preſervation from decay, bee of dangerous conſequence in the matter of religion: To cleare my ſelfe from this imputation I ſaid, that the Chriſtian religion falling in the latter times, accounting the worlds duration from the firſt creation to this preſent age; it muſt needes follow, that hee who ſtands for modernitie, muſt conſequently ſtand for the honour of religion; ſo as whither it bee naturall or revealed, it is not at all materiall, it carrying the ſame relation to the time in which it was firſt inſtituted, whither it be the one or the other: And thus much your ſelfe inſtantly confeſſe, telling us that from the time wherein it was revealed we muſt make the compariſon; but herein wee differ, I make the compariſon from the time wherein it was revealed upward to the Creation, you downeward to the preſent age. I ſay that the world from the Creation, or at leaſtwiſe from the fall of man (which makes no great oddes in regard of time) was never ſo happy in the point of religion as ſince the incarnation of the Sonne of God, and the publiſhing of his goſpell; Whereunto you reply that the Primitive Chriſtian Church is to bee preferr'd before the enſuing ages: which in very truth is no anſwere to mine Argument, as any novice may eaſily diſcerne.

You ſeeme to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Church of the Apoſtles and the Primitive Church, which to my underſtanding is a diſtinction without a difference; and how farre downeward you extend your Primitive Church, I know not; but thus much am I ſure of, that it is the generall conſent of all the beſt learned Divines on all ſides, that for matter of knowledge in *Divinity*, this preſent age farre exceedes many which have gone before it. And from *Conſtantines* time downeward,

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it is certaine that the Christian Church flourished more then in the ages precedent. And thus if wee compare the state of grace with it selfe (to say nothing of the reformed religion) it is not true that the farther the distance is from the originall, the greater is the declination; The Christian Church and religion have in all ages in somethings gotten somewhat, and lost in others: When it got in knowledge, it lost in zeale, and when it got both in buildings and revenues, it lost in zeale and knowledge.

That which followes touching your second third and fourth stations, is as lyable to manifold exceptions, as it is altogether impertinent, in as much as the question is not touching those stations (as you call them) within themselves, but as they have reference each to other, and make up the body of religion since the fall of man. And being thus compared will you bee pleased to acknowledge your owne words in your booke of *the Fall of man* proved by reason, *pag.* 5. 'Thus in this 'great world you may observe, that first there was a state of nature, 'which was the fore-runner to the law: then followed the law, which 'was a preparative to the gospell: now at length succeeds the gospell, 'wherein there is the fulnesse of knowledge, as much as is befitting our 'nature and present condition. It is most certaine that true religion since the incarnation of *Christ*, hath gained much in two maine points, whereof the one is the cleare manifestation of those misteries of faith, which are necessary to salvation, which before were onely shadowed forth in types & figures; the other is, the communication of these misteries to all nations, which before were shut up within the pale of *Iurie*, all the world besides lying in palpable idolatry & damnable superstition. Now the manifestation and communication of those mysteries falling out in the latter ages of the world (as the duration thereof now standeth) he that undertakes the defence of modernitie, is so far from wounding religion thereby, as that he cannot but advance it.

G. G.

IF you will not admit this kinde of comparison wherein every religion is compared with it selfe, the beginnings with the progresse, but that you will needes tie your selfe strictly to the very times, then I would aske when Adam *was first created in the state of innocency with originall grace, and should have conversed with Angels; whither doe you conceive this religion or the reformed religion to bee the more excellent? Or if herein I cannot prevaile, then I will yet ascend a little higher, suppose the blessed Angels who were the first Creatures; Surely there must bee as great a difference betweene them and us, as there is betweene* status viæ *and* status patriæ; *They are Gods most ancient Creatures, and therefore are neerest to the* ancient of dayes: *And God grant that I may no longer live then I doe truely honour the Ancients, and for all* novelties *and* innovations *I respect them not.*

G. H.

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G. H.

YOu close up this discourse with a needlesse interrogation, whether *Adams* religion in the state of innocencie or the reformed be the more excellent? I will answer your question with another of the same kinde, whether you thinke the reformed or the *Romish* religion the more excellent? And though you know well enough that this controversie touching religion, is to bee understood since the fall, yet considering the sonne of God had not beene incarnate, had *Adam* persisted in the state of innocency, you might have called to minde that of S. *Gregory*, *felix culpa quæ talem & tantum meruit redemptorem*; *Adam* in his state of innocency might fall and did fall, and had not *Christ* interposed himselfe, without redemption, but such as are chosen according to the purpose of God in Christ, can never finally and totally fall away.

Having compared man in the state of innocency with himselfe after the fall, you goe on and compare man after the fall with the blessed Angels which never fell, whereas the comparison should have beene, if you would needes compare them, betweene man since the fall, and and the Apostate Angels who were Gods ancient Creatures, aswell as those which kept their first station; and yet are now so farre from being neerest to the ancient of dayes, that they are farthest off: And for the blessed Angels themselves, their condition is happier now then at their first creation, being by the mediation of Christ their head, so confirmed in their happines, as there is no possibility of their falling from God, as neither is there of reconciling to God.

God grant you say, that you may no longer live then you doe truly honour the Ancients; and for all novelties and innovations you respect them not. Whereunto I reply, that for my selfe I doe most unfainedly honour the Ancients as much as your Lordship, but their defects (to which as men they were subject) I thinke I am not bound to honour, but wish I may no longer live, then I truly honour vertue, and the truth where soever I finde it: With S. *Cyprian* the holy Bishop and glorious Martyr I professe, *Consuetudo sine veritate est vetustas erroris*; in as much as *Christ* hath said, *Ego sum veritas, non ego sum consuetudo*: And for innovations without this ground, I am so farre from respecting them, that I utterly detest them; yet because the redemption of captivated truth is often branded with the odious name of Innovation, I say in that case with *Scaliger*, *Nos non sumus novatores, sed vos estis veteratores*.

G. G.

YOur third and last argument, for I remember no more, is how farre wee stand bound as to our native soyle, so to our native times, whereby your selfe are justified and your adversaries taxed with ingratitude, with an undervaluing or repining at Gods blessings, which is a kinde of disloyaltie as it

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were to worke a diſcontentment in mens mindes: For ſatisfaction I ſay, that to arguments which are not grounded in reaſon and judgement, but are drawne from love and affection, I ſhall give ever a ſleight anſwer. Your ſelfe confeſſe that ſome ages of the world have beene obſcure and barbarous, ſhall they therefore who lived in thoſe ages bee bound to ſay that they were glorious and flouriſhing times: Doe not oppoſe judgement to affection, when as both may well ſubſiſt together; Were it not a great abſurditie in me to preferre Cotſhall *before* Lombardie, *or* Barſtaple *before* Naples? *No doubt but his moſt excellent Majeſtie of* Sweden *at this time likes* Germany *much better then his owne Countrey, which may bee a beginning or preparative to thoſe times which you ſeeme to fore-tell. pag. 474.*

G. H.

MY third and laſt argument you ſay (for you remember no more) is how farre we ſtand bound, as to our native ſoyle, ſo to our native times; which I never propoſed as an argument at all, much leſſe in the point of religion, but onely as a doubt, deſiring by you to be reſolved, how it comes to paſſe that men commonly ſtand ſo much for the honour of the Countrey, and ſo little for the age in which they were borne, conſidering they have the ſame relation to the time as to the place of their birth. Whereunto you reply, you ſhall ever give a ſleight anſwer to arguments drawne from affection, not from judgement; which indeed is a ſleight put off, the queſtion ſtill remaining, why mens affections ſhould rather bee tyed to the place, then the time of their birth, there being none other reaſon to bee given hereof (as I conceive) but the ſquint eye of envy againſt thoſe who moſt excell in the preſent times, the edge whereof is taken off in regard of thoſe who lived in former ages; and beſides wee feele the ſmart of the preſent, but not of the times paſt: which I alleadged as a great prejudice againſt my opinion.

My ſelfe you ſay confeſſe, that ſome ages have beene obſcure and barbarous; ſhall they therefore ſay you who lived in thoſe ages bee bound to ſay that they were glorious and flouriſhing times? My Lord I doe not confeſſe it againſt my ſelfe (as your words ſeeme to imply) but profeſſe it againſt you; and were you not carried by affection rather then judgement, your ſelfe would ſoone confeſſe it, together with all the learned men of this latter age, and withall freely acknowledge the ſpeciall goodneſſe of Almighty God to this latter age in regard of many precedent; which hee that knoweth not muſt ſurely bee ignorant, and he that acknowledgeth not very ingratefull: In which number I will not be ſo bold or uncharitable as to ranke your Lordſhip, yet in very truth I cannot but marvell that ſo learned & wiſe a man as your ſelfe, ſhould ſo highly magnifie thoſe times condemned for barbariſme by all the beſt Writers in Chriſtendome; and withall ſo undervalue your owne, as if there were nothing praiſe-worthy in it; in ſo much as I verily beleeve if thoſe men who then lived ſhould now revive, and ſee the preſent times (being convinced by the evident beames of truth

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truth flashing in their eyes) they would easily confesse that against themselves and their owne times, and on behalfe of ours, which you refuse to acknowledge.

Though *Lombardie* may be preferr'd before *Cotshall* in regard of the fatnesse of the soyle, yet may *Cotshall* bee preferr'd before it againe in regard of pasturage for sheepe, and some other commodities: And so though *Naples* may bee preferr'd before *Barstaple*, in wines, and fruits, and silkes, and buildings; yet in beefes, and muttons, & veales, & corne, & cottons, and sarges, and such like more necessary for the life of man, *Barstaple* may bee preferr'd before it: And as it is in places so is it in ages, they excell each other in different respects. To say that former ages excelled us in all things is to doate too much upon them; and againe to say, that wee in all things excell them is too much partialitie towards our selves; It were good then (as you say) to joyne affection and judgement together: which I wish you practised as well as taught.

Touching his most excellent Majestie of *Sweden* (now with God) I nothing doubt but in regard of his valour, his justice, his wisedome, his temperance, his bounty, his piety, his learning, his victories, hee might as truly bee so styled as any of the Ancients; and happily you would bee troubled to parallell him in all respects, yet after ages will certainely value him at a higher rate then the present; and I am so charitable as to beleeve that his comming into *Germany*, was not so much for love of that Country (inferiour to his owne in some respects) as for the liberty of that people, the liberty of religion, the propagation of the gospell, and the honour of God; for the effecting whereof hee laid such foundations, that being dead he yet speaketh, and it may be prepared a way to those times which I point at, and you seeme to jest at; but confute not. *Moses* was onely suffered to looke into the promised land, hee entred not into it, but left *Iosua* to conduct the people thither: and so it may bee in this case, as *Vindex* first moved the stone, which roling along, tumbled *Nero* out of his throne, though himselfe lived not to see it done.

G. G.

TO conclude I will yet adde one farther answer, and it shall be inartificiale à concessis, *in effect no more then an example, but in regard of your acknowledgement, of great efficacy. Your booke is full of all good learning, especially in poetry it seemes to excell all others. Pag. 255. you suppose a regeneration, as of other kindes of learning, so of Poetry: and there you say by the testimonie of* Joseph Scaliger, *a man famously learned, that* Buchanan *had attained the highest pitch of Poetry: I pray then take his owne testiment both for the time and place where he lived, as you shall finde in* Camdens *Annals, in the yeare* 1582. *and in the page of his Annals* 331; nec cœlo, nec solo, nec sæculo erudito natus.

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G. H.

YOur next inartificiall anſwer (as your ſelfe are pleaſed to call it) is borrowed from *Buchanans* teſtimonie, touching the time & place where he lived, but I doubt you are therein miſtaken; Mr *Camdens* words of him are theſe, *Vir qui nec cælo, nec ſolo, nec ſæculo erudito, ut ille cecinit, natus*: Where, *ille cecinit*, may aſwell if not better bee underſtood of ſome other Poet then of *Buchanan* himſelfe. And if you will needs faſten it upon him, hee might perhaps lay ſome aſpertion upon the place and time in which hee was borne, thereby to purchaſe the greater reputation to himſelfe; though to ſpeake a truth, that place, at that time did not ſo much abound with learned men as ſince it hath, having afforded to us the learned'ſt King (ſometime a ſchollar to *Buchanan*) that I thinke ever raigned, *Solomon* onely excepted, who was immediately inſpired by God himſelfe.

Now beſide thoſe arguments of mine by you produced to ſhew that mine opinion is of no ſuch dangerous conſequence in the point of religion as you pretend, but rather tends to the honour and advancement thereof; you might have beene pleaſed to take notice, that in mine anſwer to your firſt letter, I vouched the teſtimonies of almoſt forty grave Authours ancient and moderne; the greateſt part of them Divines, and among them Doctour *Goodman*, now Lord Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who all prove the divine Providence by the worlds preſervation from decay, and conſtancy in that order in which it was created; but any Divine that ever indeavoured to prove it frō the decay I never yet ſaw, nor I thinke ſhall; which to my underſtanding is an evident argument, That the worlds decay cannot ſo well ſtand with the divine Providence as the preſervation of it from decay. Moreover I there ſhewed by the teſtimonie of the moſt learned writers, that the worlds preſervation from decay beſt ſuiteth not onely with the Providence but with the eternitie, the immutability, the ubiquitie, the goodneſſe, the wiſedome, the power, the truth, the juſtice, and the glorious beautie of the maker thereof, the ſtabilitie of the Creature either implying theſe, or ſhadowing them forth unto us, which the decay cannot doe.

Beſides, I made it appeare that the *Epicureans* who with you held the worlds decay, denyed the Providence, and conſequently that the ſoundeſt way to convince them was to prove the preſervation thereof from decay, by the ſame wiſedome and power which at firſt created it.

Whereunto I adde the religious uſes that might be made of this opinion, in that it not onely ſerveth as a good evidence againſt chance and fortune, the ſtirring up of our endeavours in this preſent life, and the inflaming of our deſires towards the life to come, but for the exerciſe of our thankfulnes in praiſing God, the contemning of all humane workes in compariſon of his, the breeding in us a greater and ſtronger aſſurance of his care over us, the making of us more conſtant in his ſervice, the ſtraiter uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie, and friendſhip among

among our selves, the inducing of us in all our actions to preferre the publique good before the priyate, the arming of us to undergoe and endure with patience and contentment whatsoever crosses doe or can bee fall us, the observing of Order and the yeelding of due obedience to our superiors, the kindling of our love towards God, and lastly for the stopping of the mouthes of all ingratefull and repining murmerers against God, under the name of declining nature; And that it might appeare I have not to serve mine owne turne forged these uses out of mine owne fancy, I have made them good either out of the Scriptures themselves or the writings of reverend Divines.

Lastly to these uses I have annexed above thirty other passages out of the Canonicall & *Apocryphall* books, all tending to the stability of the Creature, and that by the judgement of the best interpreters and Expositors upon those texts.

Now had your Lordship so earnestly desired as you pretend to receive satisfaction in this point of religion, your way had beene (as I conceive) to have answered these reasons, these uses, these authorities, these scriptures, these expositions, & not thus nakedly to have singled out two or three arguments, whereof one is to this purpose wholy impertinent, and of what sufficiency your answeres are to any of them hath appeared by my replies.

G. G.

THus having layd downe mine owne grounds, & answered your arguments, give mee now leave to bring a few instances that so it may appeare how farre forth your opinion is of a daungerous consequence 1° *in religion; If Scripture bee the rule of our faith, this rule must bee fitly applyed, this Scripture rightly expounded by the testimony of the Ancients, and by the practise of the Church; to refuse these were not onely to detract from Gods Providence in leaving and forsaking the Church, but to bring religion to the greatest uncertainties, and in effect to reduce the exposition of Scripture to our owne fancies; for there is no Church under the sunne, which is able to maintaine all her owne tenents without some relation to the Ancients, besides the shame and dishonour which will redounde to religion, that it should bee planted, propagated, and all the ancient monuments of piety and devotion, as Cathedralls, Monasteries, Colledges erected in barbarous and ignorant times; therefore to disparage the Ancients & to preferre modernity is of a daungerous consequence in religion.*

The danger in respect of religion.

G. H.

YOur first instance, (as you call it, though wherein it differ from an argument I know not) is from the explication and application of holy Scripture, wherein you say wee are bound to stand to the testimony of the ancients; which I thinke is a safe and sound rule in matters of faith where they all agree, otherwise it is certaine that they much vary as well from themselves, in diverse places and upon diverse occasions as one from another. It cannot be denyed but the ancients

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maintained many opinions which are now forſaken on all ſides; and your Lordſhip I preſume will not defend them in all, nay in ſome I am ſure you leave them in the plaine field, & hold the contrary unto them, which being ſo, they expounding the Scriptures conformably to thoſe opinions, it cannot bee but you muſt conſequently leave them in thoſe expoſitions. In mine Apologie pag. 265. I ſhew out of *Andradius*, *Bannes*, *Roſſenſis* and *Cajetan*, how much they attribute to this latter age in expoſition of ſcriptures, and that even in compariſon with the ancients; to whom might be added *Salmeron*, & *Pererius*. The firſt of which thus writeth in his 51. *diſput.* upon the fifth of the *Romans*; *Argumenta petunt à Doctorum antiquitate, cui ſemper major honor eſt habitus quam novitatibus. Reſpondetur, quamlibet ætatem antiquitati ſemper detuliſſe, & quilibet ſenex ut quidam Poeta dicit, laudator temporis acti. Sed illud aſſerimus*: quo juniores eo perſpicaciores eſſe Doctores, *ita ut Ariſtoteles dixerit per incrementa temporum perfectiores eſſe artes & diſciplinas: & apud Danielem, Tu autem Daniel claude ſermones, & ſigna librum uſque ad tempus ſtatutum: plurimi pertranſibunt, & multiplex erit ſcientia*; the others words to this purpoſe are very remarkeable in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis cap. 6. v. 2.*; *Multa quondam vel doctiſſimis viris aut obſcura & dubia aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perſpicua indubitata, explorataque percepta ſunt.* Nay the Author of the Spectacles in anſwer to Sr *Humphrey Lindes Vita tuta, pag. 9.* aſſureth us that the Church hath growne and increaſed in knowledge by degrees, and ſhall ſtill goe on growing and increaſing to the end of the world; To which purpoſe hee alleageth thoſe words out of *Gregories Moralls, lib. 9. cap. 6. Vergente mundi fine ſuperna ſcientia proficit & largius cum tempore excreſcit.* Whereunto hee might well have added that of the ſame great *Doctor*, in the ſame place, *Quicquid in ſancta eccleſia initijs latuit, finis quotidie oſtendit*, & againe in his ſixteenth *Homily* upon *Ezekiell*, *Quanto mundus ad extremitatem ducitur, tanto nobis æternæ ſcientiæ aditus largius aperitur*; Yet this is the man whom in your letters to mee, you ſeeme to preferre before all the reſt of the fathers. It is moſt apparent that many things have falne out in the Chriſtian Church, ſince the times of the primitive fathers, which may ſerve as a Comment upon many paſſages of the Revelation, and other propheticall writings; neither can there bee a better expoſition of a propheſie then by the event. If in theſe kinds of expoſition then wee differ from the Ancients, it is not ſo much to be imputed to a farther illumination, as to the benefit of time, they ayming at many things in the darke and conjecturally, which wee have ſeene evidently accompliſhed. Laſtly you cannot be ignorant that many of the Ancients were much addicted to allegoricall expoſitions, and few of them skilled in the *Hebrew*, by reaſon whereof they many times miſſed of the ſcope of the text, ſo that to hoodwinke our ſelves, and in all points to tye our ſelves ſtrictly to their expoſitions, what is it but wilfully to caſt our ſelves into manifeſt errors.

Neither is this to detract from Gods providence, as if at any tyme hee utterly forſooke his Church, but rather to acknowledge and magnifie it, who hath and ſtill doth ſo governe it, as hee makes the latter

times

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times in many things beholding to the ancient, and in some things amends the ancient by the latter, thereby to let the world see and know, that hee is the God not onely of the mountaines, but of the vallies, not onely of the former but of latter ages, guiding and governing both as in his unsearcheable wisedome hee thinks fittest, with the unpartiall eye of his never fayling providence. Neither is this to reduce expositions of Scripture to our owne fancies, but by a diligent collation of Scripture with Scripture, by the helps which the ancient have left us, by the events of things, and by the light of histories, and sciences, and languages to make use of those graces and blessings, which it hath pleased almighty God of his infinite goodnes, richly to conferre upon us.

If it bee true, that no Church under the sunne is able to maintaine all their owne tenents without some relation to the ancients: it is as true that no Church under the Sunne maintaines all those tenents which the Ancients did.

That religion should bee planted and propagated in barbarous and ignorant times no man I thinke ever affirmed, but that some latter times have beene more learned then some former, and consequently some former more ignorant then the latter, no learned man I thinke (one onely excepted) ever denyed.

Cathedrals, Monasteries and Colledges were not erected in the first primitive times, and their erection arguing as you say piety and devotion should likewise in reason argue, that the times in which they were erected were more pious and devoute then the foregoing.

I doe not so preferre modernity as I would willingly wrong the ancients in their right, nor yet so extoll the ancients as to despise modernity; but shall endeavour to give each of them their due according to my understanding and their desert, and consequently it doth not yet appeare wherein mine opinion is of such daungerous consequence in point of religion as you pretend.

G. G.

What is all humane learning but onely the learning of the Ancients? but if the moderns exceede the Ancients then experience of the present times farre surpasseth all humane learning, & Empericks must bee preferd before Galenists, an opinion most prejudiciall to the professors of all sciences, to universities, Colledges, libraries, and all ancient foundations; If you say the one ought not to bee without the other, this is nothing, for I compare them togeather, and by your opinion a mans owne experience is the best part of learning, which derogates much from all Students in generall, and is therefore of a daungerous consequence.

In respect of humane learning.

G. H.

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G. H.

PLiny gives us a Caveat, that it were good for a man often to have recourse to the title of his booke, that so hee may keepe himselfe close to the point hee intended. Now the point in this discourse intended or at leastwise pretended by you, is matter of religion which in this Section you seeme to have forgotten, but much more in some of those which follow after.

From religion you draw mee to humane learning, whereof I thinke there is little now extant in the world, that can plead the antiquity of 2000 yeares, & none of 3000, so as wee shall bee forced either to make the first Authors thereof, more ancient then their Ancestors, or to confesse that all humane learning was not found out by the most ancient.

Your Lordship tells us in your booke of the *Fall of man*, that all humane learning most flourished at our Saviours birth, which being so, you cannot (as I conceive) withall maintaine that the world since the first creation thereof hath still declined in learning; nay most certaine it is, that by degrees it grew on to that perfection, which was among the ancients, which by degrees againe in succeeding ages degenerated, and in these latter times revived againe; the ancients being now brought into the light, which for a long space lay in obscuritie covered with dust, and eaten with moaths, they are now every where illustrated with fayre impressions, translations, annotations, corrections, additions; this latter age having discovered as a new world, so likewise many rich mines of humane learning in all kinds, which to the ancients were all together unknowne, And truly I cannot but wonder, that any man professing himselfe a Schollar, and borne in these latter times, should either be so ignorant of them, or eagerly bent against them, as without any reservation at all, resolutely to affirme, that *All humane learning belongeth to the Ancients.*

The modernes may and no question doe in many things exceed the Ancients, by correcting their errors, adding to their inventions, and finding out somewhat of their owne which the ancients either knew not at all, or not so perfectly as now they are knowne; but yet that the experience of the present times, farre surpasseth all humane learning, no man I thinke was ever so unreasonable as to affirme, notwithstanding that the Empericks (if by them you understand the *Paracelsians*) are in some things to be preferd before the *Galenists*, no learned *Physitian* will I presume deny; which opinion how it should bee præjudiciall to universities I cannot imagine, but rather conceive that it may helpe to quicken their endeavours, when they shall perceive, that the Ancients had no monoplie of learning granted to them, thereby to ingrosse all knowledge to themselves, but that somewhat is left to be discovered by us, if our industry bee matchable to theirs, and we be not wanting to our selves.

G. G.

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G. G.

IN particular how doe the Antiquaries leese their reputation, especially heraldry comes to nothing; for all the goodly examples by which wee are stirred up to vertue in imitation of our Auncestors, all these must fayle, when as the modernes doe either equall, or rather much exceed the Anciens. Heraldry.

G. H.

TO say that some of the modernes may at leastwise equall some of the Ancients, if not exceed them, is not to derogate from the Ancients; but on the other side to affirme that all the Ancients exceed all the modernes, is doubtlesse most unjustly to derogate from them. Had the most excellent examples among the ancients, now presented unto us by the *Heralds*, thought so meanely of themselves, as if it had ben impossible to equall or exceed their predecessors, surely they had never beene commended unto us as the most eminent patternes for imitation; and why wee should not strive to leave the like patternes to our posterity, as yet I find no sufficient reason; nay sure I am that Heraldry consists not onely of ancient but moderne examples; And how many noble families have wee in our time seen set up by the vertue of those, who have beene the first of their house.

G. G.

WHere is the honour due to primogeniture? *why should there bee a striving & strugling in the wombe for* primogeniture? *why should* Jacob *buy it, and* Esau *selling it should thereby incurre an eternall infamy and shame? and being thus bought and solde, why should the mother interpose and use her best cunning and skill, that* Iacob *might receive the blessing, and thereby have the possession of this* primogeniture? *all this is needelesse; for as modernes doe equall or exceede the Ancients, so the younger the elder by your opinion.* The right of primogeniture.

G. H.

THat respect is due to *primogeniture* I acknowledge, though in some Countries it succeed not to the inheritãce; but that the elder brother in all things alwayes exceeds the younger, that I may not grant; nay it is certaine that the younger often exceeds the elder in strength, or stature, or wit, or learning, or vertue, or honour, or meanes, or all.

G. G.

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G. G.

How daungerous in respect of Innovation.

IN point of thankefulnes wee should reverence the Ancients, for who planted our religion, who established our lawes, brought in civility, erected our forme of government, built all our Churches, Castles, bridges, contrived our high wayes, set and preserved our oakes and timber &c. If wee bee so meanely and basely perswaded of the Ancients, how apt shall wee bee for innovation, what daunger of a mutinee; the country boares may rise in sedition, and not without cause; for by your opinion all things may bee improved; they may justly find fault with these barbarous lawes of Saxons, *and desire Innovation I should say* Reformation, *but both are the same in effect,*

G. H.

AS wee stand bound in point of thankefulnes, to reverence the Ancients, who made such good provision for vs, so were they litle bound to their predecessors, from whom they received nothing but irreligion and incivility, and wee should endeavour to bind our successors to us in point of thankefulnes, as well as wee acknowledge our selves in some things bound to our predecessors, And no doubt but posterity will hereafter bee more thankefull to us for some good lawes, & buildings, and reformation of the great abuses in matter of religion, then the present times are.

There is not so much feare of Innovation from the country *Boores* (who I thinke trouble themselves little with my booke) by meanes of my opinion, as of lazines and murmuring in them by meanes of yours, if they be once persuaded that nothing can bee improved by industry, but all things by a fatall necessity grow worse and worse; And for popular sedition, I thinke this Kingdome hath been as little troubled with it, this last 70. years and somewhat upward, as ever since it was first erected into a Monarchy.

If by the barbarous Lawes of the *Saxons*, you meane those which they used before their conversion to Christianity, and could not well stand with Christian religion (whereof some I have touched in mine Apologie) your Lordship I trust being a Christian Bishop is not offended at the abolition of them, but if your meaning bee that our lawes now in force bee borrowed from the *Saxons*, you are therein as I take it, much mistaken; I speake for the generall, some few branches of our lawes may perchance bee derived from the *Saxons*, but for the bulke & body of them, we are as I conceive most beholding to the *Normans*, who as Conquerors tooke it upon them to give and not to take lawes.

If *reformation* and *innovation* being taken in the worst sence (as you heere doe) bee both the same; *Synods*, and *Parliaments*, and Courts of justice may with more thanks, spare their great paines, and charge, in meeting and consulting for the *reformation* of abuses, daily creeping into the Church and state; And if there need at no time any reformation, I see not but the present times, should for goodnes, be matcheable to the best

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best times that have gone before us even to the golden age it selfe, truly my Lord (under favour bee it spoken) hee who shall censure every Reformation as an Innouation, must of necessity in some things favour error and vice more then vertue and truth, which sometimes are so overgrowne and overtopt with weeds, as they can hardly bee discerned.

G. G.

WHEREAS in the common speech of men there is nothing so usuall as to professe honour to the Ancients; and your selfe doe very often use this phrase, for the honour and reverence which I beare to antiquity, *yet doth the whole scope and intent of your booke tend to the disgrace and dishonour of antiquity.*

G. H.

THat the whole scope of my booke tends to the disgrace of antiquity, if I should say it were no other then an unjust imputation, your Lordship I doubt, would tell mee I were unmannerly; but sure I am it is somewhat uncharitable. It is true, that sometimes in some things I equall modernity with antiquity, and in other things I happily preferre it, as no doubt the ancients themselves would were they now alive, is this to disgrace antiquity? If in some things I preferre the younger brother before the elder, is this to disgrace the elder? If I say that the modernes are reasonable Creatures aswell as the Ancients, is this to disgrace the Ancients? My scope is not to disgrace antiquity, as I have often told you, but to vindicate modernity from that scorne and contempt, which some ungratefull murmurers against the times in which themselves were borne, doting too much upon the vizard of Antiquitie, endeavour to cast upon it. Antiquitie I unfainedly honour, and reverence, but why I should bee bound to reverence the rust and refuse, the drosse and dregs, the warts and wenns thereof I am yet to seeke. Your selfe make the most flourishing estate of the world, to have beene at the time of our Saviours incarnation, which fell out almost 4000 yeares after the worlds creation; by which meanes you consequently preferre not onely those times before all the precedent ages, but these too before the greatest part of them, if the world decay by the same degrees that it rose to perfection; And besides, you often compare the great world and the little world; as then in the little, so in the great world reason will tell you, that old age or antiquity is to bee accounted by the farther distance from the beginning and the neerer approach to the end; and as gray beards are for wisedome and judgement, to bee preferred before young greene heads because they have more experience in affayres: so likewise for the same cause, the present times are to bepreferred before the infancy or youth of the world, wee having the history andpractise of former ages to informe us, which they wanted. Your selfe then in disgracing the present times disgrace

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Antiquity, properly ſo called; the times wherein wee now live being in propriety of ſpeech the moſt ancient ſince the worlds creation; And to take antiquity in your owne and the common ſence, as to give divine honour to the bleſſed Saints or glorious Angells is to diſhonour them: ſo to make the Ancients Angels, or more then men free from all errour, is not to grace but to diſgrace them, by attributing that unto them, which themſelves (were they ſenſible hereof and could expreſſe their minds herein) would doubtleſſe diſallow and diſavow.

G. G.

THus being preſt to ſhew how daungerous the opinion is, I have in part opened it, and doe earneſtly intreate you that I may receive ſatisfaction therein. No doubt but this exorbitant commendation of modernity, is a very pleaſing doctrine to all the new inventors of theſe times. Long ſince I have read ſome of the Lullianiſts, *though Lullius himſelfe dyed in the yeare 1288. and therefore is to be reckoned among the Ancients, (for ſo in every 300 yeares I do undertake to ſhew an apparent change and decay in nature) yet the* Lullianiſts *I conceive to bee moderne, and indeed the* Paracelſians *and* Ramiſts *are of their broode, & ſo are all they who not ſearching into the true grounds of learning, doe notwithſtanding take upon them, to reforme and aime at the advancement of learning; theſe are rare wits who will needs* bee wiſe above meaſure; *but very lately I have harkened after the* fratres roſeæ crucis, *I did addreſſe my ſelfe to one of them who was a principall and an eminent man amongſt them, hee ſhewed me ſome manuſcripts and entred into a large diſcourſe of philoſophy, and in truth I underſtood very little, but at length I found that all his Demonſtrations were grounded upon metaphors, and then I did diſcover his vanity; But to paſſe over theſe forraine Currantoes, and to come to our owne Climate, to ſpeake according to this Meridian, Many have bin the projectors of our times, I have ſearcht into ſome of them, & here I ſhall acquaint you with a little ſtory. There is no Projector who can have a good & a valid patent in law, unleſſe hee pretend ſome publique good, and that it tends not wholy to his owne private profit; to this end there muſt bee a fyne and ſome yeerely rent paid to the crowne. Now of theſe Projectors not one amongſt forty have found good ſucceſſe; and fayling in their projects, there fines and rents have bin unpayd to the crowne. A gentleman found out this project to begg all the arrearages of their fines & rents which were behind & unpaid; and could he have prevailed in this ſuite, no doubt but heſhould have gotte more by this one project the they did by all theirs.*

The *Lullianiſts.*

Fratres roſeæ crucis.

G. H.

YOu were therefore by mee preſſed to ſhew the daunger of my opinion in matter of religiõ, becauſe in all your letters you ever beate upon it, & never left crying out of the great daunger therof, but never offered to ſhew it till now; And having now purpoſely after long ſtudy and premeditation undertaken it, how you have performed it I leave that to the judgemẽt of others. Your ſelfe confeſſe you have done it but in *part*, and truly (if ſelfe love and partiall affection have not too much clouded my judgment) that part is ſo little, as it is in a manner as good as nothing; yet becauſe you earneſtly intreate mee that you may receive ſatisfaction therin, I ſhall as earneſtly intreate you, either to take ſatisfaction frõ mine anſwers, or to ſhew me why you do not; wch mee-thinks is a very juſt & reaſonable requeſt.

My

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My exorbitant commendation of modernity you say is a very pleasing doctrine to all new inventors of these times, and among these you range the *Lullianists* the *Paracelsians* the *Ramists* & the *fratres roseæ crucis*; Whither my commendation bee exorbitant or no cannot appeare (as I conceive) but by disproving mine instances and arguments; which you undertake not, nor I doubt intend, but by flourishes and generall termes, which cannot decide Controversies.

Now for the particulars you instance in, I have little to say of the *fratres roseæ Crucis*; but whereas you seeme to condemne them as being too much addicted to metaphors, I wish that many of the Ancients, and namely *Origen*, and his followers, had not beene as blameable in the same kinde in the allegorizing of Scriptures. Touching *Paracelsus* I have already delivered my opinion; And for *Lullius* and *Ramus*, if by the true grounds of learning you understand *Aristotles Philosophy*, I verily beleeve, they read more in it then those who most sharply censure them; and withall that in some things better vse may bee made of their Logick then of that of *Aristotle*, But as the best way is to joyne *Galen* and *Paracelsus*; so *Aristotle* and *Ramus*, who no doubt was in his time as much envyed by some as *Ramus* is now.

In defence of our Projectors I have as little to say; They have been in all ages and allowed in the best states, and in case their projects have taken successe, well rewarded. Had no way beene given to them, wee should doubtlesse have wanted many things, which wee now find very beneficiall to the publique; And if any fayle in their projects, the greatest losse is commonly to themselves. Lastly, I beleeve some projects which might have proved of good use, have beene choaked in their birth, out of a vaine opinion, that nothing could any way bee improved, and that it were in us meere folly to thinke wee could add any thing to the inventions of our Predecessors; Which opinion had they likewise entertained of their Predecessors, wee had still continued in meere barbarisme. There is at this present a project on foote (God send it good successe) for the setting up of a fishing trade upon our owne coasts; and truly considering it hath pleased God of his goodnes in a manner to to put it into our mouthes, it is strange our Predecessors should hitherto so much neglect it, making long voyages into forraine parts for the same commodity which they might have found at home, in the meane time quietly permitting forrainers to carry it away.

G. G.

WHEN as you desire to adventure the whole cause upon this one point, I did never refuse any offer you made, nor was wanting to any thing you required but have ever performed all; though I could speake much more in this cause then I have heere done, I will adventure all upon this, yet I have heretofore brought one argument which is better then all these; and it was to this effect; that whereas the honour of the diety seems more

Religion tends most to Gods honour.

to bee intereſſed and ingaged in religion then in nature, and that religion hath no other ſcope or end but to build and erect a new world in the ruines of this world, then ſuppoſing that reaſons were doubtfull on both ſides, or equally ballanced (for herein wee differ and both are alike confident of our owne proofes) yet ſurely my opinion which ſuppoſeth that by reaſon wee diſcerne the beginning of nature, the ending of nature, muſt needs make more for the truth of religion, and ſo conſequently for Gods honour and providence, then your opinion, which ſuppoſing the eternall duration of this world, if it doe not abſolutely exclude another world to ſucceed, yet ſurely it doth not enforce it; it makes no way for it, but leaves it indifferent, and therefore makes leſſe for the honour and truth of religion then my opinion doth.

G. H

MY deſire hath alwayes beene that you would bee pleaſed either to receive ſatisfaction, or ſhew why you did not; and this as yet you never performed. And now conſidering you are ſo willing to adventure the whole cauſe upon this one point of religion, meethinks you ſhould in reaſon have fortified it better, and not thus impertinently fly out againſt inventors, and projectors, and I know not what, & then fall backe againe to another argument heretofore brought, and better then all yet ſpoken of; If it hath beene heretofore brought, it hath likewiſe beene heretofore anſwered, but hereof (as your faſhion is) you take no notice; and if it bee better then all the reſt, I wonder you would thruſt in ſo many digreſſions betweene; but let vs a little examine the ſtrength of it.

To your firſt propoſition, That the honour of God ſeems to bee ingaged in religion more then in nature; if by religion you vnderſtand the Chriſtian, it being of much narrower bounds then nature, it ſhould rather ſeeme that the honour of God, is in that reſpect more ingaged in the latter thē in the former, many thouſands obſerving the providence, the wiſedome, the power and goodnes of God, in the courſe and government of nature who never heard of the Chriſtian religion, nor dreame of any world to come.

To your ſecond propoſition, that religion hath none other ſcope or end but to build and erect a new world in the ruines of this world, I ſay that religion hath diverſe other ſcopes, and ends, the glory of God himſelfe the Author of religion, being undoubtedly the laſt and conſequently the principall end thereof; And for the better attaining of this end it ſets him forth unto us as a moſt holy, juſt, true, wiſe, powerfull, mercifull, bountifull, provident Creator, preſerver, and diſpoſer of all things; and for the manifeſtation of all theſe attributes, the worlds preſervation from decay makes more then the decay thereof; in aſmuch as the one neceſſarily implies his continuall care watching over it, the other ſeems to call in queſtion and rather to argue a neglect of his owne workmanſhip, or to open a gap to chance and fortune; I know (ſaith wiſe *Saloman*) that whatſoever God doth, it ſhall bee for ever; nothing can bee put to it, nor any thing taken

taken from it; and *God doth it that men should feare before him.* Eccles. 3. 14.

Another scope of religion which concernes us, and is subordinate to the former, is the fitting and preparing of us for another world, but that it should bee built and erected in the ruines of this, that I find not; In my fathers house, saith our Saviour, are many mansions, not shall bee, but are, which undoubtedly hee speaks of the world to come, in which the Saints and Angels shall everlastingly raigne in perfect happinesse with him and his father. Now this world to come may in some sense I grant, bee said to bee built in the ruines of this present world, because wee shall then bee put into the full possession thereof, aswell in regard of our bodies as our soules and not before. In relation whereunto the holy Scriptures speake of a new heaven and a new earth, upon the dissolution of these wee now enjoy; not new in themselves but in regard of us and our bodily presence in them.

For application of these propositions you say, That your opinion which supposeth that by reason wee discerne the beginning and end of nature, must needs make more for the truth of religion, and so consequently for Gods honour and providence. Though I have evidently demonstrated that reason cannot discerne so much, unlesse withall shee discernes the making of something out of nothing, and the reducing of it backe againe unto nothing in a naturall course, (which your selfe will not admit) yet because heere you doe but suppose it, I will not dispute it; it being granted then for the present that reason discernes both these, what have you gained? surely nothing to your purpose, in as much though Reason might discerne this worlds end, yet the building and erecting of a new world upon the ruines thereof, it cannot possibly discerne; And besides, though you talke heer of the ruines and end of this world, yet in truth your opinion is not that it shall bee ruined, but onely renovated and purified, as appeares in the very next Section, the matter, and forms, and properties of things still remaining as they are.

Now for my opinion it supposeth indeed and sufficiently proveth; that in the ordinary course of nature this world may be perpetuall, but withall it professeth, that by a supernaturall and extraordinary power (when there shall bee no farther use of it) it shall againe bee abolished by the same hand that made it; And then shall the bodies of the Saints being raised from the dust and reunited to their soules, enter into the joy and happines of that other world which shall never end. This latter profession is I confesse a part of revealed truth, not grounded upon nature, nor to be demonstrated by naturall reason, but beleeved by faith. Whereas you then would make the erecting of a new world upon the ruines of this, to bee the onely scope of religion, and yet withall discernable by reason, I see not but you may thereby wholy exclude religion, there being very little or no use thereof, but such as the light of reason may afford; and then the most rationall man shall bee the most religious: which I presume you will not defend, yet for right reason I will say thus much, that as it doth not inforce, so neither doth it exclude the mysteries of our faith.

Your concluſion is that my opinion makes leſſe for the honour and truth of religion then yours doth: which differs much from that which you undertooke to prove, That my opinion forſoothwas of a moſt daũgerous conſequence in point of religion; And thus have you now ſeen the validity of your great argument, which if it bee better then all the reſt, as you affirme, then may you bee pleaſed from hence to make the eſtimate of the force of the reſt.

G. G.

The conflagration of the world excludes the Annihilation.

AT the feet of accompts when in the exchequer wee deſire a quietus eſt, *they ſet downe* & remanet nihil; *My ſelfe deſiring now at length to have my* quietus eſt *from you, I will heere ſay* remanet nihil. *I pray wherefore ſerves conflagration to purge and purifie the world, if inſtantly it muſt bee annihilated? Creation and Annihilation ſtand in oppoſition to each other; as there could bee no preparation to creation: ſo needs there no preparation to the Annihilation, both are without the compaſſe of nature and have no reference to naturall cauſes. If you admit fire onely for puniſhing not for purifying, then adviſe how farre forth it may ſtand with Gods juſtice to inflict double puniſhment. Thus the deluge was never intended for an utter deſtruction of this world, neither is the conflagration; for it ſtands with Gods wiſedome to obſerve ſome Analogie in all his works.*

G. H.

YOu might have had your *Quietus* eſt before you begunne, if you had ſo pleaſed, yet rather then you will bee quiet you muſt needs fling out of your way, and have another boute with my Annihilation, and I muſt follow you. You demande to what end the conflagration ſerves to purge and purifie the world, if inſtantly it muſt bee annihilated? And I demaunde againe, where you reade that the Conflagration is ordained for the purging of the world? S. *Peter*, I am ſure tells us, that it is ordained to burne up the earth and the works that are therein, but for any purging or purifying of the world therewith, I finde not a word in him or any where elſe in holy Scripture; And if it ſhall purifie the world, then certainely the heavens the nobleſt part thereof, which never yet contracted the leaſt tincture of corruption, and conſequently cannot need any purification.

If there bee indeed the ſame reaſon of Creation and Annihilation, as you heere affirme and that moſt truly; I wonder upon what ground in another place you could aſſure mee, that Annihilation implies a manifeſt Contradiction: which by the conſent of all Divines is not in the Divine power to effect; And againe, there being the ſame reaſon of Annihilation and Creation, I as much mervaile by what light of reaſon you could finde out Creation, and yet make Annihilation moſt un-

unreasonable, specially considering, that both (as you say) are without the compasse of nature, and have no reference to naturall causes. Can you find out that by a naturall discourse which hath no reference to naturall causes?

Now for the preparation to them, none at all you say is to be admitted in either; which in the Creation of the first matter is true, it being made out of nothing; but all other materiall substances being made out of it, it served as a preparative to them; and thus the worke of one day was a kinde of preparative to another (if we take them severally as they are described) till the whole worke of the Creation was fully finished. And such a preparative may the Conflagration bee to the Annihilation.

What you meane by *double punishment* I understand not, when you please farther to unfold your selfe therein, I will as you wish me farther advise thereof.

The deluge could not bee intended for an utter destruction of this world, in as much as it destroyed not the fish, nor the vegetables, nor touched the higher regions of the aire, much lesse the elements of fire, or the celestiall bodies. And besides, mankinde together with the severall kindes of beasts and fowles were preserved in the Arke, that so the habitable world might bee peopled and stored againe after the deluge; but after the conflagration it shall not be so, the world then is no more to be inhabited: As then it stood with the wisedome of God not utterly to destroy it by the deluge, being againe to be inhabited; so likewise it stands with the same wisdome utterly to destroy it, when it shall be no more inhabited. And herein is observed a better Analogie (as I take it) then in that by you proposed: which I see not how it can stand with your assertion in the precedent Section, That a new world is to be erected in the ruines of this present, which cannot be without the destruction of the old.

G. G.

And because both of us pretend that wee fight onely for Gods Providence, and therein you will adventure the whole cause, supposing it to bee most proper for our professions, I doe againe accept this offer, and to that end I will here lay downe punctually both our opinions, and then doe I appeale to your selfe and to the Church, *which of them are the most* pious, godly, religious, *and* doe make most for the honour of Gods Providence, and have the greatest correspondencie with our Christian profession. *And this being once adjudged, I will subscribe to that opinion.*

Your offer is accepted.

G. H.

I Willingly acccept of your appeale, and for my selfe I shall unfainedly be most ready to submit, and subscribe, to the judgement of my deare mother the Church of *England*, not onely in this, but in all other controversies.

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G. G.

I Say that this world being made of nothing, had a power or rather an impotencie in it ſelfe (as all other Creatures have) to returne unto nothing; but this impotency is more eſpecially competent to this world rather then to Angels and Spirits, in regard of the naturall principles and compoſition ſubſiſting of contrary qualities, and theſe ever active and oppoſing each other; yet ſhould they at firſt have bin bridled and moderated by Gods ſpeciall Providence, which ſhould have bin to the world as a tree of life; *and thus the world and thus man himſelfe ſhould have beene eternall: yet this eternity ſhould neither have beene naturall, neither yet neceſſarily tyed and chained to the nature; but it was like originall grace which might have continued, but was taken away: Thus man ſhould then have had periods of his age, and the world ſhould have had a ſucceſſion of ſeaſons, both which naturally imply a corruption; which corruption ſhould have beene prevented by a ſpeciall providence; for ſupply of which providence God did not neceſſarily tie and oblige himſelfe, but he might withdraw and with-hold it, as himſelfe thought fit, without any breach of his promiſe; yet ſtill God intended the eternity, and therefore man ſhould have had a tranſlation, and the world in the fulneſſe of time ſhould have beene elevated to ſome better condition.*

G. H.

HAving done for this time with your digreſſion about Annihilation, and having propoſed your Appeale, you jumpe over to the ſtating of the queſtion, which *Logicians* will tell you (not onely the Modernes but the Ancients) ſhould have beene done at firſt: And truely great reaſon it ſhould be ſo, being intended to prepare a way, and adde light to the arguments, and inſtances, and ſolutions, which are to follow after.

You ſay that all Creatures being made of nothing, have a power or rather an impotencie to returne unto nothing; and I beſeech your Lordſhip what is that returning unto nothing but *Annihilation*, by withdrawing that divine influence from them which firſt gave them beeing, and ſtill ſupports them in that beeing which at firſt it gave; as long as that power upholds them, they have no power to returne to nothing, but that once leaving them they have no power to keepe themſelves from that returne.

Corporeall ſubſtances I grant are more ſubject to compoſition, and conſequently to corruption then Angels and Spirits; but Annihilation without the manutention of their maker, the higheſt Cherubins or Seraphines are as ſubject to it as the leaſt gnat that flies in the aire, or the ſillieſt worme that crawles upon the face of the earth.

This world you ſay (thereby meaning the corporeall Creature as it ſtands in oppoſition to Angels and Spirits) naturally ſubſiſteth of contrary qualities, ever active and oppoſing each other: In which poſition you either include the celeſtiall bodies, and ſo make them to ſubſiſt

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of contrary qualities as well as the elementary, against all experience, reason and authoritie; or you exclude them as being no part of the world, which are indeed the noblest of all, upon which all the rest under God in a manner depend; without which the rest would soone returne into their originall Chaos, and in comparison of which (man onely excepted) all the rest are as nothing; which I have the rather observed heere, because commonly where you mention the world, you leave out this principall verbe, as beeing not worth the naming.

What you meane by brideling and moderating these contrary qualities by a speciall Providence I know not; but sure I am that by an ordinary Providence they are still so moderated, as that they can never totally and finally prevaile each against other, but by an extraordinary power.

If God intended the eternity of the world, as you heere affirme, in all likelyhood hee rather so fitted and ordered it at first, in regard of the inbred and naturall principles thereof, then afterward by his speciall Providence, which implies a supernaturall concurrence; and so the world should have subsisted not in any naturall course, but by an extraordinary and miraculous power though man had never sinned: which in very truth is a very miraculous doctrine, and such as I thinke was never broached by any Divine before; it is as if a skilfull Architect should intend a lasting peece of building, which were in his power so to make, and yet would rather chuse so to contrive it, as for the standing of it, it were necessarily to be upheld with props. And besides, it casts a foule aspersion upon the maker, as if hee, in the first Creation powred in the poyson of corruption into his owne worke, and then provided an antidote against it, whereas hee might as easily have prevented the poyson, or rather forborne the powring of it in, as provided the antidote. Nay this doctrine of yours is flatly repugnant, not onely to that in the *Wisedome of Solomon*, *That the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyson of destruction in them*; but of *Moses*, *Behold it was very good*; and of your selfe too in your booke of *the Fall of man*: where you tell us, This poyson was not inbred but brought in by some after chance: as the 'Envious man sowes tares among the good wheate.

The periods of mans age imply indeede a corruption, because they never returne againe, but the succession of the seasons of the yeare imply it not, because they still returne againe according to Gods promise; *Gen.* 8. 22. And by this promise hath hee obliged himselfe, yet not to any speciall, but to an ordinary Providence in preserving his owne ordinances.

That man should have beene translated is very likely, that so the earth in processe of time being replenished with inhabitants, roome might thereby be made for posteritie; but why the world also should bee elevated to some higher condition, above that in which God created it, for mine owne part I finde no reason of it, or warrant for it; and how you will both elevate it to a higher condition, & yet withall make

it

it eternall by a ſpecially providence in the ſame condition in which it was created, I am utterly to ſeeke. My Lord in very truth here be ſuch ſtrange peeces of *Divinity*, as I verily beleeve you muſt bee beholding to the invention of modernitie, or rather of one ſingle moderne Authour for them; for I will be bold to ſay, that either in Scripture or antiquitie you can finde no colourable ground to maintaine them.

G. G.

Gods glory in the variety of his workes.

THis I conceive to bee the great difference betwixt the materiall and ſpirituall world, the one comming nearer the nature of God who is a ſpirit, is therefore more like unto God in a certaine and ſtable continuance, and to that end was created abſolutely perfect in one inſtant; but the materiall world came to perfection by degrees; in the Creation hereof there was obſerved a kinde of generative order, which ſhewes a poſſibilitie of the diſſolution, and ſo by the variety of his workes the Providence of God appeares more glorious; this ſhould have beene the condition of the world, if ſinne had never beene committed.

G. H.

THat the Providence of God appeares more glorious in the variety of his workes, is moſt true: and alſo that the ſpirituall ſubſtances come nearer the nature of God then the materiall; and that there is a poſſibility of diſſolution in both I deny not, but that the one of theſe ſhould decay by degrees, becauſe it was created by degrees; and the other, becauſe they were created in an inſtant, continue in a ſtable condition, this I ſee not proved; nay certaine it is, that the matter of the one was created in an inſtant, as well as the ſubſtance of the other: which ſhould argue the ſtabilitie of the one as well as of the other. And more then ſo diverſe good Divines, and among them S. *Auguſtine* and *Cajetan* are of opinion, that not onely the matter but the firſt formes of all things were created in an inſtant, and ſo diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes*, into the workes of ſeverall dayes for our better apprehenſion. Once I am ſure, that your Lordſhip in your Sermon of the religion of the dumbe Creatures, compares them for their ſtabilitie in their condition to the bleſſed Angels.

G. G.

BVt by the ſinne of Adam *as there was a propagation in reſpect of his poſterity, ſo was there a contagion in reſpect of all the Creatures: and more, the whole world became infected with him, for puniſhment whereof God takes from man originall grace, and leaves him* in puris naturalibus. *Man is expelled Paradiſe, bereaved of the tree of life, and thereby deprived of meanes for preſerving himſelfe; Adde hereunto the ſentence of death which paſt upon him: ſo likewiſe the world is changed in ſtate and condition, whereas before there was a ſweet calme and harmony in all parts, now the diſcord and oppoſition appeares; for this is the fruit and effect of ſinne, which putteth an enmity betweene God and*

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and the Creatures, the Providence of God so cunningly contrives, that forthwith the Creatures rise up in tumults, and uproares amongst themselves, as seeming to fight in Gods quarrell, and to revenge upon each other the injuries done unto God. Here the earth is cursed, which in effect is the sentence of death; by the earth the whole world is implyed, for it is the center which points out the circle: This sentence was not immediately executed upon man, much lesse upon the whole world, the length of mans age is uncertaine, the length of the worlds age is much more uncertaine; we see our condition in the death of others, and by the destruction of Paradise, by the generall deluge, and by the decay of all individualls, wee judge of the decay of the world, which subsisting of the same principles cannot bee exempted from the same let and condition: Thus the deluge had naturall causes and a long preparation, and the world having the principles of corruption inbred in it selfe; God for the due deserts and punishment of sinne, may justly permit and suffer them to worke their owne naturall effects.

God will not preserve this world in a sinfull estate for eternitie.

G. H.

THat by the fall of man the whole world became infected with sinne, may not bee yeelded; where is no act of reason nor free choyce of the will, there can be no actuall sinne, nor originall, but by propagation; so as unlesse wee shall say, that the dumbe Creatures are propagated from *Adam*, or have in themselves an exercise of reason and freedome of will, they can in no sort bee capable either of actuall or originall sinne, and consequently not infected with sinne at all.

That the world since the Creation is changed in state and condition in regard of mans use I grant; that proving discord and opposition to him, which unlesse hee had fallen had not beene so; but in respect of it selfe the sinne of man could not alter the worke of God, or marre that sweet harmony which hee had set in it, as I shewed out of *Abulensis*, *Montanus*, *Vives*, *Morney*, *Pererius*, and others; much lesse did it put an enmity betwixt God and the Creatures, neither doe they revenge upon each other the injuries done unto God, these are meere fictions and fancies of your owne braine without any sufficient warrant. The Creatures as being the workemanship of his owne hands, and constantly persevering in their obedience, are as deare unto their maker as ever, and he as bountifull unto them; they never were in any point injurious to him by sinning against him, but hee rather seemes to bee injurious both to him and them, who taxeth them with disobedience, and him with injustice, in punishing them for disobedience; and both undeservedly: If this be not to wound him in his justice, and them in their innocency, through the sides of I know not what imaginarie corrupt nature, I know not what it is.

In what sense the earth was cursed, not in it selfe which was guiltlesse, but unto man who had sinned, and how that curse may be said to bee the sentence of death I have already shewed: now that the whole world should bee implyed in that curse, because it is the center, is a strange assertion backed with as strange a reason; will you imply celestiall

ſtiall bodies, and all the other elements in the earth alone? Truely my Lord, this is to make good the old proverbe indeed, by confounding not oney fire and water, but heaven and earth together: And if in the earth the whole world be implyed, becauſe as the Center it points out the circle, I pray tell mee what you thinke of the Center of the earth it ſelfe; can you ſhew me any markes of the curſe there? ſurely were it accurſed in it ſelfe, they ſhould in reaſon as well be found there, as in the ſurface thereof; by the circle which the Center points out, you ſhould in reaſon meane the heavens, but I doubt it will trouble you as much to ſhew any prints of the curſe there, as in the fire or water, or in the Center of the earth. The whole world I grant is a curſe to them that are accurſed, either as accidentally occaſioning ſinne, or as inſtrumentally inflicting puniſhment for ſinne; yet is there no part of it (man only excepted) accurſed in it ſelfe, *For every Creature of God is good*: neither is it a curſe to ſuch as are freed from the curſe by Chriſts taking it upon himſelfe, it being ſanctified to them by the word of God and prayer. 1. *Tim.* 4. *v.* 4. 6. And againe, *To the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbeleeving nothing is pure.* *Titus* 1. 15. The whole world and all the parts of it are a curſe to the one, but to the other no part of it; *inaſmuch as all things worke together for good to them that love God.* *Rom.* 8. 28.

If the worlds age bee ſo uncertaine, I wonder how by the great decay thereof, and the fierie conſtellations, you can know ſo certainely, that it is now in its old age, languiſhing with a long conſumption, neare approaching to a finall period.

That in the death of others we ſee our owne condition I grant, but that wee may by the deſtruction of Paradiſe, or the generall deluge, or the decay of individualls judge of the decay of the world, that I deny. For the deſtruction of Paradiſe, your Lordſhip therein differs from the Ancients, who held, notwithſtanding the floud, it ſtill remained ſafe and untouched, and *Enoch* in it; for mine owne part I am rather of opinion with you, that the Ancients were herein miſtaken, and that Paradiſe is indeed defaced, yet not in the ordinary courſe of nature, but by an extraordinary judgement; and ſo was the deluge likewiſe cauſed, though you be pleaſed to tell us of naturall cauſes, and a long preparation. There was indeed a long preparation in regard of the premonition, but for the matter thereof, I find no ſuch thing; or if part of the matter were naturall, yet ſurely the manner and meaſure of working were ſupernaturall; ſo as from a ſupernaturall judgement inflicted upon the inhabitants of the earth, to inferre a naturall and generall decay in the heavens, and all the elements and mixt bodies, is doubtleſſe a very feeble argument. Now for the decay of individualls, I ſay firſt that they doe not all decay; there is no decay in the elements ſave onely in their parts (which are againe repaired) never in their whole bodies: there is no decay at all to be found in the Sunne, or Moone, or ſtarres, which I truſt you will not deny to be individualls. And for the mixt bodies, they ſubſiſt not of the ſame principles as the univerſe doth, which is preſerved from decay by meanes of the celeſtiall bodies, the principall part

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part, and moſt ſoveraigne principle thereof, which in the ſublunarie individualls is not to be found; and though they conſiſt of the ſame elementarie principles, yet the cauſe is different; theſe principles (as I have ſaid) being in the univerſe, alwayes ſupplied by an equivalent compenſation, but not ſo in the individualls; which notwithſtanding, though they thus decay in themſelves, yet they ſtill live in their Succeſſors, the one decaying and dying, that ſo they may give place to the other, and the other ſucceeding, that they may ſupply the vacant roome; that ſo the earth be neither overburdened with exceſſe, nor by defect left voide.

Though I ſhould yeeld that the world had principles of corruption inbred in it ſelfe, yet all corruption tending to generation, there can bee no feare of the whole frame of nature, but it will ſtill ſubſiſt without any naturall death or decay; and if there ſhould bee any corruption without a ſucceeding generation of ſome other thing, one of theſe two muſt needes thereupon enſue, that either that part of the firſt matter which was actuated by the forme corrupted, muſt bee annihilated, or left deſtitute of all formes: both which are alike impoſſible in the courſe of nature.

G. G.

THus the world now tainted with ſinne, ſubject to a curſe, ſubject to vanity, it ſtands with Gods mercy that this ſinne, curſe, vanity, ſhould not bee of infinite continuance; therefore hee ſuffers the world of it ſelfe to decline by degrees, yet before it comes to that extreame old age, weakeneſſe and miſerie, God takes pittie on the world, thus languiſhing in a lingring diſeaſe; and ſeeing death is the wages of ſinne, God doth ſuddenly interpoſe, hee burnes and conſumes the world with fire, that ſo hee may purge and purifie it, and in the aſhes thereof raiſe up a new frame, a new world, ſanctified, glorified, which without ſpot or ſinne may laſt for eternity, as the puniſhment of mans ſinne was not a reprobation and utter caſting away, as it was in the Angells, but rather a chaſtiſement and correction, whereby God tooke occaſion to inlarge his mercies, and to give man a better condition; ſo ſhall it bee in the ſtate of this world, there ſhall bee a death and corruption, but no Annihilation.

God will not preſerve this world in a ſinfull ſtate for eternity.

G. H

NO part of the materiall world (man onely excepted) is tainted with ſinne, nor ſubject either to a curſe or vanity, but in relation to ſinfull man.

It ſtands indeed with Gods mercy, and not onely with his mercy but his truth and juſtice, that this world ſhould not bee of infinite continuance, and therefore hath hee promiſed the abolition of it, and the putting of us into poſſeſſion of a better; but no where (that I know) the ſuffering of it to decline by degrees of it ſelfe, and truly had the

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world ſince the fall of man, ſtill languiſhed in ſuch a lingring diſeaſe as you ſpeake of, no doubt it had long ere this arrived to that extreame old age, weakeneſſe, and miſerie which you mention, if not to death it ſelfe: which is indeed the wages of ſinne in man, but that it is likewiſe the wages of ſinne in the death of the world, ſave onely in reference to man, I no where finde; and if the great world bee tending to death of it ſelfe, as doth the little world, why God ſhould rather interpoſe by his extraordinary power in cutting off the one, then the other, as yet I ſee no ſufficient reaſon: Neither is it thought toward man an act of mercy, though he languiſh with ſome lingring diſeaſe, to burne him with fire being yet alive, thereby to haſten his death and put him out of his paine. And here I ſhall make bold, to put you in minde of adviſing with your ſelfe, how far forth it may ſtand with Gods juſtice to inflict this double puniſhment, and that upon an innocent (as the whole world is, man onely excepted) the one of naturall decay, the other of a ſupernaturall judgement by fire, which you ſay ſhall burne and conſume this world, that ſo it may bee purged and purified. Why my Lord, thoſe things which are onely purified are not conſumed, and if they be conſumed, there is nothing left to be purified; yes, in the aſhes of this, God you ſay, will raiſe up a new frame, in the aſhes of this? then indeed it is conſumed but not purified; a new frame? a new world? then this is not purified, but another made and raiſed out of the aſhes of this: And in truth, you doe not ſufficiently unfold your ſelfe which of theſe two you hold, either the making of a new world, or the renuing of the old; but why either the old ſhould bee renued, or a new made that might laſt to eternitie, (mankinde being from hence removed) you never yet vouchſafed to aſſigne any end, nor I thinke either you, or any man elſe, can aſſigne any that ſhould ſatisfie themſelves, much leſſe others. Mee-thinkes you ſpeake of a ſanctified and glorified world without ſpot or ſinne, as if this were to be the place of eternall reſt and happineſſe of the glorified Saints; but the Scriptures I am ſure point us out another place, and then what uſe ſhall be of this, or any other raiſed up in the aſhes of this, I know not.

The puniſhment of mans ſinne you ſay, was not a reprobation or utter caſting away, indeed in the elect it was not, but in the reprobate (of whom you ſeeme to ſpeake, comparing them with the Apoſtate Angells) you muſt either hold it to have beene a puniſhment of ſinne, or turne *Calviniſt*, who holds (as you ſay) That God may and doth reprobate without relation to ſinne, only to manifeſt his abſolute power. The ſame may be ſaid of that which followeth; the puniſhment of mans ſinne is indeed, a chaſtiſement onely and correction in regard of the elect, but in the reprobate an utter caſting away; and if by this chaſtiſement God tooke occaſion (as you ſay) to enlarge his mercies, and to give man a better condition, then might the reformed religion, in that reſpect excell that of *Adam* in the ſtate of innocency, though you are pleaſed before to make your ſelfe merry with the compariſon.

Laſtly, there ſhall bee you ſay a death and corruption of the world, but

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but no Annihilation; Why my Lord, what is death and corruption but a ſeperation of the eſſentiall forme from the matter, it poſſeſſed and informed? I would demaund then, when the world ſhall die and bee corrupted, what ſhall become of the eſſentiall forme thereof, being ſeparated from the matter? either it muſt ſubſiſt of it ſelfe and by it ſelfe without any matter to informe, or in ſome other matter out of the world, or bee annihilated; I ſee no remedie but of neceſſitie you will bee forced to admit one of theſe three. Now I preſume you will not admit of either of the two former, and conſequently you will bee forced to admit of Annihilation. And beſides, if the world upon the death thereof bee endued and actuated with a new eſſentiall forme, then is it not the ſame world renovated, but a new world newly inſtituted: And thus whiles you runne away from Annihilation one way, you runne upon it another way; and withall upon ſuch rockes, as I doubt you will hardly eſcape from ſhipwrack.

I have done with your ſtate of the queſtion; but will your Lordſhip bee pleaſed now a little to reflect upon what you have ſaid, and to take ſomewhat a narrower view thereof.

You ſay, that all Creatures have a power, or rather an impotencie to returne to nothing; and yet make Annihilation a ſtrange monſter to bee wondred at. You ſay, that this world hath in it ſuch a power or impotencie, rather then the Angells; whereas both ſubſiſt equally and meerely by the divine manutention. You ſay that this world (as it ſtands in oppoſition to the Angells) ſubſiſteth of contrary qualities oppoſing each other; forgetting the heavens as it ſhould ſeeme to be any part of the materiall world. You ſay, that God intended the eternitie of the world, and yet endowed it with ſuch naturall principles as imply corruption without a ſpeciall providence, and miraculous preſervation. You ſay, that the world (though man had not falne) might of it ſelfe have runne to ruine, without any breach of Gods promiſe; and yet cannot deny, but that after the fall, and after the floud too, he tyed himſelfe to an orderly and perpetuall ſucceſſion of the ſeaſons of the yeare in their due times. You ſay, that the world though man had not falne, ſhould have beene elevated to ſome better condition; which I thinke never any Divine before affirmed. You ſay that there is a poſſibilitie of the diſſolution of the materiall world; which I never denied, but alwayes conſtantly maintained, not onely a poſſibilitie or probabilitie, but a moſt infallible certainety thereof. You ſay that there is no poſſibilitie of diſſolution in the Angells, and yet ranke them among thoſe Creatures, which have a power or impotencie of returning to nothing; and compare the worlds corruption only to a fatherly correction, but the reprobation of the Apoſtate Angells to Annihilation. You ſay, that the Angells were created abſolutely perfect, but not the materiall world; whereas Saint *Auguſtine*, and with him diverſe other great Divines hold, that the latter was created in an inſtant as well as the former; and your ſelfe will not deny but the firſt matter was created in an inſtant, as well as the Angells; and the formes of all individualls were created in an inſtant, though not all in the

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ſame inſtant: neither can Creation bee but in an inſtant, ſo as all the parts of the world, not only in regard of their matter, but their formes were created in an inſtant as well as the Angells; which becauſe they conſiſt not either of eſſentiall or integrall parts, could none otherwiſe bee created but perfect in an inſtant, I meane the individuall Angells; but whether the whole number of them were all created together in one inſtant, that God onely knowes; and we know, that ſome of them fell away from God; which argues, that they were not at firſt created ſo abſolutely perfect, as the elect Angells now are. You ſay, there was a kinde of generative order obſerved by God in the workes of the Creation; wherein you diſſent from all Divines, and the text it ſelfe, and derogate from the power of the Creatour; who therefore ſeemes to have created the fruits of the earth the third day, and the lights of heaven the fourth, thereby to make it appeare, that in the workes of the Creation hee obſerved not any ſuch generative order as you ſpeake of, but that the Creation was a worke meerely ſupernaturall, and that worke to bee diſſolved by the ſame ſupernaturall power, and none otherwiſe. You ſay, that the whole world is infected with ſinne, whereas no part of the world is capable either of originall or actuall ſinne, but onely man. You ſay, the world is changed in ſtate and condition; I ſhould aske by whom? would God marre his owne worke? could any Creature marre it? You ſay againe, the ſweet harmony of all the parts of the world is turned into diſcord and jarring; but if I might be ſo bold, I ſhould heere againe aske who broke the ſtrings, or brought them out of tune; would God marre his owne muſicke? or could man, or divells, or angells marre it? Truly I thinke if men perceive it not, it is either becauſe they are not capable of that muſicke, or their mindes are out of tune, which makes them conceive the fault to be in the harmony of the world. You ſay, there is an enmitie betweene God and his Creatures; as if hee could hate thoſe workes of his owne hands, in whoſe power it is not to make themſelves any other then hee made them; or they hate him, who cannot bee but obedient to him. You ſay, that by the earth the whole world is implied; and ſo confound not onely fire and water, but heaven and earth. You ſay, that the Center points out the circle, and yet cannot ſhew any prints of this curſe, either in the Center of the earth, or in the celeſtiall bodies, which are the Circle. You ſay, that the worlds age is much more uncertaine then mans age; and yet aſſure us that it is now in its old age, neare approaching to a finall period. You ſay that wee may judge of the worlds decay by the deſtruction of Paradiſe, the generall deluge and the decay of individualls; whereas ſome individualls decay not at all, and in them which decay, it is ordained for the worlds preſervation; and the two former were effected by a ſupernaturall meanes, from whence you would inferre a naturall decay of the heavens, and conſequently of the whole world. You ſay, that the world ſubſiſting of the ſame principles with the individualls, cannot be exempted from the ſame lot and condition; and yet you cannot ſhew any ſublunarie individuall compounded of the heavens and elements as the world is,

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nor in which the elements are by compenſation recompenced, as in the world they are. You ſay that the deluge had naturall cauſes; which is partly true in regard of the matter, but in regard either of the manner or meaſure not ſo. You ſay it had a long preparation, which is true in regard of premonition, but not cauſalitie. You ſay, that the world hath the principles of corruption imbred in it ſelfe; contrary to reaſon, contrary to experience, contrary to *Moſes* and *God* himſelfe; *Gen.* 1.31. contrary to the Author of the *Wiſedome of Solomon*: *cap.* 1.14. contrary to your ſelfe in your booke of *the Fall of man*, *pag.* 26. and againe moſt apparently, *pag.* 396. You ſay that the world ſince the fall of man hath ſtill languiſhed in a lingring diſeaſe; which were it ſo indeed, it would doubtleſſe have breathed out the laſt long agoe. You ſay that death is the wages of ſinne, not onely in man but in the world; whereas man onely is capable of ſinne, and not the world. You ſay that God in mercy taking pitty of the world will burne it; whereas Divines tell us, that it is an act of power and juſtice, rather then mercy; and if it bee an act of mercy, it is rather in regard of his children, who thereupon are to bee put into poſſeſſion of a better world, then of the world it ſelfe. You ſay it ſhall bee conſumed with fire, that ſo it may be purified; which termes are incompatible and cannot both ſtand together, if it be conſumed, nothing is left to bee purified; and if it be purified it is not conſumed. You ſay, that in the aſhes of this world a new frame ſhall be raiſed; which if it be ſo, then are we not to expect the purification of the old. You ſay that your new world ſhall be ſanctified and glorified, without ſpot and without ſinne, as if you intended to make it the reſting place of the Saints; which notwithſtanding, in charity I will hope is not your meaning. You ſay this new world ſhall laſt to eternity; but being often preſſed thereunto, you never yet vouchſafed to aſſigne any end thereof, why it ſhould ſo laſt. You ſay the puniſhment of mans ſinne was not Reprobation; and yet condemne *Calvin* for ſaying, that God reprobates man without relation to ſinne. You ſay, that God by correcting ſinne, tooke occaſion to inlarge his mercies, and to give man a better condition; and yet by way of jeſting you demand the queſtion, whether I thinke the reformed religion, or that of *Adam* in the ſtate of innocencie, the more excellent. Laſtly you ſay, that in the ſtate of this world there ſhall be a death and corruption, but no Annihilation; whereas death and corruption imply a ſeparation of the eſſentiall forme from the matter, which muſt of neceſſity ſubſiſt of it ſelfe, or in ſome other matter out of the world, or be annihilated; and if you will yeeld to none of theſe, it cannot poſſibly die and be corrupted.

And have wee not heere my Lord a queſtion ſoundly ſtated, ſo as I durſt now appeale to your ſelfe, how pious and religious your opinion is, and ſo paſſe to the examination of mine owne opinion as you are pleaſed to report it.

G. G.

ON the contrary by your opinion this world might or should continue in a sinfull state for eternity, and God should no sooner take away the abuse, but he should take away the use, having refined the world by fire he should then annihilate it, though hee spares the principall sinner which is man, yet hee should not spare the faire fabricke of this world which never offended but onely in man; thus God himselfe should loose the labour of the six dayes, and the end of the Creation (which should be the most excellent part, and of the greatest perfection) it should be a nothing; thus the wisedome, power, providence of God himselfe should tend to nothing: Here I pray more fitly and properly apply all those arguments, whereby you interest and ingage all the attributes of God, in the eternity of the world, they will abundantly serve to prevent this Annihilation.

God sparing man, hee will likewise spare the world.

G. H.

THe stating of my question, as my selfe in a large chapter have unfolded it, your Lordship is very well content to passe over in silence, without taking any notice of it, and by catching at scattered peeces heere and there, to frame such a state to your selfe, as might make for your best advantage and my greatest disgrace, but I will follow you, and take it as I finde it.

You say that by my opinion the world might or should continue in a sinfull state for eternity; That it should I never said, nor that it might, Gods decree for the destruction of it presupposed, nor yet that it is in it selfe subject to any sinfull state; let man be removed out of it, and it will soone bee as free from sinne as ever: It is man who by reason of sinne cannot continue to eternity in this world, but the world it selfe, being in it selfe voide of sinne (did it so please the maker of it) no doubt might continue.

By my opinion God you say should no sooner take away the abuse, but hee should take away the use of the world. That the abuse of it shall bee taken away by the destruction of it I grant, and so it might without that destruction by mans removall out of it; but man being once from hence removed, what farther use shall then be of it, I cannot yet understand; but should bee much bound to your Lordship, or any man else to instruct me therein.

By my opinion you say God having refined the world by fire shall then annihilate it, whereas I never affirmed that it was to bee refined, nor yet know why it should, unlesse there were some farther use to bee made of it; neither can you hold the refining if you hold the consuming of it, death and refining, ashes and refining, corruption and refining, a new frame and a refining of the same thing cannot stand together.

By my opinion you say, God should spare the principall sinner which is man, and yet should not spare the faire fabrick of the world which never offended but onely in man; Whereas I never distinguished of any

any principall or leſſe principall ſinner, but ever conſtantly affirmed that man is the onely ſinner, and withall that only man is puniſhed for ſinne; ſo farre was I from ſaying that the principall ſinner is ſpared, or that the faire fabrick of this world which never offended, was puniſhed for mans ſake, as you confidently affirme. Where by the way I cannot but wonder, that you ſhould a little before in ſtating your owne opinion, tell vs of the diſcord and confuſion, the tumults and uproares of all the parts of the world, languiſhing for many thouſand yeares in a lingring diſeaſe, and here to ſerve your turne vouchſafe it the glorious title of a faire fabrick; or how it never offended but onely in man, and yet is tainted and infected with ſinne, injurious to God, an enemy againſt God, and for ſinne ſubject to decay and death in a naturall courſe.

By my opinion you ſay God ſhould looſe the labour of the ſixe dayes & the end of the Creation: Whereunto I anſwere, that to ſpeake properly, the worke of the ſixe dayes was no labour to God, and conſequently in a proper ſence, deſtroying it by his owne will and power, he cannot bee ſaid to looſe his labour; And I beſeech you my Lord, if this world which wee now inhabite ſhall bee conſumed with fier; and a new one raiſed up out of the aſhes thereof as you affirme; doth not God thereby looſe his labour of the ſix dayes afwell as by Annihilation? And here I muſt pray you to remember, that man the principall worke of the creation, for whom all the reſt was ordained and to whom it was referred, ſhall ſtill remaine to eternity together with the places & inſtruments aſſigned for his eternall happines or torment; The Angels likewiſe (as I conceive) were created within the compaſſe of thoſe ſix dayes (though I know the *Greeke* fathers bee of opinion that they were created long before this world); ſo as though the reſt ſhould bee annihilated, yet could not God bee ſaid thereby to looſe his labour, the nobleſt peeces of his worke ſtill remaining; the empyreall heaven alone appointed for the dwelling place of the glorifyed Saints, & the throne of the divine majeſty being as farre beyond this world, as this world is beyond a mole hill.

Now for the end of the Creation; A man is ſaid to looſe his labour indeed, when hee is fruſtrated of that end to which hee intended his labour; which in this caſe cannot be verifyed; the end of the Creation in Gods intention, being none other that ever I heard or read of, but the advancement of his owne honour; and the uſe of man; who being removed from hence to a better place, hee can have no farther uſe of it; And for the advancement of Gods honour, man being removed, no other Creature ſhall bee left capable thereof; In which regard the end of the Creation being at an end upon mans removeall from hence, I ſee not to what purpoſe the Creatures ſhould remaine; And as great a doubt there is not onely about their choice, which ſhall remaine and which not, why ſome and not others, but about their condition in which they ſhall remaine, whether in a ſtate of generation as now they are, or in a ſtate of perpetuitie without generation, which in beaſts, and fowles, and fiſhes, and vegetables, is altogether incredible.

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By my opinion you ſay the wiſedome, power and providence of God ſhould tend to nothing; Why my Lord is mankind nothing? are the Angels nothing? is the duration of the other Creatures hitherto nothing? and the Creator himſelfe onely knowes how long they are yet to laſt; ſo as thoſe arguments whereby I intereſt and ingage the attributes of God, not in the worlds eternity (as you ſay) but in a poſſibility thereof, doe not at all ſerve, much leſſe abundantly ſerve, as you tell us, to prevent this Annihilation. Whiles the world laſts, it may ſerve as a cleare looking glaſſe or fayre volume, for a man to ſee and read the divine attributes in it; but man being remooved from hence, and beholding the Creatour not in a glaſſe but in himſelfe, not in an image but face to face, this glaſſe may be broken, and this booke ſhut, or burnt, or both reduced to nothing, without any prejudice either to man, or to the maker: Now if you would be pleaſed to ſhew mee, how man being remooved from hence, and having no more to doe with this world, thoſe divine attributes ſhall appeare to the ſenſeleſſe and unreaſonable Creatures, in your new or renovated world, I will promiſe you to annihilate my annihilation. I muſt profeſſe, for mine owne part, I know not how to underſtand it, unleſſe perchance as you elevate the world, to a pitch of higher and nobler condition, ſo you will elevate the beaſts, to a higher ſtate of reaſon and religion; which I am the rather induced to beleeve, for that you have already publiſhed a Sermon, touching the religion of the dumbe Creatures, even in this baſe condition as now they are.

G. G.

AND in a word inſtance in any one thing which is annihilated, & I will yeeld the Annihilation of the whole world.

Nothing is annihilated.

The formes of dumbe Creatures are not annihilated, but as their bodies are reſolved into the bodies of elements, ſo their formes into the formes of elements; & therein the formes have an analogicall materiality, whereby they differ from humane formes, the ſoules of men; in that they are educed out of the matter, & are as compounded of formes, ſo reſolved into formes of elements; The apparent colours in cloudes or in glaſſes, though they want a materiall mixture, yet are they in their firſt principles, the opacitie *and* perſpicuitie *of bodies, ſhadowes which ſeeme to bee* non entities, *yet ſtanding in relation they ſubſiſt in the grounds and fountaines of that relation, and therefore in the ſame poſition they returne againe the ſame; Heer you will bee pleaſed to apply in a metaphyſicall ſence, that axiome concerning the links and chaines of generation & corruption, how they doe mutually draw on each other, for ſo a new world ſhall ſucceed this old world, and thereby prevent Annihilation; but whereas you would apply that axiome, only for preſerving of things in their now naturall being (under favour bee it ſpoken) herein wee differ.*

G. H.

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G. H.

YOu wish me to instance in any thing which is Annihilated, & then you will yeeld the Annihilation of the whole world; But suppose I could give you no such instance, is not the scripture, authoritie sufficient without an instance? you say a new world shall bee raised up in the ashes of this, can your Lordship give mee an instance for that? or were it reasonable in mee to demande it? And to your demande I say first, that if you can shew mee what Creatures shall remaine, in what condition they shall remaine, and to what end they shal remaine, or any one of these, so as to give your selfe satisfaction, I will utterly renounce my Annihilation.

Secondly, if an instance may bee given, I hope you will bee mindefull of your promise, which I shall endeavour. When our Saviour turned water into wine, I would gladly know whither the forme of water were not annihilated; as also what became of that new starre, which appeared in *Cassiopea*, *anno* 1572; and of that dove, in which the holy ghost appeared at our Saviours baptisme: Once I am sure that the Romanists in defence of their transubstantiation, cannot but maintaine an Annihilation of the bread, aswell in regard of the matter, as the forme. Some of these instances I have formerly given you, but to them you vouchsafe no reply; I have likewise instanced in the properties, accidents, and essentiall formes of the elements, the mixt bodies, the vegetables, and the dumbe Creatures; The identitie of all these depends upon the identitie of the subject, in which they inhere, and which they informe, so as their subjects being once dissolved they vanish into nothing; at leastwise in regard of their identitie, which certainely is something; they can never returne againe to the same identitie, nor passe from one subject to another in that respect. There passeth a relation betweene the father and the sonne, the father dies, I would willingely learne now, what becomes of this relation, whither it do not so die with the father as it is utterly annihilated? and yet I hope you will not deny relation to bee something, otherwise wee must of necessity loose one of our predicaments. The sound of the winde whiles I am now writing, passeth by mine eare, I would aske what becomes of this sound; if it vanish and vanish into nothing, it is doubtlesse annihilated; and yet a sound I am sure you will yeeld to bee something. The like may bee said of the time past, which by your owne confession hath beene something, but being no more existent, either must bee annihilated or turned into some other thing, which I presume cannot be assigned, I could easily give you infinite instances in this kind, whereas you demande but one.

You reply, that the formes of dumbe Creatures are not annihilated, but as their bodies are resolved into the bodies of the elements, so their formes into the formes of the elements. Which assertion of yours to mee seemeth very strange, inasmuch as the formes of the dumbe Creatures, are indued with the faculties of life, of vegetation, of motion, of sense,

ſenſe, which in the formes of the elements are not found; And beſides, their eſſentiall forme conſiſts not of diviſible parts, but in an indiviſible point; ſo as being diſſolved, it cannot bee divided among the elements as you would have it, and in caſe it could, yet now ſubſiſting in another ſubject, or rather in other ſubjects, it cannot bee denominated the ſame forme. If I ſhould grant you, that the materiality of theſe formes as they informe mixt bodies, is both at firſt compounded of the elements, and at laſt reſolved into them, yet as they are indued with the powers of vegetation and ſenſe, they can no more bee reſolved into the elements, then the elements can impart thoſe powers; they may impart what they have, but what they have not, they cannot impart. That which you add touching apparent colours, that being in the ſame poſition, they returne againe the ſame; is true ſpecifically but not numerically, the ſame they are in kinde, but not individually the ſame, becauſe they want the ſame *hic & nunc*, as Logicians ſpeake. The individuall colour then ſo appearing, is undoubtedly annihilated, as ſoone as the cauſes of ſuch appearance are remooved, though the ſpecificall ſtill remaine ſubſiſting in the ſame grounds and fountaines of that relation; So as I think, I could not have brought a more apparent inſtance againſt you, then you have heere done againſt your ſelfe from theſe apparent colours.

But now my Lord, how if I inſtance in your owne opinion touching the worlds decay; this I am ſure is likewiſe good againſt you. You maintaine that there is a decreaſe as in mankind, ſo in many other kinds of vegetative and ſenſitive Creatures, if not in all; a decreaſe I ſay you maintaine in their quantities, and that a very great decreaſe ſince their Creation; now quantitie as you know is an accident inhærent in the matter, and to it inſeperably united, as qualities are to the forme; the quantity then of the ſpecies of things decreaſing, the portion of matter likewiſe anſwering to that quantity muſt of neceſſity decreaſe; and both that matter and quantity bee added to ſome other thing, or bee annihilated; ſo as you will bee forced either to aſſigne mee ſomewhat which is increaſed as much by this decreaſe, or grant Annihilation in the very courſe of nature, and that not onely of accidents, or materiall formes, but of the very firſt matter immediately created by God: which I conſtantly and confidently beleeve, cannot poſſibly bee annihilated in the courſe of nature, nor yet by the force of any Creature, as neither can the ſpecificall formes, or ſpecificall properties of things, but onely by God himſelfe; though you bee pleaſed to teach us in your booke of the fall of man pag. 271. 369. 384. & in diverſe other places, That the Creature hath not onely an impotency, as heere you ſpeake; but an inclination to returne backe again into that nothing, from which it was made; Whereunto in your firſt letter you add another propoſition, That God will haſten that deſtruction which the world or nature inclines unto; From which two propoſitions thus layd downe, the Concluſion in my Logick is inevitable, That God will haſten that Annihilation, which the world now inclines unto, and conſequently in his due time will actually annihilate it; So as I need not now ſeeke any farther

for

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for instances to draw you to yeeld the Annihilation of the world, your selfe have brought such an instance, borrowed from the perpetuall decrease of the Creatures, without increase in others; and such an argument from their naturall inclination thereunto, and Gods hastning that inclination, as from henceforth I shall beleeve, that in opinion you hold it together with mee; though for disputations sake, or the solution of some doubts, you bee pleased with your pen to fight against it.

You conclude this section with an advice, that in a metaphysicall sense I should apply that *axiome*, concerning the links and chaines of generation and corruption, how they mutually draw on each other, to your new world succeeding this old; which in very truth I thought had beene impossible for any learned man to write. Why my Lord did *Aristotle*, whose *axiome* it is, and whom in your booke of *the fall of man*, you make to bee the miracle of men, ever dreame of any new world to succeed this? did ever any Philosopher, Christian or heathen, ancient or moderne, ever apply it but in a physicall sence? Can there be a corruption of the old, and a generation of a new world, and yet the old be only renovated, purified & refined? or can they mutually draw on each other, and yet the new world last to eternity without any corruption or alteration, without any new formes or accidents to succeed? Truly heere be such paradoxes, as I must professe, herein to differ from you for ever; but by this it appeares, that these linkes and chaines of generation and corruption, perpetually succeeding each other, have so fettered & manicled you, as you know not how to unloose them; and I will bee bold to say, neither you, nor any man else to the worlds end will ever bee able to unloose them.

But now my Lord, what is all this rattle, for the shewing of that which you undertooke, in the opening of my opinion, touching the power and providence of God in the preservation of the world from decay, that it was not forsooth, so religious as yours? This maine matter which should have bin insisted upon, you quietly passe over, and fall upon a by point of Annihilation, altogeather impertinent to the question in hand; for whether the world bee annihilated or not; it may be preserved in a naturall course, & by naturall meanes without decay, till by a supernaturall power it bee dissolved: So as you might well enough have spared all this paines, it being nothing at all to your purpose; And yet how stoutely you have fought against my Annihilation, and maintained your imaginarie new world, raised out of the ashes of this old, I now leave to your owne unpartiall judgement a little more advisedly to consider.

G. G.

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G. G.

How farre wee agree or disagree.

TO make the application of all; that this world as now it is should bee destroyed, herein we both agree; that God shall interpose his immediate power in destroying it, herein wee likewise agree; now seeing the whole worke is to bee adjudged onely by the end, and that both of us doe joyne in the end, then you cannot charge my opinion to bee any disparagement to Gods providence, wee differing onely concerning the meanes which God useth for effecting this end. You will admit onely Gods extraordinary power, I say, that it stands with wisedome and providence, to fit and proportion meanes to the end, that nature supporting grace might no way oppose it, as being a great wound to Gods providence; if reason and religion should thwart and contradict each other, as if truth should bee contrary to it selfe, or that there were not one and the same God of both.

G. H.

YOu are now come to the application of all, which indeed should bee the life and soule of all this long discourse; Herein you first undertake to shew, wherein we agree, and then wherein we differ. We agree you say, in the destruction of this world; but two words they say must goe to a bargaine, to this agreement I consent not. My selfe indeed hold the worlds destruction, simply, absolutely and plainely; but you cannot hold it without equivocation; for to renovate it, is not to destroy it, to purify it, is not to destroy it, to purge it, is not to destroy it, to refyne it, is not to destroy it, to elevate it to a higher condition (these bee all your owne words) is not to destroy it; destruction implies the separation of the soule from the body, the matter and the forme, which none of those words imply but the quite contrary. Your Lordship then must of necessity unfold your selfe a little better in this point, before I can subscribe to this Article of agreement.

Next you say, wee both agree in Gods interposing his immediate power in destroying it. Yea but by this meanes (as you beare us in hand) God should spare the principall sinner which is man, yet he should not spare the faire fabrick of this world, which never offended but in man, he should loose the labour of the six dayes, and marre his owne worke; none of which you will admit, and yet admit of Gods interposing his immediate power in the destruction of his owne worke; which Contradictions how to reconcile I know not, but shall desire your Lordships helpe for the solving of these riddles, before I subscribe to this agreement, as also why God should punish the world first by a naturall decay, which would undoubtedly bring it to destruction, and then againe by a supernatural power in effecting it himselfe; or how destruction which in ordinary construction is an act of justice, can bee said to be an act of mercy and pitty in relation to the same object, as in another place you tell us; Or lastly, how God may bee said to destroy by his immediate power, where hee fits and prepares meanes thereunto, as

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fiery constellations to the burning of the world & the turning of it into ashes. My Lord some explanation in these points will be very requisite before I yeeld my consent to this second proposition of agreement.

If the whole worke bee adjudged onely by the end, as you say; then certainely is that worke to bee adjudged more noble and excellent, which cannot possibly come to an end and bee ruined but onely by the hãd of that Architect who first framed it, then that which in the course of nature and by a naturall decay may runne to ruine; So as, in the end wee doe not joyne as you pretend, You say this world may have an end in the course of nature, I say it cannot; as in the course of nature it had not a beginning so neither shall it have an end, nor can have an end in the course of nature. And againe, I say indeed it shall have an end, as the Scriptures speake; you say it shall bee renued; I say it shall bee a worke of Gods immediate power, so as no naturall second causes or ordinary meanes shall concurre therein: you say that meanes shall bee fitted to the end.

Heere then are many differences, & I still charge your opinion with disparagement to Gods providence (notwithstanding, that you would faine seeme to joyne with mee in the destruction of the world, though indeed you doe not) in that you charge his workemanship, with such a decay, which would at last of it selfe bring it to utter confusion, if not 'to nothing; Surely, to a right judgement Gods providence and acti-'ons doe more manifestly appeare, by the little and small alteration in 'nature; for I would gladly aske, if a clocke or instrument of iron were 'made, which should daily want mending, would yee commend the 'workeman? but suppose this clocke should continue for many yeares, 'perfect and sound without reparation, then certainely the workeman 'should have his due praise and commendation: so is it in the frame of 'this world, which hath now continued for many thousand yeares, 'without alteration and change; & therefore therein Gods providence, 'power and protection doe more eminently appeare. Your Lordship perchance may suppose these words to bee mine, but if you please once more to looke into *the fall of man* pag. 271. you will soone acknowledge them to be your owne; And againe, in your Corollary annexed to that booke, pag. 441. speaking of this world, and the Creatures of God 'therein, you say, that seeing it hath stood with Gods mercy first to 'produce them, it cannot but stand with the goodnesse, and constancy 'of his will, still to continue them, and to preserve his owne most excellent workemanship; So that now, all things rely not on the weake-'nesse of their owne foundation & pillars, but on the invincible strength 'of Gods power, the most certaine assurance of his promises, the most infallible effects of his providence. It is not I alone then, but your selfe who charge your owne opinion, of the worlds decay in the course of nature, with disparagement to the divine providence.

You say, that it stands with wisedome & providence, to fit and proportion meanes to the end, which is true in the naturall effects of an ordinary power, but in the supernaturall effects of an extraordinary power not so; inasmuch as the lesse the meanes are, and the lesse they are

proportioned to the end, the more appeares the greatnes & excellency of the power, in attaining the end, without their assistance or concurrence in producing the effect. When our Saviour annointed with clay the eyes of him that was borne blind, heer was meanes indeed, but how proportioned to the end, which was the opening of his eyes, no mortall eye can I thinke discerne, it being rather in the course of nature, more fit to put out the eyes of a seeing man, then to open the eyes of a blind. And the like may bee observed in the rest of our Saviours miracles; which no doubt hee purposely did, that so the beams of his miraculous power, might more conspicuously shine in the weakenes of the meanes, as also in the naturall unfitnes & disproportiō of the meanes to the end.

Touching nature and grace, reason and religion, except corrupt nature did oppose grace, there would bee no need of religion, and except naturall reason did thwart religion, there would bee no need of grace. Notwithstanding it cannot bee denyed, but nature guided by grace, and reason rectifyed by religion, may concurre to the producing of excellent effects; yet some effects there are of grace and religion, which nature and reason cannot possibly reach unto, and consequently not concurre in the producing of them, as the eye of reason reacheth to some things, which the eye of the sense cannot discerne: so the eye of faith and religion reacheth to some other things, which the eye of reason cannot discerne; yet are none of these being disposed aright, contrary one to another; and no doubt but there is the same God of them all, making the sense to serve reason, and reason to serve religion, yet so that reason may, and many times doth worke without the assistance of the sense, and religion without consulting with reason, it stedfastly beleeves the trinity of persons in one essence, & the union of the godhead and the manhood in one person; whereof reason can find no meanes fitted and proportioned to such incomprehensible mysteries.

G. G.

God will ever use meanes.

THus for advancing of Gods providence, and for the honour of religion, I make Hagar *to attend upon* Sarah, *philosophy the handmaide to divinity; I pray (sir) on give me but one instance, wherein the providence doth not use meanes, over and above the extraordinary power. Thus in religion the Creatures are materialls in our sacraments; so in all Christs miracles hee never refused the ministery of Creatures, but these not sufficing, hee added his owne extraordinary power; thus in the deluge hee used the cloudes for his floodgates. And will you conceive, that such a deadly blow should bee given unto nature, yet no token, nor signe thereof, to appeare in nature, which might serve as a forewarning or preparation, or at least might make it appeare, that nature is capable of such a judgement, and subiect to such a passion; my opinion is likewise more reasonable and probable then yours; for you will admit no naturall meanes, but fly to the miracle, when as it stands with Gods wisedome to use ordered and naturall meanes, to worke the effects of his providence.*

G. G.

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§. 4.

THat *Hagar* should attend upon *Sarah*, and Philosophy waite upon Divinity, I cannot but allow of very well; but beleeve mee my Lord, if you suffer philosophy to checke divinity, where she cannot find meanes fitted & proportioned to the end, the maide will soone grow too bold with her mistresse, and then you will bee forced (if you desire to give *Sarah* content) to turne *Hagar* packing, or at least to curbe her sawcines in that point. *Let no man*, saith the Apostle, *spoyle you through philosophy*; and truly for mine owne part, I know not what it is, for a man to suffer himselfe to bee spoyled through philosophy, but to resolve of beleeving nothing, but what hee can find out meanes for, by discourse of reason and in the course of nature; This is to set the cart before the horse, and to make *Sarah* attend upon *Hagar*, divinity to waite upon philosophy.

You desire but one instance, wherein the providence doth not use meanes over & above the extraordinary power; I will satisfy your desire, & give you such a one as I know not what you can reply thereunto. I trust you will not deny the Creation to bee a worke of the Providence, and am sure you can therein find no meanes over and above the extraordinary power of God; when nothing was as yet made, there could not possibly bee any meanes used, for the making of something out of nothing. And as allmighty God proceeded in the worke of the Creation, by bringing the world from nothing to something without meanes: so no doubt but hee may, and in all likelihood will, without meanes reduce it from something to nothing, that so the end may in all points, hold correspondency with the beginning; and both bee knowne to bee his immediate worke. For the beginning, your selfe a little before are pleased to grant, that the Creation had no reference at all to naturall causes, which is as much in effect, as if you had said, that the providece used no meanes therein over & above the extraordinary power; & why you should so stiffly oppose the same kind of proceeding in the worlds end, I cannot imagine, but onely for your owne ends.

Againe when you speake of using meanes, your meaning must needs bee (as in the precedent Section you have fully expressed your selfe) of meanes fitted and proportioned to the end. And so much appeares by your according of nature and grace, reason and religion, Philosophy and Divinity; now for such meanes I will seeke for instance no farther then the worke of the first day. Darkenes covering the face of the deepe, God said, Let there bee light, and there was light; what meanes I pray did the providence use heer for the creating of light? surely none other then that which the Apostle speaks of 2. *Cor.* 4. 6. *Hee commanded the light to shine out of darkenes*; So unlesse you will say that darkenes was a meanes fitted & proportioned to the creation of light, I see not how you can assigne any such meanes, nor indeed any meanes at all. And doubtlesse herein also your observation touching Gods observing a kind of generative order in the workes of the

Creation, will prove lame and ſoil very ſhort. Now what I have ſaid of the firſt matter, and the like of the firſt dayes worke, may as truely bee verified of the Angells, the providence uſing no meanes at all, over and above the extraordinary power in the Creation of them. Theſe I take to be inſtances enough, and ſuch as will not eaſily bee diſproved.

Thus in religion you ſay, the Creatures are materialls in our Sacraments; true indeed, and without theſe they could not be Sacraments, no more then a man can be a man without a bodie and a ſoule; the inward grace being as the ſoule, and the outward materialls as the bodie of the Sacraments. But you doe not ſhew how the bread and wine in the one, or water in the other, are fitted and proportioned to the end, whereunto the Sacraments are ordained, which is the conveying of grace to the ſoule; water is not proportioned to the waſhing away of ſins, nor bread to the ſtrengthning of faith; Reaſon and Philoſophie will not yeeld this, much leſſe finde it out, though it bee no miracle in regard of the promiſe.

So in all Chriſts miracles you ſay, he never refuſed the miniſterie of the Creatures; What in *all*? ſurely my Lord, you muſt either limit this propoſition, or falſifie the Goſpell, there is no remedie. It is manifeſt, *Math.* 15. 28. that in diſpoſſeſſing the daughter of the *Cananitiſh* woman, (who was grievouſly vexed with a Devill) he refuſed the miniſterie of the Creatures, nay he cured her by his word only, being at that time farre abſent from her. Thus *Marke* 11. 20. when he cauſed the fig-tree to drie up on the ſudden, and to wither away by the roots, he uſed not the miniſtry of any Creature, onely he ſaid, 'No man eate fruit of thee hereafter for ever': which was indeed a kinde of curſe, but no uſe of meanes. Diverſe other miracles he did, nay I will be bold to ſay the greateſt part, uſing none other meanes then his bare command, or aſſent to the requeſt of poore Petitioners, or the impoſition of hands, or prayer to his father, and crying with a loud voice, as he did in raiſing *Lazarus* from the grave, in which he had laine dead by the ſpace of foure dayes; Now to command, to grant petitions, to impoſe hands, to pray to his father, to cry aloud, are not (as I take it) to uſe the miniſterie of the Creatures. And where he uſed them which was not often, they were not in any naturall manner fitted and proportioned as ordinary meanes, to the end; nay rather he alwayes uſed ſuch, and in ſuch ſort, as thereby to ſhew that hee was the Lord of the meanes, as well as the end, making them ſometimes to worke, (if at all they wrought in in producing thoſe miraculous effects) not onely beſide or above (as you would have it) but cleane contrary to their naturall propreties. And if you will in all Chriſts actions fit and proportion naturall meanes to the end, I will bee bold to ſay, hee never wrought any miracles, that being onely a miracle, which tranſcends the ſpheare of natures activitie; and on the other ſide, where meanes are proportioned to the end, that muſt needs be within the latitude of her activitie, or elſe the proportion failes, for in caſe the proportion of meanes

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bee fitted to the producing of the effect, they cannot but bee effectuall even in a naturall course, and by this meane you will make Christs miracles no miracles.

You say, that Christ in the deluge used the cloudes for his floudgates; which is improperly said of Christ as mediatour, in which sense you spake of him immediately before. Neither were those floudgates caused by naturall meanes, nor yet proportioned to that end; The great deepe was likewise to that end broken up, and that by a supernaturall power; and it is certaine, that of such an universall deluge overflowing all the face of the earth, and rising fifteene cubits above the highest mountaines, Philosophy can yeeld no sufficien treason. But now if you please, to instance in some other miracles of the old testament; what ministry of the Creatures I pray were used, for the standing still of the Sunne upon *Gibeon*, and the moone in the valley of *Aialon*? or for the going backe of the shadow in the diall of *Ahaz*, and returning of the sunne ten degrees? or what meanes was the blowing of ramms hornes, fitted and proportioned to the battering of the walls of *Iericho*? Hereupon you go on, and aske the question; whether I conceive, that such a deadly blow should bee given to nature, and yet no token, no signe thereof to appeare in nature; Truly if the blow were naturall, I should conceive it altogether impossible, but being altogeather supernaturall, I cannot but conceive it very possible. Was it not a great blow trow you to Nature, when the Sunne, the visible God (as it were) of nature suffered? was put to a stand, and forced to retyre? yet we reade not of any forerunning token thereof, appearing in nature; Neither doe I thinke, that in nature there appeared any signe of that deadly blow, which by the generall floud was given to the world; forewarnings there were of that long before, and so of this, and forerunning signes there shall bee, but no causes that I reade of. I beseech you my Lord what signes were there of the Creation, or what tokens will you give us of your renovated world, or of the conflagration of this? you speake sometimes of fiery signes, and I know not what, things most uncertaine; but certaine it is, that a naturall decay cannot bee the signe, much lesse the cause of such a supernaturall fire. Such a decay indeed, consuming and annihilating (as being admitted, of necessity it must a great part of the world) might well serve, as a very effectuall signe of the Annihilation of the whole; but how the decay of the world, should bee a signe of the burning or refyning of it, or of the raising of a new world in the ashes of this, that cannot I conceive,

Your opinion you say, is likewise more reasonable and probable then mine, for that I will admit no naturall meanes, but fly to the miracle. Why my Lord, the question is, which opinion is more *religious*, and you assure mee that yours is more *reasonable*; and why so I pray you? becaus forsooth, I will admit of no naturall meanes for the worlds dissolution; if you bee pleased to point mee forth any naturall meanes in the Creation, I will instantly admit of naturall meanes in the dissolution; otherwise I shall crave the like libertie in the one as I

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know you will assume in the other. And for my flying to the miracle, I wonder you would charge mee with that; as if it were possible to bee a christian and not to fly to miracles. Will you not fly to the miracle for the worlds creation? and will you then charge mee for flying to the same in the worlds dissolution? do not your selfe maintaine, that God will suddenly interpose his extraordinary and immediate power, in the destruction of it? and I beseech you, what is this but a miracle? what is the fire ordained for the worlds conflagration, but a miracle? what is the turning of it in so short a space into ashes, but a miracle? and lastly what is the raising of a new world out of the ashes of this, but a miracle? all these miracles you must of necessity fly unto, and many more for the defence of your opinion, and yet blame mee for flying to one.

But it stands you say, with Gods wisedome to use inbred and naturall meanes, to worke the effects of his Providence; true, of his ordinary providence in the course of nature, but not of his extraordinary above natures pitch; such workes hee effecteth by his extraordinary power, and extraordinary meanes, if hee use any; and except you will rise higher then inbred & naturall meanes, for working some effects of the Divine providence, truly my Lord wee may burne our bibles, and shut up our Churches, and renounce our profession, so as while you plead so much for the reasonables of your opinion, I much doubt it will at last relapse upon irreligion. God grant I may no longer live, then I beleeve the Articles of my Creed, and the mysteries of our Christian religion; without flying unto inbred and naturall meanes, fitted and proportioned to all the works & effects of the divine providence; Herein I may pretend Gods wisedome, but I shall finde it to my smart to bee none other then mine owne folly, and waste curiosity in the end, and loose my selfe in a bottomelesse gulph, or endlesse maze of disquisition.

G. G.

THough I deny the eternity of the world, in that sinfull and miserable estate and condition wherein now it subsists, whereas you say it might and should thus continue for eternity; yet I doe affirme and constantly maintaine the eternity after the renovation, but this you would wholy annihilate; if then eternity makes more for Gods providence, then annihilation, my opinion is to bee preferred before yours; or if eternity in a state of integrity and perfection, be to bee preferd before eternity in a sinfull state and condition, still my opinion is to be preferd before yours, as being a more excellent argument of Gods providence; and that my opinion is much more probable then yours may hence appeare; whereas you say that reason cannot discerne the Creation, though it see all the fruits and effects of the Creation, then can it much lesse discerne the Annihilation when as no effects nor fruits thereof shall remaine, and therefore you can pretend no reason to conclude your Annihilation. Meethinkes I am like a man that draw out his sword to fight with a shadow, and having hackt and hewd it and cut it, at length hee found that hee had killed nothing, yet still hee esteemed himselfe as a conqueror, for that his enemy was nothing; and thus I may say of the Annihilation: yet heere give me leave privately to put you in minde, whether

My opinion is for the eternity of the world, which you deny.

ther the Annihilation doth not wonderfully trench upon that Article of our faith, the resurrection of the bodie, *and therein I referre my selfe to some arguments which I have formerly used, to which I doe intreat you to give satisfaction.*

G. H.

I Still deny the condition of the world to be sinfull, save onely in relation to man, remove man out of it, and sinne will soone be removed with him: And if in this state you deny the possibilitie of the worlds eternity, why doe you tell us in your booke of *the Fall of man*, speaking of the world in this present condition. 'That to establish 'and continue the government is a worke of no lesse glory then at first 'to obtaine the conquest; *pag.* 271. That it is not unknowne unto us, 'that God by vertue of his promise to preserve and continue the same 'excellent order, which was first instituted in the Creation, hath tyed 'himselfe to impart some things unto the Creatures as necessary and 'essentiall to their being, without which the Creature cannot subsist: *pag.* 18. That the lesse the alteration is, the more it would argue the 'excellency of the workeman, as in the framing, so in the continuance 'of his worke; *pag.* 382. That this inferiour world consisting of the 'same different and contrary elements as man doth, yet still continues 'in the same state, which man doth not; and then you aske the question, 'why there should not be a state of consistencie in man, as well as in the 'whole world. That it is strange the heavens should so long continue 'without change or alteration, and man for whom they were onely ordained, should not live to see one revolution of them. That the superiour causes move by a most certaine and unchangeable rule, as the 'divine providence hath appointed them. The like passages you have in diverse other places of that booke, as also in your *Corollarie* annexed thereunto, and in your Sermon of the religion of the dumbe Creatures, whom you there compare to the Angells, for their stable and immoveable condition. And all this you affirme of this present world, even in this sinfull and miserable estate, which you here deny; so as I see no remedie but you must either blot out that, or deny this deniall, if you will bee constant to your selfe, and so you shall acquit mee, for saying that this world in this present condition, might continue to eternitie if it so pleased God; for that it *should* (as you would put it upon mee) I never said.

You doe affirme you say, and constantly maintaine the eternitie after the Renovation, but this I would annihilate. What eternitie I beseech you my Lord, do you maintaine? of this world, or some other after this? of this world you say after the renovation. Why you made it an Article of agreement betweene us a little before, that this world should bee destroyed; can the same world be destroyed, and yet by renovation be eternall? can this world be consumed, and a new world be raised in the ashes of this, and yet this world bee eternall? can the essentiall nature of this world, consisting of the principles of generation and cor-

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ruption be removed from it, and yet this world be eternall? can it bee eternall being deveſted of its inbred and naturall principles, which as you aſſure us draw it on to decay? My Lord, you may perchance affirme ſome other world after this to bee eternall; but that this world conſiſting of the ſame eſſentiall, inbred, and naturall principles (without which it cannot be ſaid to bee *this world*) ſhould be eternall, if you will bee conſtant to your ſelfe, that I am ſure you cannot conſtantly maintaine. And for my ſelfe though I annihilate this world, when there ſhall be no farther uſe of it; yet I maintaine and conſtantly maintaine another world after this, not here below (as you doe) but in the higheſt heavens which ſhall laſt to eternitie.

If eternitie you ſay, makes more for Gods Providence then Annihilation, your opinion is to bee preferred before mine. Why my Lord, the maine queſtion betweene us is not touching eternitie and Annihilation, but touching a poſſibilitie of the worlds eternitie, or a neceſſary decay in the courſe of nature; You are to prove, that the decay and conſequently the death of the world in the courſe of nature, makes more for Gods Providence, and is therefore to bee preferr'd before my opinion of the preſervation of it from decay, and conſequently of a poſſibilitie of eternitie: This queſtion you baulke throughout your diſcourſe, and fall upon a by point, ſtanding in compariſon betweene the Annihilation of this world, (when there ſhall bee no farther uſe of it) and the raiſing of a new eternall world out of the aſhes of this; and if this be reduced to aſhes, truly the ſtate of it will bee little better then Annihilation: And againe, how your new world ſhall make for Gods providence I know not, except you will place ſome Creature in it that ſhall be capable of God and his providence.

If eternitie you ſay, in a ſtate of integritie and perfection, be to bee preferred before an eternitie in a ſinfull ſtate and condition; ſtill your opinion is to be preferred before mine, as being a more excellent argument of Gods providence. Why my Lord, I hold an eternall ſtate of integritie and perfection no leſſe then you doe, though not in this world, either as it is, or renovated, but in thoſe new heavens and new earth, whereas (as S. *Peter* ſpeaketh) dwelleth righteouſneſſe: and this I hold to be a farre more excellent argument of Gods providence, then to dreame of the renovation of this world, or the raiſing of a new one ſucceeding this, in which none ſhall dwell that underſtand either what righteouſneſſe, or the providence, or eternitie are.

You ſay, that your opinion is much more probable then mine, becauſe reaſon cannot diſcerne the Annihilation. Why my Lord, I never affirmed that reaſon could diſcerne it; neither will you I preſume affirme, that it can diſcerne either the renovation of this world, or the raiſing of a new out of the aſhes of this; ſo as none of theſe being diſcernable by reaſon, to reaſon they are all probable alike, onely herein I take mine to bee more agreeable to reaſon, in that I affirme there being no farther uſe of the world it ſhall no longer be; you affirme it ſhall remaine, or another ſhall ſucceed in ſteed of this, without aſſigning any uſe of either.

Juſt

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Just so my Lord you have indeede all this while fought with a shadow; you should have fought with Gods preservation of the world from decay, and you have fought with the Annihilation of it, which as I have said is nothing to your purpose; for whether this world bee renovated, or another raised out of the ashes of it, or it bee wholly annihilated, in the maine point it comes all to one, that till then by the divine providence, in the ordinary course of nature it may be preserved from decay.

You put mee in minde whether Annihilation doe not trench upon the Article of the resurrection, and for this you referre mee to some arguments formerly used, to which you desire satisfaction: whereas I have already given you ample satisfaction therein, but you take no notice of it; you neither receive satisfaction, nor vouchsafe to tell me why you doe not. Your first doubt was, how the bodies of the Saints should rise againe, the world being annihilated. Whereunto I answered, that Annihilation was not to goe before, but to follow the resurrection. Your other doubt was (for I remember no more) what place the bodies of the Saints should finde fitted to them, the world being annihilated. Whereunto I answered, that the place prepared for them, was the highest heavens, the heaven of heavens, as farre beyond those heavens we now looke upon in beauty and excellencie, as they are in amplitude and scituation; or as these heavens which wee looke upon are beyond the earth. And though this highest heaven be to us invisible in this state of mortalitie, yet is it not in it selfe altogether immateriall, but suteable to the glorified bodies of the Saints; And thus you see, Annihilation being a meere shadow, a nothing cannot trench upon the Article of the resurrection. But on the other side I very much doubt, that your opinion of fitting and proportioning naturall meanes to the end, in all the workes of the divine providence, doth very much trench upon that Article; which I beeleeve, as I doe the Creation and Annihilation of the world, but despaire ever to make it good by reason or Philosophie; it being to reason altogether impossible, that the matter and forme being once disjoyned, can ever againe be reunited, so as to make the same individuall subject, which was formerly compounded of them; and *Aristotles* Philosophie will tell you, that *a privatione ad habitum numero eundem non datur regressus.*

G. G.

I Doe intreat you, and most earnestly intreate you, and as farre forth as is fit in modestly I doe presse you to answer these doubts, though they are simple and weake, and happily not worth the answering; yet for the quiet of my minde, I pray satisfie them. When you have so done and not before, then whereas you have often proposed the Catholique visible Church, *I shall joyne issue with you in that question. I confesse we differ in some opinions, happily it is but my mistake, upon your better information I should bee very glad to become your Convert; or if you desire rather to returne to the first controversie (for I leave all to your owne choyce, I will not propose but follow your directions) because we*

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will make ſhort worke, a quicke diſpatch, you may bee pleaſed to remember that Morney *and* Eureux, *being greater and wiſer then our ſelves, appointed Iudges to determine a Controverſie betweene them; I pray let us doe the like. Whereas hitherto wee have conteſted upon equall termes, I will then give you ſome advantage, if you pleaſe to accept it in love.*

1° *Whereas you equall, or rather preferre our moderne inventions before the Ancients, I will labour to prove that therein they exceed us in a ten-folde proportion.*

2° *Whereas you compare or preferre the moderne workes of piety, and charity, before the Ancients, I will therein likewiſe labour to prove they exceeded us in a ten-fold proportion.*

3° *Whereas you complaine much of the impoſtures and deluſions of the Ancients, I will labour to prove, that theſe moderne times doe not onely equall theirs, but therein exceede them in a ten-fold proportion.*

If I faile herein either in the prooфes, or in the proportion, I will ſubſcribe to your opinion.

4° *If you had rather have mee ſtand upon the defenſive part, then ſet mee downe any Arguments in writing, or point mee out any Arguments in your booke; if I doe not give them a full ſatisfaction in the judgement of Philoſophers, I will ſubſcribe to your opinion.*

G. H.

YOu intreat mee, you earneſtly intreat mee, you moſt earneſtly intreat mee, and in a manner preſſe mee to the anſwering of your doubts, for your ſatisfaction and the quieting of your minde; which doubtleſſe you would never doe, did you conceive your arguments to be ſo weake and worthleſſe as you pretend: It cannot be that ſuch an opinion and ſuch importunitie ſhould ſtand together. Howſoever I have now endeavoured (as you ſee) to give you ſatisfaction, and ſhall now make bold as earneſtly to intreat your Lordſhip (for to preſſe you I dare not) either to take ſatisfaction from my anſwers, or to let me underſtand why you doe not.

Touching the Church, I never doubted of the viſibilitie thereof; but that the Church of *Rome* hath erred in matter of faith, is I thinke as little to be doubted.

Concerning your Lordſhips motion of referring our Controverſie to the determination of Judges, appointed to that purpoſe, I cannot diſlike it, ſo they bee judicious and unpartiall; but who they ſhall bee, where they ſhall meete, or in what manner wee ſhall proceede, will bee as difficult a matter to bee determined, as the Controverſie it ſelfe.

For your offer of advantages, mee thinkes (under favour) you goe not the right way to worke, by comparing this later age with all precedent Antiquitie, which carries above a tenfold, nay above fiftie fold proportion to it, which is as if you ſhould tell me, that you would grant me ſome great advantage, by taking upon you to prove that fiftie men are tenfold as ſtrong as one; And is not here a great advantage

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trow you? but if you bee pleased to compare this last Centenarie with any one preceeding, this indeed would seeme to carry with it some face of equalitie; yet even this way too, no small advantage would bee given from me, you having the libertie to make choice of any one out of more then fiftie, to oppose against that single one to which I am tied alone; And besides, for inventions, mens necessities for the most part force them to it; so as wee being not straitned with those necessities as the Ancients were, no marvell if wee be not so fruitfull as they were in inventions of that kinde. And for workes of pietty and charitie, the Ancients being borne in hand by those in whom they reposed the greatest trust; That those workes were satisfactorie for sinne, meritorious of a reward, and availeable to shorten the paines in Purgatorie by the deliverance of their owne soules, and the soules of their friends from thence, it is not to be wondred if therein they exceeded us, but rather that wee should equall them; which notwithstanding comparing time with time, from the entrance of Queene *Elizabeth*, to this present time, I believe it to bee most certaine; opposing it to the like measure of time in former ages, and if I should say that in this proportion wee exceed them, I thinke I should arrogate nothing unduly to our selves, nor unjustly wrong them. And lastly I doe not remember that any where I make so great a complaint of the impostures and delusions of the Ancients as you pretend; (except perchance you meane the frequent and foule breach of faith in the *Romans*) but in case it bee so, that therein wee exceed the Ancients, it will withall follow, That wee as much exceed them in cunning and activity of wit, and consequently decay not in all things. Now the Comparison being thus stated, as in reason it should, if you exceedingly faile not in proofes, I will subscribe to your opinion, and yet withall mee thinkes it were but reason, you should hereunto adde (the decay by you being pretended to bee generall) That as the Ancients exceeded us in inventions and workes of piety and charitie by a tenfold proportion: so they likewise as much exceeded us in age, and strength, and stature, living in the ordinary course of nature ten times as long, being ten times as tall and as strong as now men are. And the same proportion should also in equitie bee held in the Sunne, and Moone, and starres, in the elements and mixt bodies, in the fowles, the beasts, the fishes, the creeping things, the vegetables, the mineralls, and all: which I dare say you will not affirme, and am truly of opinion (all things duly and rightly considered) you have as little reason to affirme this as here you doe.

For the setting downe of mine Arguments to bee answered by your Lordship it shall not neede, till you have either broken or unlinked that inviolable chaine of generations and corruptions, succeeding each other by turnes in these sublunarie bodies, or showne a perpetuall and universall decay in all the celestiall bodies, specially in the Sunne since the first Creation; Neither of which I am confident will ever bee done by your selfe, or any man else, in the judgement of any learned

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learned and upright Arbitratour; beleeve mee my Lord, your Metaphyſicall notions about a new world to bee raiſed out of the aſhes of this will not ſerve your turne in the firſt, nor your imaginarie approach of the Sunne to the earth, nearer then in former ages, in the ſecond.

G. G.

THESE are no challenges but friendly offers, proceeding out of infinite love to truth.

G. H.

THeſe you ſay are not challenges but friendly offers; I accept them, hoping you will bee pleaſed to remember they are your owne offers, and I having yeelded to them, you now ſtand ingaged to the performance of them, for ſo much as concernes your part. They proceed you ſay out of your love to truth, which if it bee ſo infinite as you pretend, mee thinkes your paines in finding it ſhould not be confined within ſo narrow bounds.

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WHen I well hoped that his Lordship had received satisfaction from my precedent answers, and so had made an end of his Arguments, I received from him these ensuing, drawne into a narrower compasse, and tending to the confutation of my whole booke; which I have likewise endeavoured to answer; that I might give him all the faire contentment I may; but truly confesse I should not have published them, had not his Lordship very lately by letter urged mee thereunto; neither could I well bee wanting to his Lordships call, least hee might happily professe that I had wronged him in suppressing them.

G. G.

FOr your first booke I shall say little, the two first chapters are in the nature of a preface; the third and fourth chapters treate onely of generalls, which in the succeeding bookes are more particularly handled; in the fifth you answere our objections, but I conceive you doe not propose them in their full strength: for proofe whereof so many shifts have passed between us, which may serve to inlarge that chapter.

G. H.

YOu tell mee that to my first booke you shall say little, and yet a little after you say, that your greatest exception is against my first chapter; as if the first chapter were no part of the first booke.

The two first chapters you say, are in the nature of a preface, whereas the second containes the reasons inducing the Author, to the writing and publishing of that discourse, the invalidity of which reasons when you have sufficiently shewed, and withall produced more sufficient, for the publishing of a discourse against the worlds preservation from an universall and perpetuall decay, I will subscribe to your opinion.

To my third and fourth chapters you have no exception, though the former of them containe the state of the question, and the latter my generall proofes for the worlds preservation from decay, which is in truth the very foundation of all the ensuing discourse; so as in policie you should have attempted at least with the undermining and blowing up of this, in case you had intended the ruine of that.

In the fifth you say I answer objections, but propose them not in their full strength, whereas those drawne from reason I made bolde to borrow from your Lordships booke of *the Fall of man*, proposing them in your owne words; whereunto I shaped answers, but you as yet no reply thereunto. And for the generall objections taken from the authoritie of *Cyprian*, *Esdras*, and the Canonicall Scriptures, I have set downe the very words of the two first at large, and for the third I have omitted nothing to my knowledge, or for my advantage: Yet for the adding of a fuller strength to these objections, so many sheets you say have passed betweene us, which may serve to inlarge that chapter; which being so, when that chapter together with the rest shall come to a third impression, what strength you have added to those objections, and what satisfactions I have framed to those additions, will then appeare.

G. G.

IN this first booke two things there are which I thought fit to observe, the Authours which you there quote for your selfe, they are so few, so poore, so contemptible in respect of those whom you acknowledge to be your Adversaries, that I wonder much they did not make some impression in you: this weeke I had occasion to reade a little in S. Gregorie, *and truly I finde his opinion cleane contrary to yours, and therefore you might have reckoned him among your other Adversaries.*

G. H.

IN my first booke (you say) you observe, that the Authours which I quote for my selfe are so few, so poore, so contempible in respect of those whom I acknowledge to be mine Adversaries, as you wonder it wrought not some impression in mee; Whereas in that booke I undertook not to muster up those Authors who are for me, and yet if you please to perise that booke againe, you will finde them whom upon occasion I therein quote as friends to my opinion, neither so few nor poore as you pretend. There you may finde quoted *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, the Prophet *Ioel*, *Iustin Martyr*, *Arnobius*, S. *Augustine*, *Orosius*, *Plato*, *Philo*, *Aristotle*, *Quintilian*, *Tacitus*, *Kekselius*, *Contzenius*, *Bodin*, *Lipsius*, *Scaliger*, *Cornelius*, *Rhorus*, *Aquinas*, my Lord of S. *Albans*, *Ludovicus Regius*, *Ovid*, *Manilius*, *Pontanus*, *Du Bartas*, *Camden*, *Bacchus*, and others, neither poore nor contempible, but of so great account in the Common-wealth of learning, as I wonder in what sought no impression in you. Now for those whom in that booke I acknowledge to be mine Adversaries, beside *Lucretius* the *Epicurean*, they are the counterfeit *Esdras*, S. *Cyprian* and S. *Ambrose* as it should seeme by him, and all of them contrary to themselves in other places.

But had your Lordship beene pleased to adde hereunto those Authors, whose full and punctuall passages I have alleadged for my cause in other parts of that booke, as also in mine answer to your first letter, in very truth I cannot but exceedingly wonder they should

worke no more impreſſion in you; I there quoted *Theodoret, Vives, Lactantius, Morney, Dionyſius, Cyrill, Zanchius, Muſculus, Leſſius, Hyperius, Hunnius, Seneca, Cicero, Claudian, Hooker, Baſil, Nyſſen, Nazianzen, Ambroſe, Chryſoſtome, Hierome, Arias Montanus,* and laſtly Dr *Goodman*, now Lord Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, beſides a great number of other moſt famous Divines and Philoſophers, aſwell ancient as moderne; yet all theſe it ſeemes have wrought little upon you, no not Dr *Goodman* himſelfe.

Having occaſion you ſay to reade in S. *Gregory*, you finde his opinion cleane contrary to mine, ſo as I might have ranged him among mine other Adverſaries; but had your Lordſhip beene pleaſed to point me out that paſſage in S. *Gregory*, I ſhould have beene more beholding to you; which I preſume you would not have omitted either in curteſie to mee, or for your owne advantage, had you read it in S. *Gregorie* himſelfe. The truth is, I finde ſomewhat to that purpoſe in his *Homilies* upon the Goſpells, where by reaſon of the great calamities of the times, he preſſeth upon his Auditors the neare approach of the worlds conſummation, as if it had beene then inſtantly at hand; whereas it hath now laſted above 1000 yeares ſince thoſe his Sermons, and is at this preſent freer (God be bleſſed for it) from thoſe preſſures he there ſpeakes of, then at that time it was.

But now my Lord will you be pleaſed to reviſe what S. *Gregory* himſelfe ſaith, as I have laid it downe, *pag.* 265. which I am ſure is cleane contrary to your Lordſhips opinion, for matter of knowledge expreſſed in many places; ſo as in that reſpect he may very well be ranked and reckoned among my beſt friends, and your greateſt adverſaries.

G. G.

BVt my greateſt exception is againſt your firſt chapter, where you rip up ſo many old errours; doe you not hereby diſgrace Antiquity? and give a blow to Religion? which was founded in antiquity, eſtabliſhed in antiquity, had his growth and progreſſe with antiquity, and ſo deſcended to modernitie; And doe you not here open a gap to all innovation and projecting, which may paſſe under the faire pretence and colour of reformation.

G. H.

YOu ſaid before, that you had little to ſay to my firſt booke, and yet having runne through ſome chapters thereof, you make a leap backe againe to the firſt, and aſſure mee that your greateſt exception is againſt that, becauſe therein I rip up many old errors; whereas through that chapter I have not ſo much as ripped up one my ſelfe, but onely ſhew ſuch as others have ripped up, and a great part of them not by moderne Authours, but by the Ancients themſelves, (ſuch I meane as lived above a thouſand yeares ſince) noting the errours of their predeceſſors; which if they bee errours, why ſhould your Lordſhip except againſt the ripping of them up? and if they bee not, why doe you not vindicate them from that imputation?

But herein you ſay, I give a blow to religion; which way I beſeech you my Lord? do I there touch upon any errour in any point neceſſarie

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to ſalvation? or can the errours of Infidels, or errours in Philoſophie, or in hiſtorie civill, nationall, naturall, give a blow to Chriſtian religion? and if you will give no way to the Reformation of old errors, you will thereby condemne not onely the reformed religion in regard of Poperie, but the very Chriſtian religion it ſelfe in regard of Paganiſme; and then may your Lordſhip from thence be pleaſed to conjecture whither of us gives the deadlieſt blow to true religion. Did S. *Auguſtine* or *Epiphanius* give a blow to religion, when they publiſhed Catalogues of old errours and hereſies? errours are as weedes and droſſe, which being removed, are ſo farre from giving any blow to the mettall or corne from which they are taken, as it makes the one the brighter, and the other much the better.

G. G.

AND now I come to thoſe exceptions which concerne your booke in generall. All your arguments are drawne from the ordinary courſe of nature, when as the conception and diſſolution are of a higher ſpeculation, and even naturall alterations are ſcarce ſenſible; the Sunne moves ſwifter then an arrow, yet ſeemes to ſtand ſtill; much leſſe is the diſſolution ſo eaſily diſcerned, which notwithſtanding, becauſe it is not palpable, you would therefore deny. The decay of the world is not ſo much as the loſſe of ten ſummer dayes, yet theſe were loſt in the Julian *yeare, therefore your reaſons, your authorities, not ſuppoſing this errour, are become voide; ſome little difference there muſt bee in regard thereof; though you mention the correction of the yeare for the honour of modernity, yet you make no application to ſhew the difference of times, and failing herein you faile in the queſtion.*

G. H.

WEE are now come to your generall exceptions. All my arguments you ſay, are drawne from the ordinary courſe of nature, whereas the conception and diſſolution are of a higher ſpeculation; I ſuppoſe by *conception* and *diſſolution*, you meane the beginning and ending of the world; which you affirme to bee of a higher ſpeculation then the ordinary courſe of nature, and ſo doe I too; and yet in your laſt arguments you much blame mee for ſo affirming, and if my profeſſed opinion bee, that the world did not begin, nor ſhall end in the ordinary courſe of nature, from whence I beſeech you, but from the ordinary courſe of nature ſhould I draw mine arguments? higher ſpeculations then the ordinary courſe of nature, belong not to meere naturall reaſon, but to faith and religion.

Naturall alterations you ſay are ſcarce ſenſible, much leſſe is the diſſolution ſo eaſily diſcerned; which I eaſily beleeve, that by naturall reaſon being not at all diſcernable, which in the courſe of nature is not to be found; if any perpetuall alteration tending to an univerſall decay were at all ſenſible, undoubtedly a finall diſſolution would be as clearly diſcernable to reaſon; ſuch an alteration being the neceſſary, both antecedent and cauſe of a diſſolution, and againe a finall diſſolution, the neceſſary both conſequent and effect of ſuch an alteration.

You

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You compare the decay of nature to the motion of the Sun, which though it moves ſwifter then an arrow, yet it ſeemes to ſtand ſtill; yea but though we ſee not the Sunne move, yet we ſee that in 24 houres it hath runne an incredible circuit; ſo incredible as that good Mathematicians, and thoſe not a few conceive thereupon, rather the earth to move and the Sun to ſtand ſtill; now if we ſaw but the ten thouſandth part of ſuch ſenſible effects in the decay of nature, within the like compaſſe of time, or within the compaſſe of ten thouſand times as much time, it were indeed ſufficient to convince my opinion of error, though we ſaw not how or by what ſenſible degrees it decayed.

The decay of the world is not ſo much you ſay, as the loſſe of ten ſummer dayes in the *Iulian* yeare; not? then is it very little indeed, ten dayes carrying not the proportion to the duration of time, from *Iulius Cæſar*, to the time of the reformation of the Calendar by *Gregory* the thirteenth, as one unitie doth to fiftie thouſand, which indeed is ſo inſenſible, as it is almoſt impoſſible to finde it in the worlds decay; for the purpoſe, to ſay that men within the ſpace of this laſt fifteene hundred yeares, have loſt the fiftie thouſandth part of their ſtature, is a thing ſo inſenſible, as it muſt needes bee moſt uncertaine; and yet in your booke of *the Fall of man, pag.* 359. you affirme that in *Galens* time (who lived about 1400 yeares ſince) in letting of bloud men uſually tooke ſixe or ſeaven times as much as they doe in theſe dayes; which you there ſay is a ſtrange difference, and ſo indeed it is, but whereas you adde, and yet undoubtedly a truth, you moſt apparently contradict your ſelfe heere, aſſuring us that the decay is not ſo much as the loſſe of ten dayes in the *Iulian* yeare; Truly my Lord, if the decay bee no more then ſo, wee need not feare any haſty diſſolution of the world by the decay thereof.

Your inference from hence is, that my reaſons and authorities not ſuppoſing this errour, are thereby become voide. What errour I beſeech you? if I have erred in the proportion, it is you who have led me into that errour, by telling me that within leſſe then 1500 yeares ſince, men had uſually ſixe or ſeaven times as much bloud in their bodies as now they have; whereupon it will follow, that they were then uſually ſix or ſeaven times as long, as bigge, as tall, as now a dayes they are. But my Lord, the truth is, that my reaſons not onely ſuppoſe but demonſtrate no decay at all, (univerſall I meane and perpetuall) which being never ſo little, would of neceſſitie in tract of time draw on a diſſolution of the world, and not onely ſo, but an Annihilation thereof in the courſe of nature, both which are altogether impoſſible; for you then to ſay, that my reaſons are become voide, as not ſuppoſing the pretended error in the proportion of the decay, is certainely an errour in you not pretended nor ſuppoſed, but true and reall; and what I ſay of my reaſons may as juſtly be verified of my authorities.

What you meane by that which followes touching my failing in the queſtion, becauſe mentioning the correction of the yeare for the honour of modernitie, I make no application to ſhew the difference of times, I muſt confeſſe I underſtand not.

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G. G.

TO prove a generall truth, you are not to cull out your instances, but take them as they generally fall out (e.g.) the lives of men, take the chiefe Apostles and their successors, take all the old Confessors, compare them with the Foxian *Confessors; or more particularly, take the two first moneths in the yeare, compare their Confessors with our Modernes; take all the Ancient writers of this nation; and for the more indifferencie compare them by the Alphabet, or I will take your owne instances of the* Romans, *their 7 Kings raigned 244 yeares, shew mee the like now under the Sunne, but in all Christian Kingdomes, the last twelve raigned no longer, and these are exceeded by the former twelve, and so comparing them by twenty and twenty, the more ancient doe ever exceed, unlesse two or three, and there is an apparent cause to the contrary.*

G. H.

YOu tell me that I cull out my instances in the lives of men; Why my Lord, what is that to the heavens, the elements, the vegetables, the fowles, the fishes, the beasts? what is this to the strength, the stature, the learning, the manners of men? what is this to my reasons and authorities, touching the length of mens lives? nay, what is this to the instances themselves? them you cannot disprove, but onely blame me for culling them out, which I must of necessitie doe, except I should instance in the particular men of every age.

You bid mee take the chiefe Apostles and their successors with all the old Confessors, and compare them with the *Foxian* Confessors. This you may call a culling too if you please, in regard of all other men, or societies of men living in the same age with them. Which of the Apostles you terme chiefe, or how farre you will extend their Successors I know not; nor yet well conceive what you intend by the Confessors, unlesse you meane the registred Saints and Martyrs; but this am I sure of, that all the Apostles (S. *Iohn* onely excepted) suffered violent death; so did the greatest part of their immediate successors, so did the *Foxian* Confessors; and what comparison then can here be in their ages, for the discoverie of the inequalitie in the length of mens lives? specially the precise length of their lives being not alwayes expressed, or uncertainely set downe; and besides to oppose all the old Confessors, that is all of the first three hundred yeares after Christ, (for so long lasted the persequution) to the *Foxian* Confessors (as you are pleased to call them) is such a disproportion, as if a man should oppose three to three hundred; nay, there were then many times put to death more in one day, then all the *Marian* Martyrs recorded by Mr *Foxe*.

From all the old Confessors you come to particularize in the two first moneths, wishing mee to compare their Confessors with our Modernes, but you direct mee not where I may finde their ages; our common Calendars have them not, and very few of them shall you finde either in their Legends, or Martyrologies, or Ecclesiasticall storie,

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ſtorie, and yet without the certaine knowledge of their ſeverall ages, how you will compare them with the Modernes, I know not. Againe, you wiſh mee to take all the ancient writers of this nation, and for the more indifferency to compare them by the Alphabet, what ſhall I compare? the ancient writers of this nation with the moderne? bee it ſo; but where ſhall the liſt of your ancient writers beginne, and where ſhall it end? or where ſhall I find their ages recorded? *Bale* and *Pits* have named a great number of them but remember the ages of very few.

To your inſtance in the *Roman Kings* I have already made anſwere in my third booke *pag.* 201. whereunto may bee added, that from *Saul* to *Zedechia*, who was carryed away captive into *Babylon*, there were 21. Kings of *Iudah*, who raigned in all 466 yeers, and they lived in all 938. yeers; to the age of *Hezechia* was added 15. yeers above the courſe of nature, of theſe, 4. came to violent deaths.

From King *Charles* upward, to K. *Henry* the firſt, excluſive were 21. Kings of the line of *England*, who raigned in all 490 years, and lived in all 982. years; of theſe. 6. came to violent deaths, and might have lived much longer.

And ſo the ſame number of Kings in this latter age raigned 14. years more then thoſe auncient Kings, and exceeded them in their ages, 44. years.

From the firſt yeare of the raigne of King *David*, till the firſt of King *Iames* of *England*, were upon the point of 1632. years in all, which time (as appeares by the former calculation) there was little or no difference in the ages of men.

I have likewiſe obſerved that in auncient times there were 4. generations in 100. years; one with the other as will appeare by the genealogie in the. 3. of S. *Luke*, for ſo many times 4. as there are of the perſons in ſucceſſion from *David* to *Ieſus*, ſo many hundred years you ſhall find in the time, and ſo ſhall you find in the time of our Kings, and in that of *France*, & in the genealogies of moſt men now living, or thereabout.

G. G.

ALL your generall inſtances make againſt you. pag. 163. *all your Authors take them whole and entire, they are your Adverſaries, eſpecially* Pliny & Columella, *who are your beſt Authors, but writing in Engliſh, & leaving the application to our ſelves, you ſhould not have neglected our owne records, eſpecially thoſe in the tower, (viz.)* Antiquæ chartæ, Rotuli chartarum, R. clauſarum: R. Patentium, *all the inquiſitions extant from* magna charta, *the labyrinthes and mazes of the Exchequer, the ſeverall offices of the Kings and Lord Treaſurers remembrances, the office of the Chamberlaine of the Exchequer where doomes day booke is kept, the office of the pells, and the great rolles of the pipe; which are extant from the* 1. *Hen.* 2. *and divers other offices of record at* Weſtminſter *beſides the chappell in the rolles, the cuſtomes of copyholders and the Court rolles, auncient rents, inventories, expence in hoſpitality, as I ſent you out of the Abby of* Glaſſenbury.

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G. H.

WEE are now come to your third exception, wherein you first tell mee, That all my generall instances make against me; and for this you point mee to pag. 163. of my booke; where I find instances of the length of mens lives, but *generall* instances I find none, and except they bee *generall* they cannot confute my booke, no nor that part of my booke, unlesse my reasons and authorities prove likewise insufficient; Neither are all my instances touching that point in that page, & those which I produce in that page, are brought to shew that men of latter ages, have equalled those of the former in length of life; and though some of those instances are ancient in regard of us, yet are they not onely equalled but exceeded by some of these latter times, both in Christendome, and among the Infidels, as I have made it apparent in the very next Section of that chapter.

Next you tell mee, That all my Authors take them whole and entire are mine Adversaries, specially *Pliny* and *Columella*, who are my best Authors. all my Authors against mee? then have I bad lucke indeed; yet if my reasons bee sufficient, my booke as yet is not sufficiently confuted. And for my Authors I will bee bold to say, that if they bee brought against mee, they must first bee brought against themselves, & consequently can bee of little validity against mee; nay more then so, I will undertake that no one Author either is, or can be brought against mee in one place, but (if hee have written a volume of any bignes) I will bring him in another place as expressly against himselfe.

But specially you say, *Columella* and *Pliny* who are my best Authors are against mee; Why you should terme them my best Authors I know not; in other places I am sure you preferre *Aristotle*, not onely before them, but all other writers in humane learning; and yet I presume you will not say, that take him whole and entire hee is mine Adversary; And for *Columella* I am confident, that you cannot bring mee so much as one passage out of him which makes against mee; so farre is he from being mine Adversary being taken whole and entire, that in whole chapters hee purposely disputes for mee against mine Adversaries; and besides I alleage neither him nor *Pliny* to prove the preservation of the world from decay, but onely to shew that in their opinions the earth is not decayed.

Nor for Pliny, hee seems indeed in one chapter to bee mine Adversary in the point of mens stature, (for which you are beholding to me) yet therein hee resolutely affirmes nothing, but *Propemodum observatur*, and thereof brings such instances, and yeelds such a reason grounded upon an erroneous snppositon, as are altogeather insufficient to prove his observation; but on the other side, in the very entrance of his naturall history he resolutely affirmes, *Mundum & hoc quod nomine alio cælum appellare libuit, numen esse, credi par est æternum, neq; genitum neq; interiturum unquam.* If the world bee endlesse how doth it suffer a perpetuall decrease? and if it suffer any such decrease how is it endlesse? Thus in one

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one branch or twigg hee ſeems to incline to you, but in the whole body of the Controverſie is wholy and reſolutely mine.

For that which followes in this Section it is brought (as it ſeems) rather to let us know your skill in our Courts and records, then to confute my booke, yet ſuch records I ſhould not have neglected, had they not layen out of my way aſwell as my profeſſion.

G. G.

AS your Authors ſo your inſtances; I ſhould have uſed theſe; All ancient Armories in the whole kingdome, all ancient pitched feilds. two in my knowledge Tewxbury *where* Lancaſter, Boſworth *where* Yorke *was overthrowne, certaine commons being there lately incloſed, in digging ditches, the very arrow heads, and old ruſty weapons did teſtify for mee; or in the Survay of* London, Aldermanbury *Church S.* Laurence, ſpittle feild; *or take our forces,* Stow *reports that neere* 800. *years ſince King* Edgar *had* 3600. *ſhips only for defence;* Stephanides, *that about* 500. *years ſince* London *alone did ſend forth* 20000 *horſe,* 60000. *foote, the citty is now five times greater, all weake beggerly Monaſteries ſuppreſſed, the gentry abounds with coach horſes, yet whither we candoe the like, I leave it to conſideration, notwilling to diſcover the ſtrength of kingdomes; ſo for diet,* I. Manſell *Prieſt entertained Kings, Queenes, Nobles, with* 700. *meſſe of meat A° D.* 1256.

G. H.

THis laſt exception confutes my booke, by telling mee what manner of inſtances I ſhould have uſed. Some ancient Armories I have ſurvayed as in my booke I make knowne, and the difference which I found in their armour and weapons from the preſent I there expreſſe, yeelding the reaſon why theirs exceeded ours, becauſe long peace and the late invention of gunnes have almoſt taken away the uſe of them. Till King *Henry* the ſevenths time, their arrowes were matchable with any from the conqueſt, the Corniſh men then ſhooting arrowes of a full cloth-yard long; but afterward the uſe of gunnes growing more frequent they decreaſed,

What you find in the ſurvay of *London, Aldermanbury* Church, S. *Laurence* or *ſpittle feilds* I know not, but am ſure that all this makes nothing to the maine queſtion, touching the univerſall and perpetuall decay of the world, and if in theſe you find any inſtances ſeeming to inferre a decreaſe in humane ſtrength and ſtature, I pray conſider firſt what I have obſerved touching the altars, the pulpits, the bedſteeds, the benches, the doores, the roofes, the tables, the tombes of the Ancients, and then let mee know from you the particulars of thoſe places you ſpeake of.

Stow you ſay, reports that King *Edgar* neere 800. years ſince, had 3600. Ships onely for defence. But I can hardly beleeve that ſo great an Antiquary as *Stow* could be ſo much miſtaken in *Edgars* time who entred his raigne in the years 959. which is not yet 700. years ſince

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wanting 26; and the miſtake of the number of ſhips by the addition of a cypher might bee as eaſy, 3600. for 360; but to take it as you would have it, did not *Edgar* herein exceede all his Predeceſſors? if hee did, there is no ſuch univerſall and perpetuall decay as you pretend; if hee did not, why ſhould you not rather name us ſome of his predeceſſors for your better advantage? but in very truth my Lord I cannot but wonder, that your Lordſhip ſhould inſtance in ſhipping, wherein it is moſt certaine that this Iland never flouriſhed as at this preſent it doth; or if wee are therein decreaſed is not the *Hollander* increaſed to the aſtoniſhment of the world? ſo is *Spaine* ſince their diſcovery of the new world; and *France* much beyond that it hath beene; and for us I dare ſay, that many harbours in this kingdome have now belonging to them more good ſhips, then the whole kingdome had in *Edgars* time; all whoſe fleete one of his Majeſties would as eaſily caſt off or cruſh in peeces, as a lyon would ſo many puppies.

For your *Stephanides* I muſt ingenuouſly confeſſe I have little acquaintance with him, neither doe I know of what ſtanding or credit hee is, but if *London* ſent forth ſo many horſe and foot 500 years ſince as you ſpeake of, ſurely it was then much ſtronger then 1000 yeares before that, and conſequently felt no decay, but rather gloried in a great increaſe of power at that time, and now you ſay it is five times greater then it was 500 yeares ſince; which ſhould argue, that if it decreaſe in forces, yet it hath much increaſed in buildings, and ſo the decay is not generall: but in good earneſt my Lord, can it in reaſon bee five times greater in buildings and yet leſſer in forces? wherefore doe buildings ſerve but for men? and wherein doe forces conſiſt but in number of men? ſo as in reaſon the number of buildings increaſing, ſhould argue that the number of men and forces are thereby increaſed, and I verily beleeve if *London* were put to it at this preſent, it were able of all ſorts to arme 100000 fighting men; and for ſhipping it as farre exceedes it ſelfe what it was 500 yeares ſince, as it doth in buildings, and I beleeve much more.

Touching *Iohn Manſell* Prieſt, I doubt if the 20000 horſe, and 60000 foot of the *Londoners* had met with his 700 meſſe, they would have left but a poore pittance for the Courtiers. I have looked into our Chronicles, and in that yeare or neare about it, I finde no mention of any *Iohn Manſell* Prieſt; but in the yeare 1251 (during the raigne of King *Henry* the third) I read of one Sr *Iohn Manſell*, who I thinke did better ſervice by his faithfull Counſell to the King, then *Iohn Manſell* Prieſt did with his 700 meſſe of meate; and beſides if you cannot name any Prieſt, who ever entertained the Court with ſo many meſſe before him, then is Modernity therein to be preferr'd before Antiquitie, his times holding the ſame proportion to thoſe who lived 400 or 500 yeares before him, as theſe preſent times doe to thoſe wherein he lived. And thus have I anſwered your generall exceptions, and yet I doe not finde my booke confuted.

G. G.

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G. G.

THese exceptions had reference to your second and third bookes, but some do take the greatest exceptions to your fourth booke, had you compared modernity with antiquity for vertues, surely it had beene an excellent and most incomparable worke, for it would have stirred us up to a pious emulation more and more to exceed them, but when you cast dirt on the Ancients and insist onely in the vices, vereor ne repetendo doceas. *Againe the booke proves nothing, unlesse you will suppose modernity to have stiles of innocency; for entring into comparison, you should have paralleld vices, but you never touch upon vices.*

G. H.

THese exceptions you say, had reference to my second and third booke; Whereas my second booke treats chiefely of the heavens, & the elements, which you touch not in any of your exceptions. Had you substantially proved the perpetual decay of either of these, you had thereby given indeed a mortall wound to my booke, but that I am confident will never bee done, by your selfe or any man else. And for my third booke it seems you would faine catch at somewhat in mine instances, but for my reasons & authorities (which take up the greatest part thereof) you are well content quietly to passe them over in silence. Lastly, in that booke I shew how this last age hath exceeded many of the precedent, in Arts, & Sciences, & Languages; but hereof not a word in any of your exceptions, nor yet of the stature and strength of men, but by glances. And have wee not heere a goodly Confutation of my second and third bookes?

But some you say, do take the greatest exception to my fourth booke (amongst which some it should seeme your Lordship is not the least) for that I compare not modernity with antiquity for vertue but for vice; as if there could be an increase of vice without a diminution of vertue, or a diminution of vice without some increase of the opposite vertue. Whe I prove that this age is not so luxurious as the former, do I not thereby consequently imply that this age is more sober then the former? as hee who affirmes that the evening is not so darkesome as the morning, thereby implies that it is more lightsome. Neither is it true that I insist only in the vices of the ancients, unlesse you will make justice and prudence, & fortitude to be vices; for in all these have I shewed, that the Christians farre exceeded the ancient pagan Romans whose cause you plead. Neither doe I cast dirt in their faces (as you pretend) but onely discover that which their owne writers have cast in the faces of their owne nation, many ages before I was borne; and some of their most monstrous vices I have purposely omitted, even blushing to write that which they blushed not to act, nay boasted of being acted; & for other vices, why should I feare the teaching of the by reproouing the, rather then S. *Paul?* who his epistle to the Romans not only reprooves them in generall, but layes them open in particular to the view of the world.

The

The reaſon why I have not inſiſted upon the vices of the preſent times, is becauſe they are ſufficiently knowne: as many no doubt practiſed by the Ancients are to us altogether unknowne; yet I have noted the one and ſilenced the other for the honour of Chriſtian religion; and I verily beleeve it may eaſily bee ſhewed, that ſince it came into the world the manners thereof have bin much reformed; and God forbid any good chriſtian ſhould otherwiſe conceive.

G. G.

TO deale more plainely with you, many are the exceptions againſt that booke, you doe expreſſe a very great hate to the Romans, *ſome of your weake readers may happily conceive, that you meane* Roman *Catholiques, for otherwiſe you doe ill to compare the* Heatheniſh Romans *with us Chriſtians, you ſhould have compared them with our Canniballs or naked* Indians, *and here you ſhould have found an excellent ſtraine for your diſcourſe; how the poore rouges runne about like vagabonds naked & hungry, without houſes, or civill ſocieties, yet had they their great wedges of gold, a great compaſſe and fruitfulnes of land, but alaſſe they knew not the uſe of their owne wealth, Heere you might find excellent commendations of modernity; they tooke the horſe and the rider to bee but one creature; the prediction of an eclipſe they thought it as impoſſible, as of future caſuall contingences; a looking glaſſe was ſould for a horſe loade of gold: heere was a* Royall *exchange.*

G. H.

YOu now begin to deale plainely with mee, and tell mee among many exceptions againſt that booke, one ſpeciall one is, That I expreſſe a very great hate to the *Romans*; Whereas I never expreſſed any hate at all againſt their perſons, but onely againſt their vices; And hee who excepts againſt that (to deale as plainely) I have great reaſon to except againſt him.

Some of my weaker readers you ſay, may happily conceive that I meane the *Roman* Catholicks; And truly my Lord they had need to be very weake indeed that ſo conceive. I preſume that none ſo weake will meddle with my booke, or if they doe, it matter not much what they conceive. How farre the preſent Romaniſts may juſtly bee termed Catholicks I will not diſpute; but this I doubt is too true that many of thoſe whom you are pleaſed to call Catholickes, nay the very heads of the Roman Catholicks have in all kind of monſtrous vices equalled, if not excelled the very worſt of the *Roman Emperors*: ſo as if ſome happily of my weaker Readers ſo conceive mee, ſurely they ſhall not therein bee much deceived.

But I doe ill you ſay to compare the heatheniſh Romans with vs, Chriſtians; and I pray why ſo: my ſcope being (as I have often ſaid) to ſhew the excellency of Chriſtian religion in the reformation of manners, being practiſed without apiſh ſuperſtition on the one ſide, or peeviſh ſingularity on the other. And how could I ſhew the excellency of Chriſtian religion, but by comparing the Infidele with the Chriſtians?

No

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No you say I should have compared them with the *Cannibals* or naked *Indians*. Why my Lord, are there now no Infidels to bee found in the world but these? what thinke you of the *Grand Signior*, the *Sophy* of *Persia*, the great *Magore*, the King of *China*, the *Cham* of *Tartary*, *Prester John* and the like; some of which in matter of state will not yeeld to the Romans; and when the Romans were in the prime of their vertue, were there no nations thē in the world thinke you, matchable with the poore *Cannibals* or naked *Indians*? or did not the Romans themselves rise by degrees from barbarisme to civility?

But heere you say, would be an excellent straine for my discourse, to describe these poore rogues running about like vagabonds; And then your selfe discourse in painting forth their incivility & misery, Whereas if they content themselves with that condition of life, I for my part hold them in better case then the Romans, who were never quiet, but like savage beasts roaring after their prey, and running about like wolves or lyons seeking whom they might devoure; better it is to bee without houses then to burne and spoile so many townes and cities, as the Romans did; better for a man not to know the use of his wealth, then to be ever gaping after the wealth of others, and not to spare their lives to get their wealth. You know the golden age is by the Romans themselves fayned to be without any use of gold; and Sir *Thomas Moore* in his *Vtopia*, holds that the world without the use of it might be much happier then now it is; so that to sell a horseloade of gold for a looking glasse, where there is no use of gold, I should thinke it no bad exchange.

G. G.

SVpposing their error who might apply things to the Roman Catholicks, yet your most judicious Reader might heere conceive, that because you would bee sure to hit the marke, and to point out the Antichrist; *therefore you would use some preparatives, whereas some are apt to beleeve, that God leaving the Iewes and going to the Gentiles, the Roman Empire then wholy consisting of Gentiles, and in effects representing the whole state of the Gentiles, therefore it was not unlike but the seate of the Empire might bee the mother Church to the Empire, & so to the Gentiles; that what they did before vanquish with the sword and brought under the yoake of subjection, they might now convert them in religion, and so recompence them with free Christian liberty; But your selfe not standing so well affected to them, doe therefore heere describe their vices and thereby imply, how improbable it is that they should have the Apostolick sea; for God would never make choice of such a sinfull nation to bee his chosen and peculiar people, the meanes to convert all others. And truly I should easily yeeld unto this, if you would bee pleased to poynt out some other Gentiles lesse vicious then the Romans.*

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G. H.

YOu heere goe on with another ſtraine of your diſcourſe, and tell mee that a judicious Reader might conceive that I diſcovered the vices of the *Romans*, thereby to prepare a way for the pointing out of *Antichriſt*. Now though it bee true that ſome of the Ancients imagined, *Nero* to bee *Antichriſt*, yet to bee true to you, in ſetting downe the vices of heatheniſh *Rome*, I never dreamed of any ſuch matter, nor I thinke any judicious reader beſides your ſelfe ever conceaved mee ſo, conſidering that ſo many of the firſt Roman Biſhops were perſequuted to death by thoſe very *Roman Emperors* whoſe vices I relate.

The *Roman Empire* you ſay, wholy conſiſted of Gentiles; and yet afterward you teach us, That God would not ſuffer his ſonne to come into the world untill firſt the *Iewes* became a branch of the *Roman Empire*. Againe you ſay, that the *Romans* in a manner repreſented the whole ſtate of the Gentiles; which if it were ſo, I deſire to learne why S. *Paul* in ſo many places, under the *Grecians* comprehends the whole ſtate of the Gentiles, terming all the reſt *Barbarians*, in compariſon of them.

That the ſeat of the Empire ſhould bee the mother Church of the Empire, and ſo of the Gentiles, is another ſtraine of your diſcourſe; it being moſt certaine that *Ieruſalem* was the mother Church in regard of chriſtian religion; And if the motherhood ſhould follow the *Emperiall* ſeate, then muſt *Conſtantinople* challenge it, when the ſeate of the Empire was remooved from *Rome* thither.

The *Roman Emperors* I grant, did vanquiſh with the ſword, & brought under the yoake of ſubjection manynations, to which they had no right; and ſo doe the Roman Biſhops uſurpe to themſelves a juriſdiction over all chriſtian Churches for which they can ſhew no ſufficient warrant; And ſo farre they are from recompencing thoſe whom they have brought under their yoake with chriſtian liberty, that they would utterly deprive them of that liberty, with which Chriſt hath made them free, and in which the Apoſtle bids them Stand faſt.

You put upon mee a tricke of policy in deſcribing the vices of the Romans which I never intended, as if forſooth I thereby purpoſed to deprive it of the honour of the Apoſtolicke Sea; Whereas I know no Commiſſion either of *Rome*, or any other Church or citty, for the bearing of that title. Sometimes I confeſſe by the Ancients it is called *ſedes Apoſtolica*, and ſo are other Churches where the Apoſtles were Biſhops and commonly reſident; but that it ſhould by vertue of that title challenge a univerſall juriſdiction over all other Churches, that they never intended; And if *S. Cyprian* had ſo thought I much wonder, hee had not yeelded to *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* without any more adoe.

Laſtly you wiſh mee to point out ſome other Gentiles leſſe vitious then the *Romans*, and then you will yeld that it was improbable they ſhould have that ſpeciall priviledge conferred upon them Whereunto I may ſafely reply that it reſts upon you to ſhew, that any other were

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as vicious; which if you cannot, then stand you bound by your logicke and promise, to yeeld that the Romans were unworthy of such honour, and I verily beleeve when you have runne thorough the stories of all ages and nations, you will never bee able to paralell them in the height of all kind of vices.

G. G.

BVt take the heathenish Romans, what testimonies doe you use against them; surely Poets, Satyrists, Advocates; *as if posterity should judge of these times by bills in chancery and starrchamber wherein commonly there is not one true word. I pray remember how much your selfe do vilify the testimonies of* Poets *for the golden age, and so rejecting your owne witnesses, they are now become not* fide digni; *but I pray who discovered these vices, made bitter invectives against them, and reprehended the Romans? surely none but the Romans; you should then have spoken something in their commendation and not condemned the whole nation. So likewise for their cruelty against Christians, you doe ill to silence their martyrdome, for they were Romans that suffered, and therein consisted their glory. Did not this proceede frō your hate to the Romans? you should have insisted in the sinnes of the old world which drew on the deluge, or in the sinnes of Angels which was a proude and insolent affectation of the diety; alasse the Romans are but moderns in respect of them, and therefore herein you plead against your selfe.*

G. H.

YOur last refuge and (as it should seeme) that wherein you put the greatest confidence is the disgracing and disabling the testimony of my witneses, who you say are *Poets*, *Satyrists*, *Advocates*, where what you meane by *Advocates* I know not unlesse you understand such as for a fee are hired to speake; but in that sense neither are all my witnesses *Poets*, nor all my *Poets Satyrists*, nor any of them *Advocates*. Without a fee or any sollicitation they voluntarily testifie and plead against their owne nation, which is the richest kind of testimony that can bee devised, specially in matter of their owne knowledge, and of their owne tymes, against which there can bee no exception. Neither can they bee likened to bills in *Chancery* and *Starrchamber*, wherein you say there is not commonly one true word (which I know not how to gainesay because I have beene little acquainted with them) but of this am I sure, that those bills for the most part proceede out of bitternes, and malice, but why those *Poets* whom I produce should out of malice write against their owne nation, no sufficient reason can bee alleaged.

But now my Lord tell me I beseech you, in good earnest, do I use the testimony of none other but *Poets* for discovering the enormous vices of the Romans? My Lord I will be bold to say that in this imputation it evidently appeares you seeke not so much the search & opening of the truth, as the venting of your spleene, & the vilifying of me & my booke why is it possible that having read my booke so often & so accurately as you pretend, but you should there have found and acknowledged for the proofe of the excessive vices of the Romans other witnesses besides *Poets*: some of which I will name because you will needs put me to it, not

for ostentation in the mustering of names, but for mine owne just defence against your unjust accusation, that so the Reader by this one may make an estimate of the rest of your positions.

The witnesses then which there to that purpose beside *Poets* I. allege, are these; *Iosephus, Eusebius, Cyprian, Tertullian, Lactantius, Ierome, Augustin, Orosius, Sulpitius, Salvian, Arnobius, Cassiodorus, Gregory* the great, *Paulus Diaconus, Olympiodorus*: These were no *Poets* my Lord, nor these; *Cicero*, both the *Plinies*, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, *Salust*, *Varro*, *Columella*, *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, *Florus*, *Alexander* ab *Alexandro*, *Appian*, *Herodian*, *Valerius*, *Dion Cassius*, *Xiphilin*, *Marcellinus*, *Iustin*, *Livy*, *Pacatus*, *Seneca*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Athenaus*, *Spartianus*, *Vopiscus*, *Lampridius*, *Capitolinus*, *Apulejus*, *Vlpian*; Nor these, *Budaus*, *Lypsius*, *Andreas Rey*, *Albericus Gentilis*, and Sir *Walter Rawley*; None of these were *Poets*, but either *Doctors* of great account in the christian church, or historiographers, Orators, or Philosophers highly esteemed in the Roman state, or latter writers renowned for their learning and judgement, yet many of these I quote often and at large. And is it possible then that your Lordship should bee so conversant in my booke, and yet so farre wrong mee, your reader, your selfe & your cause, as to beare the world in hand, That my only or best witnesses were *Poets*, *Satyrists*, *Advocates*?

But I vilify you say, the testimonies of the *Poets* for the golden age, & so rejecting mine owne witnesses they are now become not *fide dign*; not *ifide digni* if I use their testimony against themselves, & their owne nation? And beside, I use their testimony in very few things which I find not confirmed by some other of their graveſt writers.

Againe you demaund who discovered those vices, made bitter invectives against them, and reprehended the Romans: surely, none you say but the Romans: for which I should have spoken something in their cõmendation, & not cõdemned the whole nation. None but the Romans? why, was *Tertullian* a Roman? S. *Augustin* a Roman? *Lactantius* a Roman? who made indeed most bitter invectives against those very Romans, whom you goe about to defend. And for the Romans themselves who reprehend those vices, for the most part they doe it but coldly, their *Satyrists* only and *Seneca* excepted, who was indeed a kind of *Satyrist* in prose, yet some vices there were, which they all commended as selfe-homicide; & so doth *Ennius* the cruelty of *Affricanus* in shedding bloud; in whose person hee thus speakes.

Si fas cadendo cælestia scandere cuiquam est;
Mi soli cæli maxima porta patet.

Scilicet quia magnam partem generis humani extinxit ac perdidit, saith *Lactantius*. And this no doubt was not onely the practise but the opinion of that whole nation. Yet that there were among them great examples of vertue, specially in their rising Empire, and that those Authors who seriously reprehend vice are therefore to be commended, I deny not; but withall affirme, that in the height of their Empire, & in their declining state, their whole nation was more generally tainted with horrible vices in all kinds, then any I thinke in the world since hath beene.

But I doe ill you say to silence their martyrdome, for they were

Romans

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Romans that ſuffered, and therein conſiſted their glory. True indeed amongſt others, the *Roman* Biſhops were famous for their ſuffering, but I much wonder your Lordſhip ſhould forget, that as they who ſuffered were ſome of them *Roman* Biſhops, ſo they ſuffered from the *Roman* Emperors; The Biſhops were *Chriſtians*, and the Emperors *Pagans*, and my ſcope was to ſhew for the honour of *Chriſtian religion* how much the *Pagans* exceeded the *Chriſtians* in all manner of vice, and conſequently, the *Chriſtians* exceeded the *Pagans* in all manner of vertue; And to this end have I ſhewed the cruelty of the one and patience of the other, and to this purpoſe expreſly obſerved, *pag.* 331. that 33. *Roman* Biſhops, from S. *Peter* to *Sylveſter* were all martyred; and did not this proceed from my hatred to the *Romans*? My hate is not, nor ever was, to *Chriſtian Rome*, but he who hates her not both as *Pagan* and *Antichriſtian*, I ſee not how he can well be a good *Chriſtian*.

You ſay, I ſhould have inſiſted in the ſinnes of the old world, which drew on the deluge; or in the ſinne of the Angels which was a proud & inſolent affectation of the dietie; for that the *Romans* are but Moderne; in reſpect of them, & therefore herein I have pleaded againſt my ſelfe. *In reſpect of them?* why then Antiquitie and Modernitie are relative termes, and as the *Romans* may be termed Modernes in reſpect of them, ſo may they be termed Ancients in reſpect of ſucceeding ages. If then I compare *Pagan Rome* with *Chriſtian Rome*, I beſeech you my Lord how doe I pleade againſt my ſelfe? I doe not ſay that the vices of the *Romans* exceeded the rebellion of the Angels, or that of the old world; nay both of them in ſome ſort exceeded the irregularitie of the *Romans*; and herein you plead againſt your ſelfe: but the reaſon why I made choice of the *Romans*, was, becauſe they are held the patterns in all kind of vertue, to ſhew how the world is therein generally miſtaken, & that for the honour of *Chriſtian Religion*, which hath yeelded more examples of vertue, and leſſe of vice, then ever the ancient *Romans* did.

G. G.

BVt to ſave this needleſſe labour, I confeſſe that all times have beene alike vitious; for as in the Creation it is ſaid, Erant omnia valde bona, *ſo after the fall,* Omnes aberravimus; *and our wayes are become* Lubicrum in tenebris. *The reaſon is, becauſe the father of ſinne hath ever beene alike ſinfull ſince his firſt fall; and conſequently his ſuggeſtions to ſinne, have ever beene anſwerable, for that he ſhould bee tyed up in chaines, this is a ſpeciall priviledge not to be drawne to a preſident. I conclude then, that vices have ever beene at their full height without any abatement, ſo farre forth as bodies were capable, and occaſions offered, the malignity and corruption of mans nature hath ever beene ſinfull,* quoad ultimum poſſe; *In peaceable times pride and luxurie have ever ſhewed themſelves, while warres are accompanied with bloody deſignes.*

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G. H.

AFter all this adoe and seeking by all the meanes you could devise to palliate the vices of *Pagan Rome*, you will now at last save all this needeleſſe labour: which might have bin done sooner with more ease both to your selfe and mee. But how will you save it? marry by confessing that all times have bin alike vicious. What all times vicious alike? then doubtlesse is there no declination in matter of manners, & consequently no such universall decay as you pretend. Can all times be vicious alike, and yet the latter times be more vicious then the former, or the former lesse vicious then the latter? This is a riddle to mee. In your last papers sent me before these, you undertake to prove, that these moderne times exceede the impostures of the Ancients by a tenfold proportion; Imposture I ever tooke to bee a vice, and can these times exceede the former therein by a tenfold proportion, and yet all times bee alike vicious?

You Conclude, that vices have ever bin at their full height without any abatement, so farre forth as mens bodies were capable & occasion offered; as if education wrought nothing, example nothing, morall precepts nothing, religion nothing in the reformation of manners. Christian religion brought with it a resemblance of the golden age, saith *Lactantius*, no say you, vices have ever bin at their full height; By their fruits shall yee know them saith our Saviour; no say you, vices have never any abatement. *Quemadmodum temporum vices, ita & morum*, saith *Tacitus*; and *Seneca*, *Non expectant uno loco vitia sed mobilia & inter se dissentientia, tumultuantur invicem fugantur que*; No say you, All times have bin alike vitious; Who is it I beseech you my Lord who now gives a deadly blow to Christian religion, you or I? it was in these latter ages (if wee compare them with the precedent since the creation) that a great part of the world hath bin converted to the christian faith; yet say you notwithstanding all this, All times have bin alike vitious, vices have bin ever at their full height without any abatement; And do you not stand up bravely heere for the honour of Christian religiõe?

That mans nature since the fall hath ever bin sinfull I grant; but I pray my Lord to what end serve the lawes of God and man, to what end grace and the gospell but to bridle and restraine the malignity of corrupt nature? and if all these worke nothing, as good bee without them as with them. That pride and luxurie have ever shewed themselves in peaceable times more or lesse I grant, as also that warres are accompaned with bloudy designes; but that those bloudy designes in time of warre, or that pride and luxury in times of peace alwayes shewed themselves in the highest degree, (even when occasion was offered) that I utterly deny; neither can it in my poore judgement become any Christian to affirme it.

In the entrance of this Section you tell us, That in the first Creation, *erant omnia valde bona*; Which being so, I pray teach me my Lord how they come to bee *valde mala* now, as you beare us in hand. Did the maker

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maker himselfe marre them? or was it in the power of any Creature to marre them? Men and Angells being rationall Creatures, and consequently indued with freedome of will, might marre themselves as they did, but the worke of God in the other Creatures they did not, they could not marre; so that being created *valde bona*, no doubt they so continue still; And then what will become of your imaginarie decay, you may easily guesse.

G. G.

BVt in describing the vices and sinnes of the Romanes, *doe you not seeme to describe another world? such drinking*, pag. 370. *such huge platters*, pag. 374. *such a strange resolution of sword-players*, pag. 345. *such large and spacious houses*, pag. 404. *I could insist in many, but I am ever sparing in my quotations.*

G. H.

IN describing the vices of the *Romanes*, I seeme indeed to describe another world, such excesse in drinking, such gluttony in their huge platters, such thirst of bloud in their sword-playes, such vanity in their buildings, as this present world I thinke can hardly afford the like; to which I will adde if you please, (because you are so sparing in quotations) their pride and curiositie in their apparrell and dressing themselves, their outragious gaming, their extreame arrogance in admiring and commending, and even deifying themselves, their grosse and base flatterie, specially toward their Emperours, both living and dead; their impudent, nay impious vaine-glory, and boasting of their owne nation and Citie, their manifest injustice in waging warre, under pretence of assisting their Confederates, their monstrous ingratitude toward their best deserving Citizens; & lastly their wonderfull folly in setting their ablest men, only upō a bravado to sheath their swords one in anothers bowels, in daily feeding the eyes of the people with wanton or bloudy spectacles, and commending them for dispatching themselves in a rage, who (the heat of that passion being over) might have lived long to doe their Countrey good service.

G. G.

AS you have expressed your hate, so give me leave to testifie the honour and reverence which I beare to the Romanes; *for I doe verily beleeve, that as the* Jewes *had a Ceremoniall law containing types and figures of Christ: so these* Romanes *had the Morall law in a most excellent manner, as preparatives to a Christian resolution and mortification. And when I compare the* Romanes *with others, alas all others are but base and obscure in respect of them; they gave lawes to the whole world, they are examples and presidents in every kinde of vertue, they live and to this day subsist, as well in the monuments and trophies of their learning, vertues, and conquests; as in their marble sta-*

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tues, and in them meethinkes I see more then an ordinary nature; insomuch that God who in his infinite providence doth observe every the least circumstance, would not suffer his sonne to come into the world, to be borne of his owne people, untill first his owne people became a branch of the Roman *Empire, and Christ in his preaching did preach obedience to* Cæsar, *in token whereof as an earnest he paid tribute for himselfe, and for* S. Peter. *How much did* S. Paul *boast of his* Roman *priviledge, and how much was that Citie honoured or rather sanctified, by those two great Apostle-Martyrs, in the effusion of their bloud.*

G. H.

I Must here againe professe that I have expressed no hate to the persons, but to the vices of the *Romanes*; but you desire you say, to testifie the honour and reverence which you beare them. What, to the *Pagan Romans* as they are ballanced with the *Christians?* this is my comparison, and if this be your meaning, surely the *Christian Religion* is little beholding to you.

That the *Iewes* had a Ceremoniall law, containing types and figures of *Christ*, we are bound to beleeve; but that the *Romans* had the Morall law in so excellent a manner, as thereby to prepare a way to *Christian* resolution and mortification, though you verily beleeve, yet I very much doubt. Could they have the Morall law in so excellent a manner as you pretend, and yet bee generally tainted with so many notorious vices, in so high a degree as I have made it appeare, and S. *Paul* hath touched in his Epistle to them? who to magnifie the vertue of *Christian Religion*, every where much beates upon the enormous sinnes of the *Gentiles*, and among them chiefly of the *Romans*, before their conversion to *Christianitie*; but you on the other side are become the Advocate of the *Gentiles* to pleade for them, and to magnifie their vertues, thereby abating the efficacie of *Christian Religion*, which found them not lambes, but of wolves made them lambes; it found them vitious in the highest degree, but made them vertuous. *The whole*, saith our Saviour, *have no need of the Physition but the sicke*; and therefore hee came into the world when it was desperately sicke, that the dangerousnesse of the disease might make the cure the more remarkeable. Wee never reade of so many deafe, and dumbe, and halt, and blinde, and paraliticall, and leprous, and possessed with uncleane spirits, as at that time; and as it was in the diseases of the body, so no doubt was it in those of the minde, that so the skilfulnes and honour of the Physition might be the more eminent and conspicuous in both.

Now for the particulars wherein you instance, Christian resolution rather consists in suffering then in killing, which was the *Romans* common trade; And I beseech you, what could be more opposite to Christian resolution in suffering, then to commend their Citizens for dispatching themselves with their owne hands, rather then they would suffer from others? And for mortification I know not what vertue they had to prepare a way to it, unlesse wee should say that excessive luxurie in all kindes, insatiable covetousnesse, barbarous cruelty, pride, vaine-

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vaine-glory, arrogancie, selfe-love, ambition, flattery, hypocrisie, ingratitude, made way for mortification: and truly we may as well say, that darkenes makes way for light, or sickenesse for health.

You goe on and tell us, that all others are but base in regard of the *Romans*; what all Christians base in regard of the *Pagan Romans*? That I hope is not your meaning, and yet I know not how to expound it otherwise.

They gave lawes I confesse, though not to the whole world (as you pretend) yet to a good part thereof; and so doth the Grand Signiour at this day, but by what right or justice they subdued those nations, upon whom they imposed those lawes, that I find not cleared by themselves, though much questioned by others; and to impose lawes where is no right, what is it but oppression? Cut-throats, and Pyrats, and outlawes, may by a strong hand impose lawes upon just and honest men; and shall we thinke the better of the owne or the worse of the other for that?

They are examples you say, and presidents in every kinde of vertue; and from whence hath your Lordship that, but from their owne writers? now though their testimonie bee good against themselves, yet you know who hath said, *If I beare witnesse of my selfe my witnesse is not true*; It is more then probable, that they fained many things in commendation of themselves and their owne nation, which now passe currant, because uncontrolled. Againe, though some of them were examples of vertue in their rising Empire, yet when it came to the height, they fell faster from vertue then before they rose by it; but take them at best, did not the Apostles, the Martyrs, the Confessors afford more and better examples, in all kinde of vertue, then ever the *Pagan Romans* did? they left such examples of piety, of chastitie, of modesty, of obedience, of patience, of humility, as the *Romans* never heard of; nay some of these vertues, as namely humility in esteeming others better then themselves, charitie in loving their enemies, patience in suffering wrongs without seeking revenge: these the *Romans* were so farre from practising, as they conceived them to bee vices rather then vertues; And were not heere goodly presidents for the Christians to imitate.

In the monuments of their learning I grant they live; yet was their excellencie specially in Historie, Oratorie, and Poetry; but for Physicke, Philosophie, and the Mathematickes (the most usefull parts of humane learning) the *Arabians* and others who have lived since them, have gone farre beyond them. And for their trophies of victorie, I may truly call them, the ensignes of opression and injustice.

Their Statues which they commonly erected to themselves, I cannot but marvell your Lordship should name as a part of their praise, since it was indeede a speciall peece of their vanitie, thereby in a manner idolizing themselves, vainely imagining to consecrate themselves to eternitie in a stone. And though you in them seeme to see more then ordinary nature, yet their mortalitie and the ruine of their Empire proclaime that it was indeed but ordinary, and that all mortall power like *Nabuchadnezzars* image stands upon feet of clay.

For

For a close of this point I should make bold to demand, whither if the *Romans* had the Morall law in so excellent a manner as you pretend, they did not exceede all that went before them in matter of moralitie, and if they did, how can the world bee said still to degenerate in manners. And againe, if their moralitie were but a preparative to Christian resolution and mortification, then these though comming after in time, being the perfection and accomplishment of that preparative, must needs as farre exceed it as the bodie doth the shadow, or the substance the figure, or to take your owne comparison, as Christ doth the types of the Ceremoniall law, and if so, I pray what have you gotten by the great reverence you beare to these *Pagans*, against whom both the Scriptures and Fathers crie out so loud?

It is true that *Christ* was not borne untill the *Iewes* were unjustly brought under the *Roman* yoake; but what of that? as the derivation of his birth from the *Iewes* makes rather against them then for them, inasmuch as *comming amongst his owne, his owne received him not*; so it rather makes against the *Romans*, that the *Iewes* (of whom the *Messias* was borne) were then a branch of their Empire, inasmuch as they cruelly persequuted not onely the *Iewish* nation, but the Disciples of the *Messias*, whom they called *Iewes* at first, because himselfe was of that nation; and though hewere put to death at *Ierusalem*, and by the false accusation of the *Iewes*, yet was it by authoritie derived from the *Romans*. The *Roman* souldiers were the principall instruments in his passion; and as long as our Creed remaines, the name of *Pontius Pilate* will not be forgotten, who most unjustly condemned to death the Judge of the world, the Lord of life. And such another corrupt Judge was that unhappy *Fælix*, (a bird of the same nest) who though hee trembled as he sate upon the bench, while *Paul* arraigned as a prisoner at the barre, reasoned of the judgement to come, yet even then out of a wicked custome, he gaped after a bribe, and hoped that money should have beene given him for *Pauls* inlargement. And these are the jolly fellowes whom your Lordship doth so much honour and reverence, as the best examples and presidents in all kinde of vertue.

That our Saviour preached obedience to *Cæsar*, and paid tribute for himselfe and S. *Peter*, cannot be denied; but doth obedience argue vertue in him to whom it is yeelded? or tributte goodnes in him to whom it is paid? greatnesse I confesse it argues in regard of his office, but not goodnesse in his conditions. His Apostles likewise preached obedience and payment of tribute to *Nero*, was *Nero* therefore a good man? or shall we conceive the better of him in that respect? indeed wee have great reason to conceive the better of the *Christians*, who yeelded obedience to such a monster, but the worse of him who handled them so cruelly, notwith-standing their obedience.

That S. *Paul* made use of his *Roman* priviledge, thereby to escape the scourge I finde, but that he boasted of it so much as you pretend, or at all, that I finde not; but in good earnest my Lord, doth the Apostles making use of the *Roman* priviledg, argue the vertue of the *Romans*? *Christians* I hope may make use of some *Turkish* priviledges, and yet *Turkes* prove no whit the better for that.

Lastly

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Lastly you say, that Citie was much honoured, or rather sanctified by those two great Apostle-Martyrs, in the effusion of their bloud; why my Lord, is it possible you should bring this as an argument for the commendation of the *Romans*? truly you must needs have very little to commend them for, when the powring out of the bloud of such Martyrs must bee brought to honour, and sanctifie them; Was *Ierusalem* sanctified *for killing the Prophets, and stoning them that were sent unto her*? then let the persequution of *Christian Religion* passe for holinesse, and *Nero* be registred for a glorious Saint; but the Citie you say was hereby sanctified: Why my Lord, out question is of the Citizens, not of the Citie; and can the Citie bee sanctified with that with which the Citizens are polluted? and for the Citie it selfe, of her is it spoken (yet not without relation to her inhabitants) upon her forehead was a name written, *Misterie, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth, drunken with the bloud of the Saints, and of the Martyrs of Iesus*; and then it followes in the next Chapter, *Come out of her my people that yee be not partakers of her sinnes, and that yee receive not of her plagues*: so as it should seeme shee was not thought to bee sanctified then, but rather stained by the bloud of the Martyrs.

G. G.

THus we differ in all your bookes, onely for the end wherein you make such excellent use of the last and generall judgement, therein I doe concurre with you, which makes mee beleeve that after some little agitation of of questions betweene us, it is not impossible but we may agree in the conclusion, as no doubt we doe at this time agree in the intention; for both of us aime at the truth, and the advancement of Gods glory.

G. H.

SInce we differ in the maine Controversie, no marvell that we differ in all the foure bookes which looke all one way; but as your Lordship differs from me, so doe you likewise from your selfe, as I have made it appeare by diverse passages taken as well from your booke of *the fall of man*, as your Sermon of the *Religion of the dumbe Creatures*; And till you have reconciled your selfe to your selfe, I shall have little hope of your reconcilement to mee; Hee must agree with himselfe, who desires upon faire termes and reasonable conditions to agree with others.

If your Lordships intention be to aime at the truth, and the advancement of Gods glory, meethinkes you should not professe your selfe a champion of them who were the greatest enemies of that truth, and opposers of that glory: And againe, meethinkes you should either professe your selfe satisfied with my replies, or shew me why you are not; one of the two till you be pleased to doe, it is altogether impossible (as I conceive) that any agitation of the question, should ever bring us to agree in the conclusion.

G. G.

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G. G.

AND now good Mr Archdeacon, *that I may ſpeake my minde moſt plainly, the Ancients are little, the* Romans *are leſſe, and ſurely the Moderne es are not much beholding to you; my meaning is not in reſpect of your owne worth and learning (for therein they are much bound unto you, and ſhall ever be to your memory) but for your teſtimonies concerning them; while you expect a more flouriſhing ſtate to ſucceed, you vilifie the preſent, as if we had but figures and types, onely buds and bloſſomes, while the fruit is behinde. Thus you propoſe ſtrange hopes, or rather fancies for future times; and ſurely thoſe times are leaſt of all beholding unto you, for you will ſuddenly annihilate them.*

G. H.

TO deale as plainely with your Lordſhip, (under favour be it ſpoken) you are much miſtaken; you ſeeme to conceive that the end of my writing, was to make men beholding to me, whereas it was rather to let mē know how much they are beholding to God, who hath ſo divided his gifts and graces, as he hath thereby made all ages beholding to him, there having beene no age (as I conceive) ſince the firſt Creation, but hath exceeded all others in ſome reſpects, and againe in other reſpects hath beene exceeded by others; that ſo none might account themſelves wholly neglected, none boaſt as being onely reſpected by him.

But the Ancients you ſay are little, the *Romans* leſſe, and the Modernes not much beholding to me! For the Ancients I ſhall ever deſire to give them their due, but to deifie and adore them beyond their deſerts, as if they were more then men, or to credit all their aſſertions as oracles, that I preſume was not their deſire. Touching the *Romans*, it were but folly and envy to derogate from that which was vertuous in them, yet to call their vices vertues, that ſhall I never doe; and laſtly, concerning the Modernes, if it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his goodneſſe to beſtow ſome ſpeciall gifts upon them, which he denied to former ages, ſhall we be ſo ignorant as not to know it, or ſo ingratefull as not to acknowledge it. Truly my Lord, the age in which you live, I may juſtly ſay, is not at all beholding to you, making it to bee the lees as it were, and dregs of all former ages: notwithſtanding, that every man (as I conceive) bee no leſſe bound to honour the age, then the nation in which he was borne and bred.

Yea but I vilifie the preſent times, you ſay, whiles I expect a more flouriſhing ſtate to ſucceed; bee it ſo, yet this is not to vilifie modernitie, as you pretend, the preſent times being alwayes moderne in regard of the time paſt; ſo as thoſe ſucceeding times when they ſhall come to be preſent, will then bee no leſſe moderne then the preſent times now are; nor yet to ſay that a more plentifull meaſure of grace may be powred out upon the future ages, is it a vilifying of the preſent, conſidering Almighty God hath dealt more gratiouſly with this preſent age in ſome

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some respects, then with some other precedent; and as in some other respects, former ages exceeded this: so may this for any thing wee know, that which is to come. I vilifie none, but observe and admire the prints and characters of the divine Providence in all, which you too much vilifie, as if it extended onely to former ages, and not to the present; as if he had but one blessing in store, or the infinite treasures of his goodnesse could in tract of time be drawne drie.

I propose you say strange hopes, or rather fancies for future times; Why my Lord, if they be fancies, my comfort is that they be not mine alone; nay I trust your Lordship is not ignorant, that a great part of the Ancients were strongly possessed with the same strange fansie, or one very neare it; they in effect stiffely maintaine that which I onely propose problematically or conjecturally; except you will deny the Conversion of the *Iewish* nation to the *Christian* faith, (which the *Christian Church* ever constantly held) you cannot condemne my opinion touching a more flourishing state of the Church to bee expected, as a strange fancie; if that Propheſie of the Apostle, *Then shall all* Israel *be saved*, be not yet accomplished, undoubtedly it shall be; and if you will be pleased to shew mee, where I may find the thousand yeares for the binding up of Satan, I will no more expect them to come. This favour I have heretofore desired at your hands, but you still make your selfe merrie with my strange fancies, never answering my arguments: the one is easie to doe, in the other you finde more difficultie, which makes you imbrace the one and decline the other; but herein you may perchance purchase applause from some, not approbation from all.

But these future times you say are least of all beholding to mee, for that I will suddenly annihilate them. Suddenly? why the question is about the binding up of Satan for a thousand yeares, and can that bee done, and yet those times be suddenly annihilated? and beside, whether the end of the world shall presently insue upon the expiration of those yeares, I determine not; so as the sudden annihilation of those times is no worke of mine, but a fancie of yours.

Thus hoping your Lordship will bee pleased to take my endeavours in good part, and to winke at my imperfections, I humbly take leave and rest

Your Lordships

to be commanded

G. H.

TO theſe precedent anſwers of mine, it pleaſed his Lordſhip to make none other reply but by way of Digreſsion. They are in number foure, whereof the firſt is touching the double matter of the cœleſtiall and elementarie bodies. The ſecond about the *Decupla proportio* of the elements. The third concerning the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgine. The fourth of the pretended writings of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*. Theſe I neither intended nor deſired to bring to light; partly for that they were but Digreſsions, & partly becauſe ſome of them contained matter of doubtfull interpretation; yet becauſe his Lordſhip would needes have it ſo, (chiefly, as hee ſaith, becauſe two of them containe points of Divinitie) I was content to obey, and to let them goe with the reſt to the preſſe. The occaſion of theſe Digreſsions is to be found in his Lordſhips firſt foure arguments, and my anſwers thereunto: the two laſt, *pag.* 49. and 50. *lib.* 5.

G. G.

Touching the double matter.

1. I *Wonder how* Moſes *could bee thought to favour your opinion, when as in the very firſt entrance, he makes the matters diſtinct*; In principio creavit Deus cœlum & terram: *ſo then they did never* convenire in aliquo tertio, *as all ſublunary bodies did; and this was* terra inanis & vacua, *which I take to be the Chaos very fitly deſcribed in your* 4 *verſes; ſo that* Ovid *lookes not ſo high as to the matter of the heavens, but you would faine cover the materiall heavens with a Chaos, that ſo you might uncover it with Annihilation: I confeſſe there be many expoſitions of* Moſes *words, and I doe approve ſome of your owne expoſitions, yet withall I ſay they may very fitly imply the double matter. Now to ſatisfie your doubts wherein you crave my helpe.* pag. 35.

2. *It is an errour to ſay, that the forme onely diſtinguiſheth; though it is moſt true, that where the forme is, there the forme is the onely cauſe of individuation; but* ens & unum convertuntur, *there is an entitative unity as well as a formall unity. Thus the matter it ſelfe differs from the forme, in reſpect of that eſſence which is proper to it ſelfe; and therefore we ſay in a ſchoole ſubtilty, that the firſt matter is* actu ens, *but not* ens actu, *namely that it ſubſiſts*

actu

actu reali, but actu formali; thus then whereas you conceive there should bee no distinction betweene the two matters; you might as well say, there shall bee no distinction betweene the matter and forme, ex parte materiæ; And if you make the Empyreall heaven corporeall, you must then make it materiall, and so by your argument it likewise should subsist of the same Elementarie matter; I doe therefore say, in Philosophie there are two matters, the Elementarie which is subject to contrary qualities, and even by those opposing each other, it thereby inclines to decay. There is likewise a celestiall matter, which hath no such corroding and maligning qualities, yet belonging to a temporall world, answerable to the condition of this world, it is apt in time of it selfe to bee worne out with use; There is yet a third matter beyond the reach of Philosophie, which is a glorified matter, and that neither by opposing and jarring qualities, neither yet with attrition or use it shall bee worne out; but answerable to the condition of the glorified world, it shall last to eternitie. Now I conceive the heavenly matter to bee the medium, betweene the elementary and the glorified, for so in all my assertions, I shall ever shew degrees and meanes.

Your second argument grounded upon an axiome, In quolibet causarum genere datur una prima, you doe very well to insist in the efficient and the finall cause, being extrinsecall, and having other causes efficient and finall subordinate beneath them; but as there is not una prima forma, unlesse it be in respect of dignity and preheminencie, so is there not prima materia in diversis rerum generibus; for you yeeld that corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt genere; and whereas you would oppose pura potentia to purus actus, this comes very neere the opinion of the Manichees, to oppose God to God, and is so farre from a truth, that the first matter is created by this purus actus, and whatsoever receiues vertue and efficacie from it, it cannot be soe wholy excluded, but it must in some sort partake of it; and therefore the very potentia it selfe, as it is elevated ex nihilo, so it cannot stand in opposition to that purus actus, which created it. 3.

You doe fasten some opinions uppon us, whome you call the adversaries of the single matter, which I for my selfe will not acknowledg. If two first matters be harsh to the eare, yet a double matter runnes very smoothly: For the text Wisdome 11.18. had it bin rightly applyed, out of my respect to that booke, I should have yeelded unto it. Take then the old translation, and there you shall find these words, orbem terrarum, wich doth ever properly signifie this elementary or sublunary World, which is much more manifested by the words following, where he enumerates the instruments of Gods wrath, Beares and Lyons for the earth, unknowne beasts for the waters, vapor and smoke for the ayre, flames and sparkes of fire; here are the foure elements, had he now ascended a litle higher and sayd signa in sole & luna, then this matter might have bin extended to the heavens. 4

Soe Iansenius accords with me, as it appeares in his last words; for he speakes only of that matter, which afterwards was distinguished by formes; and this I acknowledg to be only the elementary; and herein consists the whole mistake; for never any Aristotelean who did acknowledge a different matter of the heavens from the elements, will ackowledge that the heavens have any informing forme, but that it is a quintessence, a pure body without mixture, or composition 5

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of matter and forme; that as heere beneath all ſublunaries conſiſt of matter and forme, ſo the heavens are matter without forme, and above the heavens there are formes without matter, ſo glorious is God in the variety of his workes. Now the matter of the heavens is ſo excellent, as it hath in it ſelfe the perfection of a forme, and all the properties, all the eminencies and qualities which the forme doth impart, and thereby it gives us ſome aſſurance in religion, how that body which is ſowne a naturall body, may riſe againe a ſpirituall body, for there is a naturall body, and there is a ſpirituall body; *now for want of due information herein, you are pleaſed to runne on in your owne witty diſcourſe*, pag. 37. That the matter of the heavens hath a forme ſo excellent, ſo noble, as that it is therewith wholly ſatisfied, &c.

6. *I did never beleeve that the heavens were corruptible in that manner as theſe inferiour bodies are, namely by diſſolution or paſsion; but out of their owne inbred weakeneſſe, that God intending their deſtruction, (which all confeſſe) in working his wonders, darkening the Sun & the Moone, diſordering the ſtarres, he might not offer violence to their nature which hee himſelfe had appointed; but onely haſten that courſe to which they did naturally incline of themſelves: for proofe whereof I doe alleadge the teſtimony of Scripture*, The heavens waxe old, the obſervations of *Ptolomie*, the Comet in *Caſsiopeia*, the increaſe and decreaſe of the Moone, *together with many other inſtances, whereby it ſhall appeare that the operation of the heavens is not of that power and efficacie, as heretofore it hath bin. And whereas you ſpeake of your owne ingenuity, give me leave to oppoſe mine owne honeſt plaine meaning, although I ſpeake more for the eternity of the heavens then you doe, for you make it a compound of matter & forme, which as it is capable of cõpoſition, ſo it might be capable of diſſolutiõ, but I make the matter of the heavẽs in the nature of a ſpirit, ſuch as* cannot be diſſolved; *& therfore more apt for eternity: yet am I not ſo improvident*, as to ſtrike at the throat of mine owne cauſe.

7 *And to ſpeake more fully to this cauſe, that it may appeare they are two ſeverall matters; whatſoever is proper to the one, you ſhall finde the cleane contrary in the other*, (E G) 1° *by the elementary matter things are made ſubject to paſſion, but the matter of the heavens makes them impaſsible.* 2° *Our matter hath a perpetuall appetite, which makes way to the introduction of a new forme; but the matter of the heavens hath no ſuch appetite, as your ſelfe have well obſerved.* 3° *The ignobleneſſe of our matter is ſuch, as that wee ſay* cui plus ineſt materiæ, imperfectius eſt, *but in the heavens it is cleane contrary; for* ſtella eſt denſior pars ſui orbis, & denſitas *implies* plus materiæ. 4° *Our matter is a great hinderance and obſtacle to motion, but the heavenly matter doth much incline to a continuall motion.* 5° *Our matter requires reſt in her own proper place, but it is otherwiſe with the heavenly matter.* 6° *Our matter out of her dulneſſe will not admit various, ſeverall, & diverſe motiõs, but the heavẽly matter doth.* 7° *Our matter will not bee moved, but for the good & preſervatiõ of it ſelfe, & this the forme muſt primarily & chiefly reſpect in all naturall motions; but the heavenly matter doth move, not for it ſelfe, but for the good of this inferiour & ſublunary world:* 8° *our matter cannot exiſt but by a forme, but the matter of the heavens is a forme to it ſelfe.* 9° *Our matter is fitted for our owne bome-*

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ly formes, such as cannot subsist or exercise their faculties without this matter, and therefore are content to dwell in these poore cottages of clay, but the heavenly matter hath her assisting formes, of a more noble condition, the intelligences, which being wholly spirituall, and of another nature, doe well betoken that the matter is answerable, and fitted to their high dignitie; not such as could have beene imployed to any base use, suppose to have beene the body of a poore worme. 10° *Our matter containes all qualities affective, not effective, but the heavenly matter doth cleane contrary, as likewise the wonderfull difference in the qualities themselves.* 11° *Opacitie and gravity seeme to bee proper to our matter, cleane contrary appeares in the heavens; and therefore as the eye is said to bee but the* mens corporea, *so the perspicuitie of the heavens, together with the infinite swift motion, argue them to be spirituall bodies.* 12° *In effect they doe not agree in their dimensions; our matter is measured with longitude, latitude, and profunditie, but the heavenly matter with cavitie and convexitie; I doe not here speake of influences, the diversitie of operations from our elementarie, and of many other qualities, I have here onely impaniled a jurie of twelve reasons; now I leave it to others to bring in the verdit, and so I end with this cause.*

G. G.

In the first Digression touching the matter of the heavens.

1. YOu set such an interpretation upon those words of *Moses*, *In principio creavit Deus cœlum & terram*, as no man I thinke hath done the like before you.

You say that *Ovid* in describing the Chaos, lookes not so high as to the matter of the heavens; but the truth is, you looke not so low as to those verses which follow after, expresly shewing how in that description he looked so high as to the heavenly matter.

—— Quæ pressa diu massâ latuere sub ipsâ,
Sydera cæperunt toto effervescere cælo.

2. You say, that it is an errour to affirme that the forme onely distinguisheth, expresly against the opinion of *Aristotle* and all his followers; and againe you grant, that the first matter is *non ens actu*; and yet withall maintaine, that it doth, or may actually distinguish. How can that which is boundlesse in it selfe, without determinate quantitie, or any qualitie, distinguish it selfe from that which is of the same condition? there can be no distinction without bounds, nor bounds without a forme.

You say, that the empyreall heaven consisteth of a glorified matter; which being so, it is above the reach of reason, and consequently falls not within the compasse of a philosophicall dispute.

You say that the *axiome*, *In quolibet causarum genere datur una prima*,

is to be restrained to the efficient and finall causes; which if it bee so, then we must mend the *axiome* and strike out *Quolibet*.

You say that there is not *una prima forma*, and yet you cannot with reason deny but there is one generall forme of the materiall world: which though the *Platonicks* and *Pythagoreans* called *animam mundi*, yet in truth it is nothing else, but that sweet harmony which resulteth from the symmetry of all the parts thereof.

You say that to oppose *pura potentia* to *purus actus*, is to come neare to the opinion of the *Manichees*, in opposing God to God; as if *pura potentia* could be God, or taken for God, specially being by all acknowledged to be created by God.

4. You say that I fasten some opinions upon you, which you will not acknowledge; but vouchsafe not to shew me what they are.

You say that if two first matters be harsh, yet a double runnes more smoothly; true indeed, but then we must remember, that it is made double by the diversitie of formes; so as wee may safely say, that the second matter is double, though the first be single and one in it selfe.

You say that you beare speciall respect to the *booke of Wisedome*, and yet neither subscribe unto, nor offer to make any answer to that passage by me so often alleadged out of the first chapter of that booke, *Deus mortem non fecit, neque delectatur perditione viventium; nam omnia creavit ut sint, & salutares sunt ortus hujus mundi, in quibus non est* pharmacum exitiale.

You say that the old translation (by which I thinke you meane the vulgar) reades it *orbem terrarum*, which doth properly signifie the elementary world; whereas all other Interpreters (according to the originall) render it *mundum*, which comprehends both the elementary and celestiall world.

You say that you would yeeld to the passage alleadged out of that booke for one first matter, had it beene rightly applied; whereas I presume your Lordship can hardly produce one good Authour who ever applyed it otherwise.

5. You say that *Iansenius* in his exposition accords with you; which no man I thinke who advisedly reades his wordes, will say besides your selfe, hee making the matter there spoken of to bee the subject of the first seaven dayes worke, by bringing that variety of formes into it which now we see; so that except you will exclude the heavens from the worke of the seaven dayes, you will bee enforced according to his opinion to include them within the same matter.

You say that never any *Aristotelian* who did acknowledge a different matter of the heavens from the elements, will acknowledge that the heavens have any informing forme; whereas *Aquinas* the greatest *Aristotelian* of any Christian Divine holdeth both, and so doe all his followers; and if in this consist the whole mistake, it is not I, but you that are mistaken.

You say that the matter of the heavens hath in it selfe all the properties and perfections which the forme doth impart; and yet that matter

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matter by the confeſſion of all Philoſophers can bee none other then *principium paſsivum motus*, not *activum* which is proper to the forme. You ſay that I run on in a witty diſcourſe, that the matter of the heavens hath a forme ſo excellent, as that it is therewith wholy ſatisfyed, which is not an invention of my wit, but an aſſertion of the ſoundeſt Philoſopers.

You ſay that the heavens have in them no maligning qualities, and yet are apt of themſelves to bee worne out with uſe; which I thinke no man ever affirmed beſide your ſelfe. 6.

You ſay that God will not offer violence to the nature of the Creatures, and yet preſently affirme, that hee will haſten that courſe, which can bee none other then akinde of violence.

You ſay that the inclination of the heavenly bodies to deſtruction may bee proved from ſcripture, the obſervations of *Ptolomie*, the *Comet* in *Caſsiopæa*, the increaſe and decreaſe of the *Moone*; the three former of which I have anſwered fully in my booke, but hereof (as your manner is) you take no notice, And truly I could wiſh you had not named the fourth, your Lordſhip might aſwell prove the decay of the heavens from the riſing and ſetting of the *Sunne*, as from the increaſe and decreaſe of the *Moone*.

You ſay that you make the matter of the heavens to be of the nature of a ſpirit, which is altogeather inviſible, ſo are not they.

You ſay that your opinion for the double matter, makes more for the heavens immunity from decay, then mine doth for the ſingle; which is moſt true, and in that reſpect I could wiſh your Lordſhip had proved it better; but withall you may ſee that I preferre truth before victory; and in this point am glad you give mee occaſion to acknowledge the like in your Lordſhip.

You ſay that there are many differences betwixt the heavenly and elementary matter; which I deny not, but aſcribe them to the difference of their formes, not to the firſt matter, & in thoſe you have many things lyable to exception, were I diſpoſed in particular to examine them. 7.

G. G.

Decupla proportio in the elements.

For the Decupla proportio *which the Elements obſerve amongſt themſelves, and which you mention. P. 79. when I ſpeake of a dropp of aire, it is not altogether improper; for* aer eſt humidiſſimus, *and you well underſtood my meaning, neither could I otherwiſe expreſſe my ſelfe, for we have no* Engliſh *word to imply it; But truly your inſtance of* a ſpoonefull of water upō quick coales, *is very ſtrange,* as if the water did fill all the roome, *which if it were ſo, you ſhould inſtantly have the noyſe of a thunder Clapp, when the vapor ſhall ſo ſuddenly with ſuch violence expell the ayre; but doe you make no difference betweene filling the roome, and colouring the ayre, no doubt but a pound of ſaffron, will ſullor a Tunne of wine, yet I dot not thinke you can extract a* 8.

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Tunne of liquor out of the ſafron, yea further your vapour I doe not conceive colours the ayre, but the ayre being perſpicuous, and the vapour having opacity, it doth therefore terminate the ſight, as if you ſhould put a little painted glaſſe over your eye, and ſeeing all the aire coloured, you might thinke the glaſſe were extended:

2. *I have often deſired you in theories not to bee exact in proportions, as if mans imagination could apply a compaſſe and rule to meaſure out ſpeculations; theſe* Mathematicall punctilioes, *are not to be admitted in Philoſophy, yet is it neceſſary that in things which are moſt uncertaine, wee ſhould gueſſe at ſome certainty, and bee guided by one Rule; and herein Ariſtotle hath done, what the wit or indeavours of man could effect: I ſuppoſe it impoſsible to ſet downe exact proportions, eſpecially becauſe wee have the elements mixed and impure, neither do I thinke that what proportion the earth carries to the water, the ſame doth the water to the aire, and the aire to the fier, you know whoſe property it is to* weigh out the winds: *yet ſurely of all other properties the* Decupla *ſeemes to be moſt probable, firſt take a quantity of earth, ſuppoſe a buſhell of earth, & you ſhall find that ten tymes that quantity of water, ſhall be juſt of that weight; yet here you muſt remember that ſand weighs heavier then chalke, & clay heavier thē ſands, ſo likewiſe in waters, whether ſtanding or running, or proceeding from minerals, they differ in weight. 2. in diſtillations or Chimiſtrie weigh the ingredients, weigh the water and the droſſe, you ſhall very uſually find ſuch a like proportion obſerved. 3. Take likewiſe the ordinary increaſe of vegetatives, and commonly they obſerve ſuch a like proportion, if grounds bee in good hart, have there tilts in due tyme, and a ſeaſonable yeare, they doe uſually yeeld tenne for one; though I confeſſe in our feilds which lie ever in tillage, a ſeavenfould proportion is more ordinary, yet wee finde it otherwiſe in freſh grownds, and in barley eſpecially, which is our moſt uſuall graine, it doth moſt commonly fall out; and this may bee a reaſon why the wiſedome of God ſhould reſerve a tenth to himſelfe, for there uſe who ſerve at his altar, when in a naturall increaſe he gives ten for one, while the moſt ſtrict and biting uſurer can exact but one for ten, but the earth through gods bleſſing, payes the greateſt uſury, for it gives ten for one, not for our merits and indeavours, but out of Gods bounty; yet our labours are neceſſary, as a Cipher which is nothing in it ſelfe, being added to a number, increaſeth it by a ten fould proportion. Out of this increaſe, which God himſelf gave, he takes one of the ten, as an earneſt penny, thereby to ingage himſelf to repay ſpiritwall things for temporall, eternall for tranſitory; and although there bee no proportion betweene them, yet is it fitly ſet forth by this ten fould proportion, ſeeing that all multiplying in numbers, is ever by decades, as every figure ſucceeding exceeds each other in a ten-fould proportion:*

3. *I will yet further add a fourth reaſon, take a clod of earth, ſuppoſe it ſuch a one as will juſt fill a pecke, ten tymes ſo much water ſhall beare up this clod, as if the ſtrength were proportioned to the burthen; but here ſomething may bee aſcribed to the water, ſalt water carries her burthen much better then freſh, and yet notwithſtanding the ſalt doth not accordingly add to the weight, and ſomething may bee aſcribed to the figure and forme of the earth, but for the greater indifferency, ſuppoſe it to bee Circular: and ſo I doubt not but it is in all other bodyes, unleſſe the water and earth ſtrongly compacted together, doe greatly overpoyſe the other elements; as in mettals, ſtones, & the like, where the elements*

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are so farre from being equally mixed, as that in a manner the aire and fire are excluded; thus how long are mettals before they receive heate, and being made red hot, how often doe they indure the fire without any great consumption, for in them there is little combustible matter, neither doe they evaporate into aire. 1
And I doubt not, but it may be so with some other bodyes, Sir Henry Wotten *did once shew mee wood, which was lighter then feathers, and hee did likewise shew mee other wood, that was heavier then any mettall or stone, thus I have given you foure reasons, for the* Decupla proportio, *and farther I could proceed, but that I desire to observe a proportion, and not to exceed the number of foure.*

G. H.

The second touching the Decupla proportio *of the elements.*

YOu say, or at least wise imply that the vapour arising fro the water doth only colour the aire, & yet within a few lines you tell us, that having opacity it doth therefore terminate the sight; I beseech you my Lord, can it terminate the sight by reason of the opacity, & yet only colour the aire, as a little saffron doth a great quantity of liquor, or a coloured glasse the object which we see through it? doubtlesse if the opacity of the vapour be such as it terminate the sight, the same vapour being rarifyed into aire would easily fill the roome, though the aire with which it mixeth were remooved: which is enough to my purpose and all that I intended. 1.

You say you doe not thinke that what proportion the earth carries to the water, the same doth the water to the aire, & the aire to the fire, and yet cannot but know, that without this proportion, the *Decupla proportio* (which you undertake to defend) cannot bee maintained. 2.

You say that *Mathematicall punctilioes* are not to be admitted in philosophy; and yet tell us within a few lines, that a bushell of earth will weigh *just* ten times that quantity of water: which experiment I have not tryed, and I must professe much doubt of; neither doth your reason of proportioning the strength to the burthē seeme to be of any weight, considering the whole Ocean cannot beare up the least stone, or any other earthy body. 3.

You say the like proportion may bee observed in distillations betweene the water & the drosse; which no doubt varies much according to the terrestriety of the bodies, out of which the water is distilled.

You say that in things uncertaine wee should guesse at some certainty, and be guided by one rule, and that herein *Aristotle* hath done what the wit or endeavours of man could effect; and yet in the maine controversy betwixt us, you utterly forsake him, and cry downe both his wit and endeavors.

You say that a peck of earth will bee borne up by ten times so much water, which I have tryed but could not finde. 3

That which followes in this Digression, is as I conceive, little to the present purpose, and so needs no farther answere.

G. G.

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G. G.

The third touching the assumption of the blessed Virgin.

And now I come to that which is more proper to our profession, the Assumption *of the blessed* Virgin: *P. 61. where you use these words* Had our
1. Church beleeved it, I presume they would never have expunged that feast out of the Calender; *I am here to give you great thanks, that whereas at other tymes you presse me with the authority of the reformed Church, now you are pleased more properly to insist on our Church; you know that all the Churches of* Amsterdam *terme themselves reformed, & there is no Church under the* Sunne, *which either pretends or intends not reformation: but when you speake of our Church, or the Church of* England, *then you speake most properly. 2°. I must returne very many thankes unto you, that when you speake of our owne Church, you doe not presse me with the opinions of Lecturers, of ministers, of Preachers, for all these concerne me no more, then your owne testimony doth in your apology; but here you bring me acts of state, and to these, I shall ever subscribe, so that the Church of which I am a member, & which I doe so much honor,* it is the Church of England as it is setled, and established by the Lawes of this Kingdome; *so farre I doe extend it, and no further, for particular authors, or writers in this Church, be they of what ranke, condition, or esteeme soever, I neither approve, nor oppose them, because they concerne me not; only I tie my selfe to the lawes, which course if all did observe, wee should have lesse faction.*

2. *It is true that the feast of the assumption is expunged, & I doubt whether this feast was ever generally received in the Church. 6. or. 7. hundred yeares past, before it was instituted, & then was it introducted by reason of some privat pretended revelation, and no doubt but a particuler Church, may for just reasons, and grounds omit it; the feast was kept in the mideſt of our harvest, on the 15th of August; this Iland so wholy depending up tillage as it doth, & the weather being more uncertaine heere, then in other parts; it could then ill spare one day, & whether any other abuses were, I know not, nor am I bound to examine, but as I desire to justify our owne Church, so willingly I would not condemne the observation of that feast, no doubt but a day might well have bin kept in memory of her departure, as S.* Iohn *the* Evangelist *hath the like, who was no more in effect then her servant; as for those other dayes, in the* Annunciation *wee doe indeed Celebrate the* Conception *of Christ, in the* purification *wee Celebrate the* presentation *of Christ, as the Collects on both daies will testifie; howsoever the vulgar report, may ascribe both feasts to our Lady.*

3. *But whereas you do hence inferr, that our Church beleeves not the* Assūption, *because the feast is expunged; surely our Church beleeves the conception of the blessed* Virgin, *beleeves the nativity, beleeves her visitation of* Elizabeth, *yet notwithstanding hath blotted out all the feasts; only for the cōception there might be some doubt; whether the feast might not seeme to insinuate, that she was cōceaved without sin, & nourish that opinion, but of this I will not dispute, certaine it is, we Celebrate the* Conceptiō *of S.* Iohn Baptist, *who was far inferiour to the Blessed* Virgin; *other feasts of our Lady are likewise omitte, as* Stæ Mariæ da nives, Stæ Mariæ ad victoriam, *yet our Church denies neither, as not interposing therein; you know that our stricke professors whom wee call sectaries, have in effect abandoned all feasts or holydayes, will you therefore make them Infidels? I pray bee not so uncharitable to them, then surely you ought not to conclude that our Church doth utterly condemne the assumption, but rather that our Church doth determine nothing certaine therein; and noe more doth the Church of Rome at this day, and herein there is no differrence betweene the two Churches, and willingly I would not multiplie the controversies of Religion, but*

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my prayers shall ever bee, for the peace of Gods Church.

4. Though the Church would not bee wanting in acknowledging all those great and Royall Prerogatives, which did belong to the blessed Virgin, for to be Deipera, is the highest honor which can bee given to a Creature; and therefore undoubtedly was accompanied withall blessings and graces, even from the instant of Conception, to the last minute of dissolution. Yet was the Church never superstitious therein, for there were certaine hereticks called Collyridians, who did affirme the blessed Virgin to bee of divine nature, not subject to death; these the Church did utterly cõdemne, yet did never oppose the assumption; which was first acknowledged by the Greeke Church, but you say the sermon of S. Athanasius is counterfeit, and Nannius his interpretour doth reject it, for Damascen and Metaphrastes they were mislead by Dionysius, if thẽ you would instãce in some one of that tyme, who might better direct modernity, in opposing thẽ, you should speake to good purpose; it hath ever bin the curtesie of reformed Churches howsoever they might stand affected to the church of Rome, yet still to speake reverẽtly of the Greek Church; God forbid but we should propose some Churches unto us, for exãples & Presidẽts: Leaving the Greeke Church, let us come to the Latin, S. Augustin doth mẽtion the assũption in. 2. Sermons, S. Ierome doth the like, & though there be much doubt whether they be the Authors, yet most certaine it is, that the Author was as antient as S. Ierome, & since many of great esteeme have affirmed it, as S. Barnard, Petrus Damianus and others, how many ancient Churches have bin built for the solemnity of that feast, how do all the ancient Martyrologyes mention the assumption of the blessed Virgin, what father, or any ancient author doth oppose it? I will not here trouble you with revelations.

5. This one argument doth exceedingly move me, take all the Apostles, & in effect as many as are any way commended in scriptures, I will point out the tyme of there death, the place of there buriall, how there relicks were preserved, there bones translated, together with many other memorable accidents, but for the blessed Virgin, which deserves much better then all of them, though I can poynt out her house, and many memorialls of her, and that antiquity did ever stand most piously affected unto her, yet notwithstanding for her body, which had bin the Temple wherein the Godhead dwelt, for many moneths, the antients make noe mention of it; and therefore I will end as you doe with Epiphanius, finis ipsius nemini notus est; yet I cannot approve your interpretation, who doe expound it thus, that it was altogether uncertaine; but truly I love the Litterall construction, that her end was knowne to no man, which to my understanding may seeme to implie, that it was above the knowledge, and apprehension of man; for had it bin only a naturall death, these words could not be verified, yet notwithstanding herein I determine nothing, because the Church of England hath determined nothing, and I doe submit mine owne opinion to the judgment of this Church.

6. Such a like reason I doe often propose to my selfe in the Histories of the Church, as for example, whether Ioseph of Aremathea came to convert this kingdome? when I finde that neither his death, nor buriall, are mentioned in the Basterne Church, I am apt to yeeld to them, who claime him for theirs; yet I determine nothing certaine in such like observations; & so I say of the assumption, & surely this is the opinion of the Church of Rome at this day, & hath ever bin the opiniõ of that Church, and it is not now newly hatched or refined, and ould errors corrected; thus Vsuardus who writ his Martyrologe by the command of Charles

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the great, about the yeare of our Lord 800. *as likewise* Ado *the* Archbishop *of* Vienna *who wrote his* Martyrologe, 80. *yeares after* Usuardus, *both of them living in those obscure and barbarous ages of the world, (as you are pleased to call them) yet both of them called the day of the assumption, no otherwise then* Sanctæ Mariæ dormitio; *and though they observe the Vigill, yet speaking of the assumption it selfe, which was then doubted of, they use these words* plus eligit sobrietas Ecclesiæ cum pietate nescire, quam aliquid frivolum & apocryphum inde tenendo docere.

G. H.

The third touching the Assumption of the blessed Virgin.

1. YOu put a difference betwixt the reformed Church & our Church, as if ours were not reformed.

Methinks though the single testimonies of our private writers or preachers move you little; yet their unanimous consent should waigh somewhat more with you, then your owne private opinion; specially in those points whereof our Church hath determined nothing.

That you tye your selfe strictly to the lawes of the Church, is doubtlesse very commendable; and for mine owne part I heartily wish that all the sonnes of our Church did the like, without adding thereunto, or taking there from in their publique practise, and then I verily beleeve wee should have lesse faction indeed.

2. The feast of the *Assumption* being by your owne confession of so late institution, of so doubtfull an extent, and so sandy a foundation, as private pretended revelations, should not by your Lordship bee held in the observation thereof as a thing indifferent.

That a day might well bee kept in memory of the blessed virgins departure, (did our Church thinke it fit) I should willingly yeeld my consent thereunto; and truly I have often wondred that both shee and S. *Paul* should be without their festivalls. For our Collects indeed shew (as your Lordship hath rightly observed) that both the day of the purification and *Annunciation* are by our Church rather addressed to our Saviour then to her, yet so as they are both applyable to her.

That S. *Iohn* was in effect no more then a Servant to the blessed virgin, I cannot yeeld, since hee was by our Saviour recommended to her as a Sonne, not as a Servant.

3. That our Church beleeves not the *Assumption*, because the feast is expunged, I inferred not as a necessary deduction, but only as a presumption, & so doe your selfe repeate my words in the entrance of this digression.

Our Church indeed beleeves the *Conception* & *Nativity* of the blessed *virgin*, and yet hath blotted out both those feasts; yet had shee greater reason to have retained the feast of the *Assumption*, had shee beleeved it, this latter being a very great miracle, which cannot bee verifyed of either of the former.

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You say you will not dispute it, whither the blessed *Virgin* were conceived without sinne, yet the Romanists doubt not freely to dispute it, and many of them resolutely to determine against it: doubtless shee would not have professed her joy in her Saviour, had shee not confessed her selfe to bee a sinner; neither had it bin his peculiar property to bee seperate from sinners, had shee communicated with him in the same.

You say that we celebrate the conception of S. *Iohn Baptist* who was farre inferiour to the blessed *Virgin*, whereas both the Collect and Gospell for that day referre us to his nativity; and so is it called aswell in the *Roman Missall* as *Martyrologe*, and though it bee true that the *Baptist* was inferiour to the blessed *Virgin*, yet is it as true, that (for any thing wee find recorded in holy Scriptures) his Conception was more miraculous then hers.

Other feasts of our Lady you say are by us omitted, as S^t. *Mariæ ad Nives*, and S^t. *Mariæ ad Victoriam*, the former of which I finde indeed in the *Roman Missall* reformed according to the *Tridentine Councell*; but the latter I finde not there: so as it should seeme (if they ever had it) they have now omitted it aswell as wee.

As I would not be so uncharitable as to taxe them of infidelity who have abandoned all holy dayes (if any such there bee) so I trust your Lordship will not bee so partiall, as to free them from superstition who have in a manner turned the whole yeere in Festivals, the greatest part whereof they observe more solemnly then the Lords day.

Our Church you say determineth nothing certaine touching the *Assumption*, and herein there is no difference betwixt us & the Church of *Rome*; why my Lord is it possible that the Church of *Rome*, should ordaine and enjoyne a most solemne festivall, universally to bee observed in all Churches under her jurisdiction, and yet determine nothing certaine herein? *Baronius* I will assure your Lordship will tell you another tale, *Ex Romana ecclesiæ usu recepto, firmiter constanterque asserimus ac profitemur ipsam sanctissimam Dei genetricem, Mariam, una cum sacratissimo illo corpore quo imparsita est Deo carnem, in cælum esse receptam.*

Touching needlesse multiplication of Controversies for mine owne part I approve it not, but withall wish, that so just an occasion for the greatest number of them were not offered.

That the *Collyridians* held the blessed *Virgin* to bee of a divine nature not subject to death, *Baronius* indeed affirmeth, writing of the *Assumption*, both in his *Martyrologe* and, *Annals*, and your Lordship perchance out of him; but having read *Epiphanius* touching that heresie, I cannot finde it in him. They were certaine silly women who offered cakes unto her, (from whence they had their name) and from that religious worship, *Epiphanius* inferres they made her more then a Creature, as being due onely to the Creator, which *Baronius* foreseeing how it touched the practise and doctrine of his Church, cunningly put off, and instead thereof accuseth them of the same crime, and very neare in the same words as your Lordship doth. 4. 5.

You say the Church did never oppose the *Assumption*; yet it is certaine that *Gelasius Bishop* of *Rome* in a Synode there assembled about the yeare 500 condemned a booke written of that subject, intituled *Transitus Mariæ Virginis*.

You say the *Assumption* was first acknowledged by the *Greek* Church which makes it the more to bee suspected, they being much addicted to fabulous narrations, as anciently that nation was.

Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.

The Sermon of *Athanasius* touching the *Assumption*, is confessed to bee counterfeit, not only by *Nannius* his Interpreter, but by *Baronius* himselfe, and others of that side.

I doe not say (as you pretend) that *Damascen* and *Metaphrastes* were misled only by the testimony of *Dionysius*; for it may very well be they were misled also by that of the Counterfeit *Athanasius*, and so have I expressed my selfe. And for *Metaphrastes* hee was apt enough to add much of his owne braine; nay the very truth is that upō farther search, I finde that in *Dionysius* himselfe there is not a word of the *Assumption*.

You would have mee instance in some one of that time, who might better direct modernity in opposing them; which I will doe by instancing in their owne Authors of a higher time, whom you afterward produce for the *Assumption*, namely S. *Augustin* in his 35th Sermon de *Sanctis*, if the worke bee his, as *Sixtus Senensis* seems to acknowledge it, and the Author of the epistle to *Paula* and *Eustochium*, which goes under S. *Hieromes* name, by *Senensis* and *Erasmus* ascribed to *Sophronius*, by your selfe to some one contemporarie to that Father: both which make the *Assumption* very doubtfull, or rather incline to the contrary, and consequently oppose them who confidently affirme it, as *Metaphrastes* doth; And to these wee may add *Gelasius* before named and *Epiphanius*, *Vsuardus*, *Ado* and *Durandus* afterwards to be named.

God forbid, you say, but wee should propose some Church to our selves for examples and presidents; true indeed, but in such a case no doubt the primitive Church is to bee preferred; and for those of later date wee stand not bound to take their fables or uncertainties for matters of faith or certaine truths.

That which followes in this Section is rather *Rhetoricall* then argumentative; to which I would oppose the deep silence, not onely of S. *Luke* in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, and S. *John* in his writings, but of all antiquity not forged for the space of many hundred years after his pretended *Assumption*; all which seems to cry aloude that no such thing was knowne to them, and consequently that it was but an invention of latter ages.

5. This one argument you say doth exceedingly move you, that for the body of the blessed *Virgin* the Ancients make no mention of it, which one argument doth as much move me that they beleeved not her dodily *Assumption*, which doubtlesse they would have mentioned had they beleeved it; And truly for mine owne part, I thinke it was by

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by the Divine providence purposely concealed, what became of her body, least idolatry might bee committed by giving it divine honour, as it is commonly thought that the body of *Moses* was concealed from the *Iewes*, for the same purpose; and truly I am of opinion, that the imposture and superstition about the reliques or pretended reliques of Saints now practised by *Romanists*, is one of the greatest abuses of that Church.

Touching the body of S. *Iohn* the *Evangelist*, little or no mention shall wee find of it in Antiquity, save that hee was buried neare *Ephesus*, as S. *Hierome* reporteth; and the like by some is written of the blessed *Virgin*, that shee was buried in the valley of *Iosephat*, or as others in *Gethsemane*; shall wee therefore conclude that S. *Iohn* was likewise assumed in body? some I confesse from thence doe so conclude, and others (as they conceive) with more colour from scriptures, that hee is yet alive; but your Lordship I presume gives no credit to either of them, and as little reason have you (as I conceive) to inferre the *Assumption* of the blessed *Virgin* from the concealement of her body, or the silence of Antiquity touching it.

You say, you can point out the house of the blessed *Virgin*; whereas her most blessed sonne professed, that hee had not where to repose his head; and of her it is said that being recommended to S. *Iohn* hee tooke her home with him to his house, where in all likelihood she still made her abode till her death. Some indeed would beare us in hand, that her house was by *Angels* transported from *Nazareth* to *Loretto*, and *Tursellin* the *Iesuite* hath of that subject composed an entire volume; but that I trust is not the house your Lordship intends to point us out, and for any other I know not where you will finde it.

You end as I doe with that of *Epiphanius*, *finis ipsius neminem notum*; which being so, there can bee no assurance of the *Assumption*; but my interpretation of those words, That her end was altogether uncertaine, you doe not approve: whereas those words of mine, are by me brought in, rather by way of inference then interpretation, as will easily appeare to any indifferent Reader.

Your Conclusion of this Section is, that herein you submit your opinion to the judgement of this Church; and so doe I; but withall once more I add, that our Church having expunged the feast of the *Assumption*, and assigned no other (as you say) proper to the blessed *Virgin*, they should in reason, as I conceive, be thought to incline to the negative, specially considering as I have said, That her conception and nativity were naturall, but her *Assumption*, if any such there were, altogether supernaturall and miraculous. 2.

It is not I alone who call those times you speake of obscure and barbarous, but the most learned of the Romanists themselves, whose words I have given you, wherein they expresse as much. 6.

The words of *Vsuardus* and *Ado* by you alleaged, are moderate; so are those of *Suarez* in *Thomam* part. 3. q. 27. art. 4. disput. 11. de *variâ Assumptione B. Mariæ. Quares quis ille hac vestem transmiserit? Author enim libri de Assumptione, Hieronymi nomine conscribens, &c.*

quere visus est, & fere cum eadem formidine hoc asseruit Augustinus, *sic ejus est, libro de* Assumptione; Abulensis *solum dicit esse probabilem sententiam;* Cajetanus *vocat piam;* Canus *addit, temeritatem esse hoc negare,* Catharinus *asserit esse de fide; sed revera non est; quia neque est ab ecclesia definita, nec est testimonium Scripturæ, nec ecclesiæ traditio sufficiens quæ infallibilem faciat fidem. Baronius* indeed falls foule upon *Vsuardus* and *Ado*, and sharply censures their moderation, as being misled by the booke going under S. *Hieromes* name, and thereby mistaking the judgement of the Church in that point; but I should rather thinke, that *Baronius* himselfe was mistaken in the judgement of the Church at that time; or that *Vsuardus* and *Ado* did not thinke the judgement of the Church of *Rome* to bee infallible, which is the thing *Baronius* strives for.

G. G.

The fourth touching Dionysius and his writings.

1. BY *occasion of this* Assumption, *you fall to unmaske* Dionysius Areopagita, *and whereas you speake of the writers of the reformed Churches, unlesse you name them more particularly, I take no notice of them. For those other accusers,* Erasmus, Valla, & Cajetan, *they are not without great exceptions; I do little esteeme them; that S.* Ierome *remembers no such famous man, what if I should put you in minde of your owne tale,* Argumentum ab authoritate ductum negative non valet; *or what if I should say that the* Assumption *doth not only rely upon the authority of that eye-witnes* Dionysius; *if you will be pleased to looke into the* Annotations *upon* Vsuardus, *you shall find that divers testimonies of the Fathers are brought for the* Assumption, *all which I have here omitted, because I doe point them out there, and the last of these testimonies is* Dionysius, *if you say that all these were misled by* Dionysius, *as you doe say of* Damascen & Metaphrastes, *this were a ground utterly to weaken all the testimonies of the Ancients, as if they were all misled & hoodwinked by one; and had not the wit to examine things, as the moderns have: whensoever then you doe fasten upon such a generall error, you must ever descend to particulars, or els you will not bee credited:*

2. *But that S. Ierome should remember no such famous man, it is certaine; that as S. Ierome had wonderfull imployments, so he tooke many things upon trust, I give you this instance; hee did sterly mistake in the death of that great* Apostle S. Peter, *for he reports that hee suffered* Martyrdome, *in the* 14. *yeare of* Nero, *whereas it appeares by* Suetonius, Dion *and others, that* Nero *raigned not* 14. *yeares; against the Church of* England *doth herein forsake S.* Ierome, *for wee commemorate the martyrdome of S.* Peter *on the* 29th *of* Iune, *and all agree that* Nero *died on the tenth of* Iune: *herein wee do excuse S.* Ierome, *because hee tooke it upon trust from* Eusebius; *thus it is likewise most certaine, that in the* Catalogues *of Ecclesiasticall writers, he doth onely follow* Eusebius, *and himselfe did add to the number such other authors, which had written after the tyme of* Eusebius, *and this hee himselfe in a Preface doth confesse. So then I doe adde to S.* Ierome Eusebius, *who hath likewise omitted* Dionysius, *though I stand not well affected to* Eusebius, *yet I will not be his accuser, I pray heare what others, whom the Church doth greatly honor for holinesse & learning esteeme of him.* Maximus

Maximus reports that Eusebius did omit Dionysius, very wittingly & willingly; shewing that the works of Dionysius were very well knowne, long before the time of Eusebius; & charging him further, that he hath omitted Narcisus, Himineus and others: would you know the reason why Eusebius should deale thus falsly and deceitfully; most certaine it is, that the Arrians did conceale the canons of the Councell of Nice, & many other famous authors, which made against them. As our new sectaries were wont to burne all old ancient Manuscripts, if they had but red letters in them, they did instantly savour of Popish superstitions. now of all others, Eusebius did least oppose the Arrians; this I may speake in the mildest manner; but S. Ierome chargeth him in plaine termes, to have bin the standard-bearer to the Arrians, & S. Athanasius, not the Counterfeit whom Nannius cõdemns, but true S. Athanasius doth alledge the testimony of Theognostus against the Arriãs, & gives him a very great title, whereby it may appeare he was no obscure man, or easily forgotten; & yet notwithstanding Eusebius hath omitted him, for the same cause: I had not named S. Ierome & S. Athanasius, but that your selfe doe instance in them, & being very desirous wholy & fully to acquit S. Ierome, I will say in his behalfe; that hee begins his Catalogue of Expositors long after the time of Dionysius, and therefore omits many others of that time; yea further I say that S. Ierome doth mẽtion Dionysius by consequence, for S. Ierome reckons Aristides, & Aristides gives a very honorable testimony of Dionysius, as Hilduinus reports in his owne wordes.

Thus is Dionysius not mentioned by Eusebius, as giving a great testimony against the Arrians; and proposing such mysteries, so illustrated with Platonicall Philosophy, that we must needs conceive him most ancient; insomuch that S. Chrysostome cals him the bird of heaven, with relation (as it should seeme) to S. Iohn the Evangelist, who as he was fitly set forth by an Eagle, the King of birds, as discerning and discovering the diety of Christ, in a most excellent manner; so this Dionysius in respect of the like, profund mysteries, might seeme like a bird to attend him.

Thus did the Greek Church ever most reverently esteeme of Dionysius, & I know not any one S^t. in the Church, excepting onely the Apostles, so ancient as this Dionysius, whose life & calling, are so particularly related; as that he was an Athenian, a Senator in Areopagus, & then after he became Bishop of Athens, from thence he removed into Fraunce, which that nation takes not only as a speciall honor, but even as a speciall argument of gods great mercy & goodnesse unto them, even to this day; insomuch that Michael the Emperor of the East in a solemne Embassage sent the books of Dionysius, unto holy Lewis the Emperour of the West; at whose request, and by whose Command (as may appeare by letters directed unto him) Hilduinus wrot the life, & gathered together the writings of Dionysius, & he affirmes that he was afterwards martyred, being above the age of one hundred yeares. Who likewise mentions that his life & martyrdome were first written by Aristarcus the historian, then by Methodius the Archbishop of Constantinople, which bookes after the time of Hilduinus were translated into Latin, by Anastasius the famous Library keeper. Tea long before thẽ Origen doth mention Dionysius, if the booke be his which goes under his name; & surely his very manner of writing savours of great antiquity. S. Gregory the great doth mention him with honor in the generall councels; how many great Clearks have translated him out of Greek into Latin, how many of the Ancients have written Commentaries upon him, no famous

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library in the world but greatly esteemes his works, & in what great honor his relicks were held, Fraunce *can well testifie.*

6. *How farr his conversion agrees with the death of the blessed* Virgin, *that I may truly confesse myne owne ignorãce, I am not yet so fully resolved of the time when the blessed* Virgin *died; yet I have read* Baronius, *and have him at this time in my study; I know that a certaine number of Prayers were said to the honor of the blessed* Virgin, *answerable to the years of her age, & that the* received tradition *hath bin, that shee lived to the age of threescore and three years, but in myne owne privat opinion, I doe rather incline to lengthen the years, and then his Conversion might well fall out, before the death of the blessed* Virgin.

7. *Especially Considering that at the passion of Christ, hee did discerne such a wonderfull miracle, no lesse then the* Eclipse *of the* Sunne *beyond the naturall Course, which was indeed the greatest of all miracles, & this miracle falling out in a most acceptable tyme, when now the great propitiatory sacrifice of the world was offerred up upon the Crosse, and pulling downe full showres of mercy, could so mollifie the hard heart of a heathen man, as to wring out this Confession from him,* that either the God of Nature did then suffer or the faire fabrick of the world should instantly bee dissolved; *which in effect implies the whole power & strength of our Christian faith, & profession. And if this great* S^t. *was preordained by God for the speciall good of his Church, is it Credible that.* 17. *or.* 18. *years should passe before his conversion.*

8. *But out of my respect unto you, being not apt to cõtradict what you report; I will not examine the tyme of* S. Paules *preaching* Acts. 17. *but I pray consider his Sermon there, that it was rather a reprehension of the* Athenians *then otherwise, he makes good use of their owne altars and poets, as testimonies against themselves, and then onely mentioning repentance, the last judgement, and the resurrection of Christ, he was suddenly interrupted. And whereas it is said,* that some cleaved or adheared unto him, & believed, *the words sound as if they did imply more then a inchoated conversion; but for* Dionysius *himselfe, the text may very well bee expounded that hee was then onely among the beleevers, not as if hee had bin then newly converted.*

G. G.

The fourth touching Dionysius and his writings.

1. YOu say, that whereas I speake of the writers of the reformed Churches, unlesse I name them in particular, you take no notice of them; why my Lord, my doubt is that when I have named them, you will take as little notice of them. I could easily name you *Luther*, the *Centuristes*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, *Morney*, *Scaliger*, *Casaubon*, *Rainolds*, *Rivet* and who not? who have had any occasion to write of him? so as in very truth I doubt, it would much trouble your Lordship to produce so much as one of the reformed Churches who ever affirmed him to bee the *Areopagite*. For *Erasmus*, *Valla*, and *Cajetan*, you say you doe little esteeme them; whereas your Lordship I presume cannot bee ignorant, how greatly they are esteemed by all learned men, and as their works shew, not undeservedly.

To my reason, that S. *Hierome* remembers no such man as this *Dionysius*, you reply by putting mee in minde of mine owne rule.

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Argumentum ab auctoritate ductum negativè non valet. Whereunto I answer, that if the Authour alleadged purposely intend the thing controverted, and yet be silent therein, in such a case the argument drawne from his authoritie is negatively valid; and so is it in this case, Saint *Hierome* purposely intended to publish a Catalogue of all the Ecclesiasticall Writers before his time, but mentions not the writings of *Dionysius Areopagita*, which should in reason argue, either that no such writings were extant in Saint *Hieromes* time, or that hee was ignorant of them.

The question now is touching the writings of *Dionysius*, and yet heere you fall backe againe upon the *Assumption*, telling mee that you rely not upon the authoritie of that eye-witnesse *Dionysius*, but diverse other testimonies of the Fathers brought by *Vsuardus*, to which you referre mee; To which I answer, that *Dionysius* was not an eye-witnesse of the *Assumption*, (as you pretend) nor any man else that I could yet reade of; Some write indeed, that the Sepulcher being opened, her body was found missing, from whence they collect that she was assumed; but of any eye-witnesse of the *Assumption*, not a word in any writer I have met with.

The testimonies brought by *Vsuardus*, did not assure himselfe of the *Assumption*, as you your selfe have truly observed out of him; how then can you expect that they should assure mee? And to *Vsuardus* you might well enough have joyned, not onely *Ado* but *Durandus*, in his *Rationale, lib. 7. cap. 24. Vtrum corpus in terrâ remanſit incertum habetur, & melius eſt piè dubitare, quàm aliquid circa hoc temerè definire.*

Now as *Dionysius* is not reported by any Writer that I know, to have beene an eye-witnesse of the *Assumption*; so neither doth himselfe so much as mention it in any part of his writings that I have seene, yet the Authours alleadged by *Vsuardus*, might be misled by other Counterfeits, such as the Counterfeit *Athanasius*, the Counterfeit *Melito de transitu Mariæ Virginis*, and the like. And thus *Vsuardus* himselfe (as before I observed) is censured by *Baronius* for his indifferency, as being misled by a counterfeit *Hierome*; but that a great part of that counterfeit Epistle to *Paula* and *Eustochium*, for as much as concerneth the *Assumption*, is to bee found in the old *Roman Breviaries*, and namely in that which was published in the yeare 1556. by Cardinall *Quignonius*, this *Baronius* cunningly suppresseth, because hee knew well enough it would much weaken the assurance of the *Assumption*.

Touching *Damascen*, he reporteth that the soule of *Trajan* by the prayers of *Gregorie* Bishop of *Rome*, and of *Falconilla* by the prayers of another were delivered out of hell; and what great credit then can bee given to his testimonie? That which he hath written of the *Assumption*, is this; that *Euthymius* reports how *Pulcheria* the Empresse, and wife to *Martian*, having built a Church in *Constantinople*, desired that the relicks of the blessed *Virgine* might be translated thither; and thereupon demanded of *Iuvenalis* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, where they were to bee found, who made answer, That out of the authoritie of the holy books, there is nothing written of those things which pertaine to the depar-

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ture of the bleſſed *Virgine*, onely out of an ancient and moſt true fame wee have received it; and ſo ſetteth downe the manner of her death and *Aſſumption*, and proceeding in his tale to ſhew that *Timothy* and *Dionyſius* were there preſent, hee rehearſeth a large diſcourſe out of an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* to *Timothie*, whereas no ſuch Epiſtle is to bee found among his workes, but onely a booke dedicated to *Timothie*, and in that booke not a word of the *Aſſumption*. And beſides, wee finde one *Euthymius* a famous Writer long ſince *Damaſcen*, but none of that name before him. Whatſoever hee were, he makes *Iuvenalis* the Biſhop in his anſwer to the Empreſſe, to contradict himſelfe; telling her firſt that hee had nothing to ſay of thoſe relicks, but onely by fame; and yet afterwards, as if hee had forgotten himſelfe, he maketh him to alleage the fore-ſaid Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* to the ſame purpoſe; where by the way it ſhall not perchance bee amiſſe to obſerve, that even by the confeſſion of *Damaſcen*, the opinion of the *Aſſumption* in that age wherein *Pulcheria* lived, was not commonly received.

For *Metaphraſtes*, he is ſo generally cryed downe, and deepely cenſured as a moſt notorious fabler by all learned men, as in truth hee is hardly worth the naming in this or any other Controverſie; not onely *Gauſabon* in his Exercitations ſtiles him, *magnus fabularum anilium conſarcinator*; but Biſhop *Montague* in his preface to his *Analecta*, rangeth him in the number of thoſe whom he calleth, *Eruditionis & hiſtoriæ deboneſtamenta*: And Biſhop *Iewell* the jewell of Biſhops (the worthieſt Divine that Chriſtendome hath bred for ſome hundreds of yeares, ſaith incomparable *Hooker*) much to like purpoſe. This *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, whom Mr *Harding* here painteth out in his colours, and calleth a *Greeke* writer, was a poore Schoolemaſter in *Conſtantinople*, and wrote Saints lives, which may bee called the Legend of lies, and lived two hundred yeares agoe and not above. Nay *Baronius* himſelfe goeth farther, accuſing him for mixing *commenta multa, mendacia portentoſa, & varia planè deliria*. To whom wee may adde that of *Bellarmine* in his booke *de ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis*, *Illud autem eſt obſervandum, à Metaphraſte ſcriptas fuiſſe hiſtorias de vitis Sanctorum, multis additis ex proprio ingenio, non ut res geſtæ fuerunt, ſed ut geri potuerunt.* Now the baſe condition of this *Metaphraſtes* I have the rather diſplayed, that it may from thence the more clearely appeare, upon what a ſandy foundation they build, who make his forgeries the ground-worke of their opinions and diſcourſes.

To ſhew that generall errours have crept into the Church (ſuch as this of the *Aſſumption* and *Dionyſius*) wee neede goe no farther then the teſtimonie of *Mariana*, who in a diſputation of his, dedicated to *Pius Quintus* then Biſhop of *Rome*, touching S. *Iames*, whether ever he came into *Spaine* or no, (which as by him it ſhould ſeeme, as alſo by *Baronius* in his *Martyrologe*, ſome grave and learned men had denied) in his very firſt chapter breakes forth into this demand; *Quis negare poſſit faſtos Eccleſiaſticos aliquando adulationis temporum, aut potius incuria hominum, multis mendis contaminatos; libris alijs quibus preces eccleſiaſticæ rituſque ſacrorum*

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sacrorum continentur, multas fuisse inspersas confusasque fabulas & commenta? Addam nonnunquam in templis reliquias dubias, prophana corpora pro sanctorum qui cum Christo in cœlo regnant, exuuijs sacris fuisse proposita. Est enim miserum negare non posse, quod sit turpe confiteri. Ac nescio quo pacto fictis sæpe fabulis & præposteris mendaciorum nugis, populus magis quàm veritate & sinceritate capitur. Ea est mentis nostræ inuentas, hæ sordes ubi semel irrepserunt in ecclesiam sacrorum ritus, libros ecclesiasticos, vobis fortasse dormientibus, attrectare nemo audet, mutare nemo, ne impietatis suspicionem commoueat scilicet, & religioni aduersarius esse videatur. These are not the words of *Calvin*, or *Iewell*, or *Whitakers*, or *Reinolds*, or any such like scismatick, but of *Mariana* a Spanish, a famous, a learned *Iesuite*; and shall wee then say more for them, then they dare say for themselves? nay shall wee in their behalfe affirme that, the contrary whereof they freely confesse against themselves? Neither in truth can I well deuise how to speake more cleerly or fully to this point, then *Baronius* himselfe hath done in this very controversie; *Tom. 2 sub. an. 109. sect. 51. Iura veritatis ampliora esse omni antiquitate, quippe quæ nullo plurimorum sæculorum valeant præscriptione ladi, nec innumera testium multitudine obrui & labefactari:* which rule I wish himselfe and his fellowes did as well follow as pretend.

To the objection that St *Hierome* in his catalogue of all the ecclesiasticall writers who were extant before him, and came to his knowledge, remembers noe such man as *Dionysius Areopagita*; you answere, first, that St *Hierome* had wonderfull imployments. Wherein I beseech you my Lord? surely not in worldly affayres, but in matters of learning, they were booke imployments. and will you have that accounted as an hinderance to his naminge of *Dionysius*? why as great as his imployments were, hee could name another *Dionysius* of *Corinth*, and what should hinder him then (notwithstandinge his great imployments) from the naminge of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, had hee bin acquainted with his writings?

Secondly, you answere, that St *Hierome* tooke many things upon trust, yet blame mee for saying that the *Assumption* and *Dionysius* his writings were by writers farr inferiour to St *Hierome*, taken uppon trust.

Thirdly, you answer that St *Hierome* in that catalogue doth only follow *Eusebius*, himselfe addinge the workes of such as wrote after that time, and so much you say himselfe confesseth in his preface; which is indeede the very same answere that *Baronius* gives us: but the very truth is, that St *Hierome* in that preface only professeth, that *Eusebius* was a great help to him, he confesseth not that he only followed *Eusebius*. And indeed the worke it selfe beeing compared with *Eusebius*, shewes that he nameth some, whom the other doth not; I will instance onely in *Seneca*, and shall we thinke he would take a liberty to himselfe, to name *Seneca* among Ecclesiasticall writers, though not named by *Eusebius*, and yet passe over *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, because he found him not there?

Credat Iudæus Apella
Non ego.

The

3. The next doubt is concerning *Eusebius* himselfe, why hee naming this *Dionysius* should notwithstanding omit the mentioning of his writings: Hereunto you answer out of *Maximus*, That *Eusebius* did it very wittingly and willingly, for that being an *Arrian*, nay the standard-bearer to the *Arrians* (as out of S. *Hierome* you stile him) and *Dionysius* in his writings having expressed himselfe an Adversarie to their heresie, *Eusebius* in that regard purposely suppressed his works. Whereunto I reply; first, that *Baronius* indeed voucheth such a testimony from *Maximus*, but the truth is that the Cardinall belyeth him; *Maximus* himselfe having not a word to that purpose. Hee saith indeed, that in all likelyhood the writings of *Dionysius* came not to the hand of *Eusebius*, but of charging him with the *Arrian* heresie, not a word; and for S. *Hierome*, if hee held him the standard-bearer of the *Arrians*, was it possible that he should trust him so farre as your Lordship pretends? or would *Baronius* throughout his *Annalls* make so much use of him, and build so much upon the testimonie of a man so false as hee would make him? truly hee herein takes a course (as I conceive) not to be credited himselfe, by discrediting those from whom hee takes so much upon trust; and not onely so, but hereby drawes the Ecclesiasticall storie, which for a great part relies upon the authoritie and faithfull dealing of *Eusebius*, into question.

Yet for mine owne part, I will not undertake wholly to free *Eusebius* from this imputation, specially before the *Nicene* Councell; but after that Councell, no man that I know chargeth him with it, *Socrates* I am sure endeavours to defend him; and I cannot imagine that either *Constantine* should have received him into that neareneſse, or hee have so farre honoured the memory of that Emperour who called the Councell, had hee not rested in the determination thereof; howsoever it is certaine, that *Eusebius* mentioneth the writings of some others, no lesse adverse to the *Arrian* heresie then those of *Dionysius*: And for *Theognostus*, if *Athanasius* alleadge his testimonie against the *Arrians* (as out of *Baronius* you affirme) truly I see no reason but he might rather have alleadged the testimonie of *Dionysius*, had any such writings bin knowne to him; and if they were neither knowne to *Eusebius* nor *Athanasius*, shall we conceive that any such were then extant?

Lastly, if S. *Hierome* mentioned them not because hee trusted *Eusebius*, and *Eusebius* suppressed them because hee was an *Arrian*; what I beseech you should move *Sophronius* and *Gennadius* to omit them? whereof the first made additions to Saint *Hierome*, and the other composed a treatise himselfe *De viris illustribus*, (as S. *Hierome* did) about an hundred yeares after. I am not ignorant what *Baronius* answers hereunto, namely, that by the cunning of the *Arrians*, these bookes were all that while concealed; but shall we have so meane an opinion of the orthodoxe Divines, that they should be lesse vigilant and diligent in searching and bringing to light those Authors, who made for them, then were the *Arrians* in suppressing and concealing them?

The new Sectaries you say, were wont to burne all ancient Manuscripts, if they had but red letters in them, as savouring of Popish superstition

stition; which was doubtlesse more pardonable then with the Popelins to burne the bodies of all those, whom they were pleased to call Sectaries.

Saint *Hierome* you say beginnes his Catalogue of Expositors long after the time of *Dionysius*; and yet had your Lordship bin pleased but to cast your eye uppon that Catalogue, you could not but instantly have found that he beginnes it with Saint *Peter*.

Saint *Hierome* you say doth mention *Dionysius* by consequent, for that hee nameth *Aristides*, and *Aristides* gives a very honourable testimony of *Dionysius*, as witnesseth *Hilduinus*; whereas the question is not of *Dionysius* himselfe, but of his works, and of these *Aristides* gives noe testimonie at all, or if hee did Saint *Hierome* was surely to blame in not making use of it; And besides, your Consequence to mee seemeth very incohærent, if I know one who knowes the Emperour, doth it therefore follow that I likewise know him?

The Platonicall philosophy of *Dionysius* should in my judgment rather argue him to be a Counterfeit then a Christian Bishop and Martyr, a Companion of the Apostles, and a Disciple of Saint *Pauls*; Sure I am hee learned it not of his Master, who disputed against the Philosophers at *Athens*, and warnes the *Colossians* to beware of Philosophy. 4

Saint *Chrysostome* you say, calls him the bird of heaven, but directs us not where wee may find it; and if that Father have any such passage (whereof I very much doubt) it may bee referred to his high speculations, expressed by his tounge aswell as by his pen. But to save your Lordship the labour in searching, will you bee pleased to harken to *Bellarmin lib. 2. de Monachis cap. 5.* where arguing this very point touching *Dionysius*, hee saith, *Ambrosio, Augustino, Chrysostomo, alijsque Patribus incognitus fuit, quantum ex eorum operibus colligi potest*. And againe, in his booke *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, scribunt quidem Liberatus Abbas in Breviario, & Anastasius Bibliothecarius in epistola ad Carolum Calvum Imperatorem, citari Dionysium Areopagitam a Iohanne Chrysostomo & Cyrillo Alexandrino, sed quæ illi citant non inveniuntur in locis citatis.*

The *Greeke Church* you say, did ever most reverently esteeme of *Dionysius*; which we mislike not, but commend them for it: only we think it strang, that *Dionysius* being in his writings so great an adversary to the *Arrian* heresie as you pretend, he should noe where be remembred either by S. *Athanasius*, S. *Chrysostome*, or S. *Basil* in the *Greeke Church*; or by S. *Hierome*, S. *Ambrose*, or S. *Augustine* in the *Latin Church*, in their severall disputations against those heretiques.

You say, you know not any one Saint in the Church, excepting only the *Apostles*, so ancient as this *Dionysius*; Not any one? why what was the blessed *Virgin*, and her espoused husband? *Mary Magdalen*, *Anna* the daughter of *Phanuell*, old *Simeon* who imbraced our Saviour in his armes, the *Wise men* who by the conduct of a star came out from the East to adore him, the seaventy *Disciples*, the seaven *Deacons*, the two middle *Evangelists*, S. *Titus*, S. *Timothy*, all those whom S. *Paul* names, and salutes in his Epistles; and among them *Clemens*, who is layd to have sent *Dionysius* into *France*? or lastly, what think you of *Joseph* 5

of

of *Arimathea*, who first converted this Nation to the Christian faith? These I presume you will not deny to bee Saints; and truly, as little doubt there is, but that the greatest part of them beleeved in Christ before *Dionysius*: so that to make your *Assertion* good, your Lordship will bee forced to make your exception larger then the *Apostles*; but were, it soe as you affirme, yet neither the antiquity of his Saintship, nor the particular relation of his life and calling, prove those writings which goe under his name properly to belong to him.

Whither *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* and Bishop of *Athens* were the same who came into *France*, there preached the Gospell, and was there martyred, is a Controversie among the *Romanists* themselves, partly, for that *Eusebius* reports the former, namely that he was by S. *Paul* constituted Bishop of *Athens*, but of his beeing in *France* not a word; and partly for that some ancient *Martyrologies* point out the Festivalls of the *Areopagite* and *Parisian Dionysius* upon severall dayes; but specially for that *Gregorius Turonensis* writes, that S. *Denis* the reputed Patron and Apostle of *France*, came not thither till the time of *Decius* the *Emperor*. so likewise they are not agreed whither his body lye either at S. *Denis* in *France*, or at *Ratisbone* in *Germany*; for which, *Aventine* in his fourth booke of the history of *Bavaria*, produceth the *Bull* of *Leo* the 9th, Bishop of *Rome* dated *Anno* 1052. which *Baronius* in his *Annalls* of that yeere toucheth, and only toucheth, leaving it doubtfull without any finall determination either way, and thereby giving suspition, that himselfe was not fully resolved of the matter.

Michael the Emperor of the East, and *Ludovicus Pius* of the West, raigned above 800 yeers after Christ, so as their testimony comes too late, to prove the books which goe under the name of the *Areopagite*, to bee his indeed, and besides *Michaell* knew well enough they would be the more acceptable to *Lewes*, beeing tendered unto him under that name, and *Lewes* for his part no doubt as willing so to accept them, for the great honour and reverence, which himselfe and his whole Nation bore to *Dionysius*; and though some attribute an infallibilitie to his holines, yet none that I know to Kings and Emperors.

Origen you say doth mention *Dionysius*, if the booke be his, which goes under his name; and well might your Lordship make doubt of it, since *Bellarmin* puts it out of doubt, telling us in plaine terms without any Ifis, that it could not be his, but of some counterfait, who lived long since his time; will your Lordship be pleased once more to heare his owne words, *Quod enim quidam dicunt, citari nominatim hæc opera ab Origine, homilia quâdam in caput primum Iohannis, & Athanasio in quæstionibus ad Antiochum quæst. 8. nihil efficit: nam in homilia illa nominantur Arriani, qui* diu post *Origenem exorti sunt: & in quæstionibus ad Antiochum nominantur authores ipso Athanasio posteriores, ex quo sequitur ut illa testimonia esse non possint Origenis vel Athanasij, sed recentiorum Autherum.* Of what validity then can the testimony of this counterfait bee, to prove *Dionysius* not to have bin a counterfait? Can the testimony of a theefe serve to absolve his companion in theft?

But S. *Gregory* you say, doth mention *Dionysius* with honour in the generall

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generall Councels, where, what your Lordship meanes by the generall Councels I know not, S. *Gregory* having written no such discourse to my knowledge; yet truth it is, that hee names him in one of his Homilies upon the Gospels; and by *Bellarmin* it should seeme, that though he wrote about 600 years after Christ, yet was hee the very first of the Fathers who mentioned his writings: *Quod autem ante Sanctum Gregorium Romanum nemo horum operum meminerit S.* Dionysij Areopagitæ *meminerit, causa videtur esse quod alicubi latuerint, ut multa alia sæpe longo tempore delituerunt, & circa tempora Sancti* Gregorij *reperta fuerint*: Where wee see, hee takes it as granted (whatsoever rattle the *Iesuites* now make to the contrary) that not so much as one before S. *Gregory*, ever entituled those books to the *Areopagite*, which now goe under his name; though the reason which he gives thereof meethinks is somewhat strange, that the works of so renowned a man, being so many and so divine as now they are made to bee, should ly hid and neglected in some blinde corner by the space of so many hundred years, which no doubt made S. *Gregory* himselfe to suspect them, and therefore hee brings in the *Areopagite* as the Author of them, but doubtfully with a *Fertur*, as may bee seene in the place alleaged.

You Conclude this Section with the great estimation of those books, which to mee is a stronge argument, that they could not ly hid so long as is pretended, or that antiquity esteemed them not so highly as the *Romanists* now doe, for to say that they were suppressed by the *Arrians*, is frivolous, sithence it is certaine that *Arrius* spred his heresie above 200. years after the death of *Dionysius*: & what should hinder the mentioning of such transcendent works, by some one of the intervenient Fathers, betwixt the death of *Dionysius* and the heresie of *Arrius*, I for my part cannot so much as imagine; and I much doubt it will prove a hard taske for your Lordship or any mã else to yeeld a sufficient reason thereof. Some other books I grant have layen long in obscurity, being drawne forth into the light by the great industry of learned men in this latter age, as *Bellarmin* truly observes, but that so excellent & admirable works (as these are now accounted) of a person so famous & every way so eminent, should bee utterly concealed from the knowledge of the christian world, by the space of so many hundred years, that I confesse to mee seemeth as admirable, as his works seeme to others.

6. Your Lordship is pleased to confesse your ignorance, how farre the Conversion of *Dionysius* agrees with the death of the blessed *Virgin*, as being not resolved when shee dyed, yet you say you have read *Baronius*: why there my Lord you may finde that the *Cardinall* placeth her death in the yeare 48. following *Eusebius* therein & the cõmon received tradition, but the Conversion of *Dionysius* he placeth in the yeare 52, by which cõputation, he could not possibly be present, as a christian at her funerals, as himself pretendeth, nor be an eyewitnesse of her *Assuption*, as you presume; which *Baronius* forseeing, tels us that leaving the received

tradition, hee rather inclines (as you doe) to the descending of her farther, that so hee may accord the difference, and maintaine the received opinion of *Dionysius* his presence at her death; but then enquiring farther into the matter, hee assureth us, that hee findes among those who forsake the common tradition, *monstrosam discrepantiam*, such a wonderfull disagreement, that hee knowes not where to fixe; no marvell then, if your Lordship bee unresolved in the point. But in very truth I cannot but finde it somewhat strange, that you should so much and so often blame me for leaving *received traditions*, and your Lordship should heere for your advantage, professe your inclination of preferring your private opinion before the received tradition.

That *Dionysius* should discerne the Eclipse of the Sunne at our Saviours passion, so bee beyond the course of nature, in being then full Moone, is not a matter of so great wonder as you would make it; a greater wonder it seemes to bee, that more of the Gentiles, specially their *Astronomers* should not observe it: which made some of the Fathers to thinke, that this defect of light was not an Eclipse properly so called, by the interposition of the Moone betwixt the earth and the Sunne, but a great darkenesse by the interposition of cloudes; or the shrinking in of the Sun-beames somewhat like the darkenes of *Egypt*, save that this latter lasted for a long time. Of this opinion were *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Hierome*, *Chrysostome*, *Theophylact*, *Euthymius*, and *Julius Affricanus* who reproves *Thallus* for calling it an Eclipse, as being an unadvised speech. And with these doth *Sedulius* seeme to accord, *lib. 5. Paschalis operis*.

Sol nube coruscâ
Abscondens radios, terro vel latus amictu
Delinit, tristemque infecit luctibus orbem.

Neither doe any of the Evangelists call it an Eclipse, but onely a great darkenesse; and as Divines teach, *Miracula absque necessitate non sunt multiplicanda*; one miracle would suffice for the darkenesse, but a totall and universall Eclipse lasting for the space of three houres, the Moone being then at full would require many great miracles; and yet to these *Dionysius* addes two or three more about the manner of the accesse and recesse of the Moone no lesse supernaturall then the former. And besides, some of the Ancients there are who extend that darkenesse to the land of *Judea* and no farther: which may very well stand with the originall, and so is rendred not onely by *Iulius*, but by our last Translatours, which I presume they would never have done, had they beleeved the relation of *Dionysius* touching that pretended Eclipse. Whereunto wee may adde, that it was impossible that the same Eclipse should bee at the highest in *Judea* and in *Egypt* at the same houre of the day, as *Dionysius* pretendeth. And truely it should seeme the Evangelists so precisely noted the houre, that wee might from thence understand, they meant it onely of that land in which our Saviour suffered.

Thus did *Origen* whom *Maldonate* therein followeth.

Now

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Now touching the Exclamation of *Dionysius* at the sight thereof, it implies you say, the whole power and strength of our Christian faith and profession; which is a very hyperbolicall speech, and will neede a large explanation to make it justifiable; but I beseech your Lordship to informe me how it comes to passe, that *Dionysius* making a full narration of the conference, which by occasion of this Eclipse passed betweene *Apollophanes* and himselfe, being then at *Heliopolis* in *Ægypt*, remembers no such speech of his owne; hee tells indeed what *Apollophanes* said to him, but of any judgement that himselfe made upon the Eclipse, not a word, save onely that it was strange and extraordinary; nay hee confesseth his ignorance, that hee knew not the mysterie thereof, but desired to bee instructed by his companion, who (as hee saith) returned him this answer: *Hæ sunt ô bone Dionysi divinarum rerum mutationes*, or as some translate it, *vicissitudines*; which *Dionysius* indeed highly extolleth as a divine rather then an humane speech, and thereupon noted the yeare and day upon which it hapned; but of any speech of his owne, That the God of nature then suffered, not a word.

Neither doe I finde any one of the Fathers, either *Greeke* or *Latine*, who any where mentions any such matter; which mee thinkes they should not have omitted, it making so much for the strengthening of Christian religion, as your Lordship pretends. Indeed I finde it in the *Roman Breviarie*, but where they found it who composed that *Breviarie*, that cannot I so much as imagine; the very first that ever mentioned any such thing (as farre as I can gather) was an obscure fellow, one *Michael Syngelus*, or *Syncellus*, and after him *Suidas*; but as they differ in the report each from other, so doe they both from the *Roman Breviarie*. *Syngelus* thus reports the words, *Ignotus in carne patitur Deus, propter quod universum hoc concussum & obtenebratum est*; *Suidas* thus, *Aut Deus patitur, aut patienti compatitur*; the *Roman Breviarie* thus, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvetur*. Now as the wicked Judges in the storie of *Susanna*, and the false witnesses in the Gospell agreed not together, for which the former were condemned to death, & the latter rejected: so which of these thus disagreeing in their reports we should beleeve, or whither indeed wee should credit any of them, is no very easie matter in my judgement to be clearely determined.

If that great Saint you say, was by God preordained for the speciall good of his Church, is it credible that seventeene or eighteene yeares should passe before his Conversion? and I beseech you my Lord why not? what should make it incredible? hee who calls some at the first, calls others at the last houre of the day; hee who called Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Timothie* in their younger age, called likewise Saint *Paul*, Saint *Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles in their elder yeares; and whereas you seeme to wonder, that so much time should passe betweene his exclamation at the sight of the Eclipse at our Saviours Passion, and his Conversion by Saint *Paul*, it is upon a supposition that beeing in *Ægypt* at that time, such an eclipse hee there saw, and thereupon

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uttered such an exclamation: both which are (as I have shewed) if not certainely false, yet (to speake in the most favourable termes) most uncertaine.

8. I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much bound to your Lordship, for your respect unto mee, in giving credit to my report touching the time of Saint *Pauls* preaching at *Athens*, but wish you had beene pleased to examine it your selfe, and then I doubt not but you would easily have found, that Saint *Denis* as a Christian could not bee present at the death and funeralls of the blessed *Virgine*. *Baronius* did examine it, and upon examination found that his Conversion (according to his computation) fell in the yeare 52; but then considering that the death of the blessed *Virgine*, according to the received tradition fell out in the yeare 48, and consequently that S. *Denis* as a Christian could not be present thereat; he thereupon inclines (as your Lordship doth) to spinne out the thread of her life to a longer period (though where to set that period hee be much to seeke) but of the time of Saint *Denis* his conversion, at leastwise that hee could not bee converted sooner to the Christian faith by Saint *Paul*, thereof hee makes no doubt at all, being evidently convinced by the story of S. *Pauls* journeyes before his comming to *Athens*, reported by Saint *Luke* in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*.

You wish me to consider S. *Paules* Sermon there, which you say was rather a reprehension of the *Athenians* then otherwise, as if reprehension were noe part of a Sermon; but my Lord it may easily bee thought, that his Sermon was larger then it is there reported; and yet as short as it is, wee have in it besides reprehension much good instruction touching the workes of the Creation and preservation of all things, touching the nature, the power, the providence of God, and the spirituall worship due unto him; and lastly, as your Lordship hath truly observed touching repentance, and the last judgement, and the resurrection of Christ: these I take to bee fundamentall Articles of our Creede, and the ground worke of Christian religion; and will your Lordship then so sleight the Divine Sermon of this great Apostle, as to terme it rather a reprehension of the *Athenians*, then otherwise? neither doe I finde in the text (as you affirme) that hee was suddenly interrupted; onely it is said, that some mocked, and others said, wee will heare thee againe of this thing, which might well be after his Sermon was ended.

You goe on and tell us, that whereas it is said, that *Some cleaved unto him and believed*, the words sound as if they did imply more then an inchoated Conversion; your meaning (by that which followes after I take to be) that their Conversion was not then inchoated, but confirmed onely or declared, which how you collect from these wordes I cannot conceive; sure I am it makes against the scope of the text, and the judgement of all Interpreters I have seene upon that place, they being men, who for any thing appeares to the contrary, wee may very well conceive, had never heard of Christ before; and whereas they

they are said first to have cleaved to *Paul*, and then to have beleeved; it may very well bee, that their Conversion was onely inchoated at the hearing of his Sermon, but confirmed by farther instruction upon their cleaving unto him.

You conclude that for *Dionysius* himselfe, the text may very well be expounded, that hee was then onely among the beleevers, not as if hee had then beene newly converted; Which if it bee so, I wonder that never any Interpreter before your Lordship could see the fitnes of that exposition. Againe, I beseech you my Lord to resolve mee, why the text may so bee expounded of him rather then of the rest; sure I am that *Damaris* a woman, is by name expressed and joyned in the same verse with him; and why the same exposition in the point of conversion should not be as appliable to her as to him, I do not yet understand; Truth it is, that all Expositours whom I could yet meet with, *Greeke* and *Latine*, *Ancient* and *Moderne*, *Romish* and *Reformed*, as also all such as have written the Acts of this *Areopagite*, unanimously agree with one full consent against your Lordship, that hee was then by Saint *Paul* first converted to the Christian faith, and not before; agreeably to the doctrine of the same Apostle, *That faith commeth by hearing*. Nay himselfe freely confesseth in his Epistle to *Apollophanes* (if it bee his) that upon Saint *Pauls* preaching of the Gospell to him, *tum & veritati manus dedi, & me falsitatis nexibus expedij*; and truely a wonder it were, had hee beene a Convert to the Christian Religion before, that hee would still continue at *Athens*, and keepe his office of judicature in the *Areopagus*, without adhæring to some Congregation of the Christians, which could not bee done without a deepe dissembling of his religion, and a great dishonour to the Authour thereof.

Will your Lordship now bee pleased a little to reflect your eye, and consider upon what rockes you run whiles you endeavour to reconcile the time of *Dionysius* his conversion, & of the death of the blessed *Virgin* together, which was the occasion of this Digression. First, you incline to the lengthning of her life, against the received tradition of her departure; and then doubting belike that would not serve the turne, you labour to shorten his Conversion, not onely against tradition, but the evidence of Scriptures, and the consent of all ages; from whence it followes unavoidably, that either the *Areopagite* was a lyar in professing that he saw that which hee saw not, or that the bookes which goe under his name were none of his, but of some counterfeit: which is the very position by me to be concluded.

Now because many points in Controversie betwixt us and the *Romanists*, depend upon the testimonie and authority of this *Dionysius*, and that your Lordship seemes to build much upon him, it shall not perchance bee amisse, that as I have answered your arguments for him, so you would be pleased with patience to heare my allegations against him, and then to judge unpartially of both. In the producing whereof, I will first begin with those which I finde in a Manuscript, written by a learned Divine & a worthy friend of mine now with God, and then thereunto adde such as by mine owne observation I have gathered.

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That this *Denise* is but a Counterfait our Divines proue by sundry vnanswerable arguments, I will not vrge them all but cull out the choycest, omitting therefore the stile, sauouring more of 300 yeers after then those Apostolicall times, and his curious speculations in the secrets of heaven, as if he had bin surveyor thereof, or had taken a muster of all the heavenly host of blessed spirits therein, whereas S. *Paul* himself 2 Cor. 12. 3. 4. though hee had bin rauished up into the third heaven, even into the paradise of God, yet returning back, neither durst, nor did vtter any such thing: And lastly, that hee talketh so familiarly of Churches and Chancells and *Monks*, and diverse other Orders and Ceremonies which are well knowne to be of a much latter date. Omitting I say these and the like objections, although perhaps not so easy to bee answered, consider with mee I beseech you these few reasons following. First, if these were the bookes of that *Denise* which was S. *Pauls* Scholler, how commeth it to passe that neither *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie, nor *Hierome*, nor *Gennadius* purposely writing catalogues of all the famous writers before them, nor *Origen*, nor *Chrysostome*, nor any ancient Father (so farre as I can learne) maketh any mention of them, *Homil. 34. de 10. dragm.* vntill *Gregory* the great, who lived above 600 yeers after Christ, and speaketh very doubtfully of them too? for as for *Athanasius* whom you affirmed to quote him, I suppose you meant him in his questions out of the old and new Testament, wherein he cites his *mystica Theologia*. But neither was this booke knowne in the time of *Athanasius*; nor did *Athi-* *Bibliothec. lib. 4.* *nasius* himselfe write that, as your *Sixtus Senensis* thinketh. For had he written it, would he, thinke you haue vouched his owne authority, and that with such arrogance vnder the name of great *Athanasius*? or could hee haue mentioned *Gergory Nazianzen* who flourished so long after his *Quæst. 23. 117. 129.* decease? I trow noe; yet he doth both. Secondly, it is well knowne that S. *Paul* was the man that converted *Denis*, and that before his *Act. 17. 34.* comming to *Athens*, *Timothy* had bin entertained by him, & in his com- *Ibid. 16. 3.* pany had travelled ouer many countries, and grew so intimate and *1 Tim. 1. 2.* deare vnto him, that he both counted and called him his Sonne; which *2. c. 1. 2.* beeing so, it cannot reasonably be imagined that the true *Denise* would proue either so vngratefull, or so presumptuous as this counterfait sheweth himselfe to be. Vngratefull in that hee often speaks of one *Hierotheus*, an obscure man in comparison, as of his master: presumptuous, for that as if hee were a father to *Timothy* as well as Saint *Paul*, he calleth him his sonne, notwithstanding he were farre more fit to be his *De divin. nom.* Disciple. Thirdly this *Denis* citeth *Clemens* the Philosopher, not *Cle-* *cap. 5.* *mens* of *Rome* as some would haue it, but of *Alexandria*: for in him the *Strom. lib. 8.* very passage quoted by *Denis* is to be found. And yet this *Clemens* lived two hundred yeares after Christ. Hee citeth also these wordes *De divin. nom.* out of *Ignatius*, *My loue is crucified*, written by him a little before *cap. 4.* his martyrdome; and yet the true *Dionysius* suffered vnder *Domitian*, *Ep. ad Rom.* whereas *Ignatius* both wrote his Epistle, and was martyred some good *Method.* while after him vnder *Trajan*. Hee further citeth the Gospell and Revelation of S. *John*, as if they had a long time bin parcels of holy Scripture: howbeit if we may beleeve history, both those bookes

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were written but a little before S. *Iohns* death, and fourteen years after the death of *Dionysius*. And yet againe in an epistle to *Polycarpus*, hee speaketh unto him as unto a reverend Bishop and Doctor; nevertheless *Dionysius* himselfe suffered in *France* in the yeare of our Lord 96. as writers testifie, but *Polycarpus* in the yeare 166. and of his age 86. so that at the death of *Dionysius*, *Polycarpus* could bee but a stripling, and about 16. years old. Fourthly, according to the proverb, The rat perisheth by bewraying himselfe; for speaking of Infants and why they are baptized, thus hee saith, Hereof we say those things which our Divine Masters being instructed by the old tradition have brought unto us. In which words ere he was aware hee hath discovered, that nor *Paul*, nor any other of the *Apostles* could be his Masters: for it is both untrue and absurd to say that the holy Apostles were instructed in the point of baptisme by the old tradition. Lastly this Denis writeth that himselfe together with *Timothy* and *Hierotheus*, were present at the departure and funerall of the blessed *Virgin* Mother; Now story saith that shee lived 63 years, being fifteene years of age when shee bare Christ, whereunto if you add 33 years of Christs life, & fifteen more to make up her full age, it will appeare that shee dyed eight and fortie years after her sons birth, and fifteen after his ascension. But on the other side it plainely appeareth, that *Denis Areopagite* was not converted unto the Christian faith till the 18th yeare after the ascension, one and fifty years after Christs birth. Our Divines gather it thus. The Scripture witnesseth that S. *Paul* was not called till Christ was ascended. Being called hee stayed three years in *Damascus* and *Arabia* before hee came to *Hierusalem*. Thence hee went into the *coast* of *Syria* and *Cilicia* and the countries thereabout. And fourteen years after hee came to *Hierusalem* againe with *Barnabas* to the Councell, from the Councell hee went to *Derbe* and *Lystra* where hee received *Timothy*. And having travailed through *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Misia*, *Macedonia* hee came at last to *Athens*, where he converted *Denis*. So that it must needs bee about eighteen or at the least seventeen years after Christs ascension before S. *Denis* knew Christ. All which duly considered, it is evident that the blessed *Virgin* dyed if not three full years, yet more then two before the conversion of *Denis*; and consequently that hee could not bee one of those brethren who were present at her death and funerall. Whence also it followeth inevitable, that the Author of that booke cannot possible bee this *Denis*. This argument being pressed by that renowned *Reynolds* upon *Iohn Hart*, he confessed ingenuously that he knew not how to accord it. And these or the like reasons have so prevailed with sundry of your owne side, that they have bin forced some to doubt of him, others utterly to disclaime him from being the true *Denis*. *Theodorus Gaza* affirmeth those books of the *Hierarchy* to bee none of *Denis* the *Athenians*. *Erasmus* also professeth himselfe to bee of the same minde. And *Laurentius Valla* saith, that the learnedst men of his time entituled one *Apollinarius* unto them. *Cardinall Cajetan* not onely saith it, but also sheweth how unlikely it is that hee who wrote of the name of God and of the heavenly and ecclesiasticall *Hierarchy* should be this *Denis*. *Erasmus* fur-

Hier. Eccles. cap 7.

Ep: ad. Tim.

Ramold. in. Conc. 8. d. 2.
Acts. 9. 5.
Gal 1 18.
Acts. 9. 26.
Gal. 1. 21.
Acts 13. 4.
Gal 2. 1.
Acts. 15. 4.
Act. 16. 1.
Act. 17. 34.

Confer. c. 8. d. 2

Praef. in problem Alex. Aphrod.

In. Act. 17.
Iliad.
Act. 17.

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In Acts. 17. ther reporteth that one *William Grocin*, an incomparable man both in Divinity & all other humane learning, beginning his Lectures in *Pauls* Church in *London*, upon the books of the heavenly *Hierarchy*, maintained with great vehemence that it was the worke of *Denis* the *Areopagite*, wondering at the impudence of them that denyed it. But before hee had past halfe way into the worke hee grew to bee of another opinion, and freely confessed that it seemed to be none of this *Denisses*. Thus he.

Whereunto wee may add, That this *Grocinus* (as witnesseth *Pitzæus* in his booke of the ancient writers of this nation) was no such obscure man, as the *Iesuites* for the advantage of their owne cause would now make him, but for the *Greeke* toung the Schollar of *Demetrius Chalcondilas* and *Angelus Politianus* in *Italy*, under whom he profited so well, that returning home hee was chosen publique professor of that language heere in *Oxford*; and *Erasmus* in his epistles styles him *Patronum & præceptorem*: in which regard we have reason not to disesteeme his judgement, but rather highly to value it.

To him and the rest already named might bee added *Calius Rhodiginus*, *lib. 2. cap. 3.* even by the confession of *Delrio* in his *vindicia Areopagitica cap. 6*, though *Halloix* a bird of the same nest, in his volume of the *Orientall* Fathers, in the first age of the Christian Church, would faine draw him to the contrary.

And least wee should thinke that these writings were now first questioned in this latter age, *Baronius* himselfe sticks not to assure us otherwise *Anno* 109; *Quæ hodie à novantibus objectiones refricantur, olim à Græcis curiosis fuerunt vehementius incalcatæ*: so as by his acknowledgment these books passed not so currant among the ancient *Grecians*, as your Lordship would have us imagine; nay *Photius* Bishop of *Constantinople* (who lived almost 800. years since) in his *bibliotheca* informes us, that before his time one *Theodorus* had endeavoured to answere the objections made against *Dionysius*, which he there brings but not the solutions, thereby leaving a doubt, that himselfe conceived them to bee insoluble; & so much doth *Possevine* in the second Tome of his *Apparatus sacer* collect from thence: *Opera* B: *Dionysij ut pseudepigrapha videntur ab eo notari*. More then so *Bellarmin* in his second booke, and 7th cap de *Sacramento Confirmationis*, tells us of *Dionysius* & some other suspected Authors there named, that they were ancient; *licèt non sit certum an sint illi quorum nomina præ se ferunt*; and though perchance it bee somewhat ambiguous what his meaning there is, yet of the words there can be no doubt.

In Verbo Photius.

Not only *Irenæus* and S. *Augustin*, to whom this *Dionysius* was not knowne, but S. *Gregory* and S. *Bernard* to whom he was knowne, dissent from his doctrine in his *celestiall hierarchy* touching the orders of Angels; which I presume they would not doe, had they conceived him to bee the *Areopagite*, and to have bin instructed in that knowledge from S. *Paul*, as hee professeth. Yet that these two latter so dissent from him, is not onely affirmed by *Rikelius*, but granted by *Halloix*.

This *Dionysius* in diverse chapters of the same *Hierarchy* teacheth, that the higher orders of Angels are alwayes assistant about the throne of God, never imployed in forraine messages; directly contrary to that

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of his Master, Are they not all ministring spirits, not *Some*, but *all*, sent forth to minister for their sakes that shall bee heires of salvation? insomuch that herein *Ribera* the *Iesuite* in his Commentaries upon that place (being convinced by the evidence of truth) professedly opposeth him, charging his opinion as being opposite to the doctrine of S. *Paul*, *unde firmiter cõprobet quod dicit, non habet*, saith he, *& illi obstant verba scripturæ*; if the Scripture were contrary to him, then doubtlesse was hee likewise contrary to scripture; which I will never beleeve of the *Areopagite*.

Besides wee reade of the imployment of the *Cherubins* in the third of *Genesis*, & of the *Seraphins* in the 6th of *Esay*, which by him are ranked in the highest top of his celestiall hierarchyes; in respect whereof, & of the passage before alleaged out of the epistle to the *Hebrewes*, S. *Gregory* in this also (as witnesseth the same *Ribera*) refused to subscribe to the opinion of *Dionysius*: *Ex quibus hoc potius constat, Gregorium noluisse Dionysij dictis acquiescere*, (saith he) *ne forte scripturæ divinæ cujus verbis valde movebatur, adversari aliquo modo videretur*. This error of *Dionysius* confuted by the manifest words of the Scripture, *Bocherius* a famous Doctor of the *Sorbon* in an epistle of his to *Lanselius*, purposely written touching this *Dionysius*, endeavoureth to excuse what hee may, but so faintly & withall so confusedly, that a cleare judgement may from thence easily discerne, that hee discerned it to bee an error, and in excusing it fought against the light of his owne conscience. And in truth, hee there brings one argument which to me seemeth unanswerable, in that Iesus Christ the Lord of Angels, was sent forth to minister, it can bee no disparagement for the highest of them to be made conformable to that patterne. Now I would demand of *Bocherius* and *Ribera*, what they thinke, whither the *Areopagite* would lye in saying hee learned this doctrine of S. *Paul*, or that S. *Paul* did err in so teaching him; or rather hee who teacheth it and saith hee learned it of S. *Paul*, was not the *Areopagite* but a counterfeit, masked under his name.

I have formerly alleaged somewhat out of *Maldonate*, touching the eclipse at our Saviours passion, wherein hee crosseth the relation of *Dionysius* in his epistle to *Apollophanes* & *Polycarpus*, about the same matter, as namely, That the darkenes was, if not onely, yet chiefly confined to the land of *Iudæa*, and that it could not bee extended to the whole globe of the earth, specially at the same houre; whereas *Dionysius* reports, that being then in *Ægypt*, at the very same houre he saw the *Sunne horribiliter obscuratum*; & *Maldonate* on the other side as confidently affirmeth, *ne fieri quidem potuisse, ut per universam terram, id est, totum penitus terrarum orbem hora sexta tenebræ fierent*. Yet I am not ignorant, that herein he laboureth to reconcile *Dionysius*, but so poorely and weakely, as therein hee hath given just occasion to the world to conceive, that hee rather sought out a shift to free himselfe frõ censure, then any sound answere to give satisfaction to himselfe or others.

Againe, this *Dionysius* in the third chapter of his booke de *divinis nominibus* reports, That together with himselfe *Hierotheus* and *Timothy*, the Apostles were present at the funerals of the blessed *Virgin*; whereas, it is apparent, that long before that time they were dispersed abroad into diverse and distant regions, for the preaching of the Gospell; & to

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ſay that they were thus on the ſudden aſſembled & brought togeather, either as birds flying through the aire, or as riding upon the clouds in ſteed of chariots, ſavours more of a monkiſh fiction, then of the *Areopagites* relation; and beſides why hee names S. *Peter* and S. *Iames* as being preſent in that aſſembly, and not S. *Iohn* the beloved of the Lord, and the adopted ſon as it were, of the bleſſed *Virgin*, or S. *Paul* his owne ghoſtly father, I ſee no reaſon.

Moreover in hi, epiſtle to S. *Iohn* the Evangeliſt he takes upon him a propheticall ſpirit foretelling the reſtoring of S. *Iohn* frō baniſhment & their joyfull enterview, whereas S. *Iohn* was not reſtored to his liberty till the raigne of *Nerva* the immediate ſucceſſor of *Domitian*, and *Dionyſius* ſuffered martyrdome during *Domitians* raigne, as witneſſe *Hilduinus*, *Hincmarus*, *Methodius*, *Metaphraſtes*, *Nicephorus*, and the *Greeke Martyrologe* in *Menæis* as they terme it, from whence it follows that either they all, & others who followed them in ſetting downe the time of his Martyrdome were utterly miſtaken, or that doe the *Areopagite* was a falſe Prophet, or (which I rather believe) that propheſie was written by a counterfait.

That the holy Ghoſt proceedeth only from the father, the firſt perſō in trinity is an error generally cryed downe in the weſterne Church; yet was *Dionyſius* tainted with this error, if wee may credit *Syngalus* in his *Panegyrick*, ſo as wee ſhall bee forced either to condemne *Dionyſius* of little leſſe then hereſie, in the opinion of the Romaniſts, or to free him from it, and to lay it upon the counterfaite, which I take to bee the ſafer way.

Some of theſe aſperſions the Pontificians endevour to wipe of, & I have unpartially read what the moſt learned among them could ſay for themſelves, and for him, as *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*, & the latter *Ieſuites Delrio*, *Lanſelius*, *Halloix*, *Corderius*, but herein they ſeeke out ſuch ſtarting holes and withall ſo manifeſtly croſſe both themſelves and one another, as though they make a great ſhew by muſtering up the names of thoſe, who ſeeme to allow him for the *Areopagite*; yet in anſwering the arguments preſſed againſt them, by the adverſe party they plainely diſcover the deſperatenes of their cauſe. Thus humbly recommending myne endeavours to your Lordſhips acceptance, and your Lordſhipe to the divine providence, I reſt

Your Lordſhips

to be commanded

G. H.

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THE SIXTH BOOKE

Wherein these objections following are answered.

1. *Against the title of my booke; which is justified in as much as the worlds decay cannot so apparently stand with Gods providence, as the preservation of it from decay.*
2. *That the greatest part of the christian Philosophers are against mee; the contrary whereunto is proved, as well by their testimonies, as their axioms.*
3. *That I alleadge few passages of Scripture for my opinion; for answere whereunto I have digested those passages into one chapter, together with the interpretation of the soundest expositors thereupon.*
4. *That little use can bee made of my booke, but the profitable and manifold use thereof I trust I shall make to appeare so fully, and clearly, as thereby to wipe of that aspertion, in the opinion of all indifferent Iudges.*
5. *The opinion of the worlds abolition, when there shall be no farther use of it, is farther enlarged and confirmed; because what hitherto hath bin written in that point, seems not to have given satisfaction to all.*

CHAP. 1.

That the divine providence more apparently stands with the preservation of the world from decay, then with the decay, is made good; for that all who write of the providence prove it from the preservation, none from the decay.

THe meaning of my title (as I have in part expressed my selfe in the second chapter & second section of my first book) is none other then this, that the honour and glory of God shines more brightly in the Preservation, then in the decay of his workemanship; that his wisedome, his justice, his goodnesse, his power are more conspicuous in the one then in the other, and consequently that his Providence is more manifestly cleared

cleared by the one, and by the other more blemiſhed and eclipſed. And truly I cannot but take it to be a ſpeciall part of the Divine Providence, that by the queſtioning of my title, ſo faire an occaſion ſhould be offered of making it appeare more juſtifiable in the eyes of all indifferently affected Judges. And heere I ſhall crave leave to inlarge my ſelfe, for that the teſtimonies which I ſhall alleadge (being many and weighty) ſerve not onely to juſtifie my title, but the ſubject of my booke in generall: And in truth till I had made ſearch, I muſt ingenuouſly profeſſe, I did not conceive there could have beene found ſo many grave witneſſes of all kindes depoſing, ſo many learned Advocates pleading for mee, all conſpiring in this very point, to prove a Divine Providence from the perpetuall preſervation of the beauty, the order, the vigour, the nature, the faculties, the qualities, the dimenſions, ſcituations, the motions, the operations of the Creatures. Scarce fell I upon any one who had written *De Providentiâ*, whether Ancient or Moderne, Romiſh or Reformed, Chriſtian or Ethnick, in verſe or in proſe, but that his firſt Argument to prove it, was commonly drawne from the conſtant government of the world, without any diſorder, or decay in the maine parts thereof; that is the heavens, the elements, and the ſeverall ſpecies of mixt bodies: And that I may not wrong them, or bee thought to wreſt them, I will ſet downe their mindes at full in their owne words, or as I finde them tranſlated by thoſe, who were no way interreſted in this Controverſie.

Theodoretus de Providentiâ Sermone 1.

Quid in tot rerum creatarum numero inordinatum cernitis? & quamnam creatura totius pars juſtâ proportione caret? Quanam vel forma vel quantitatis defectu laborat? Aut quæ res non ritè & concinnè meæ hanc vobis impietatem peperit? Inſpicite ergò nunc (ſi quid hactenus noluiſtis) viſibilium omnium naturam, ſitum, ordinem, ſtatum, motum, proportionem, conſonantiam, decorem, pulchritudinem, quantitatem, uſum, delectationem, varietatem, alternationem, & illum qui ſubinde in idem ſit regreſſum, ſed & eam quæ in corruptibilibus eſt perſeverantiam & durationem. *Cernite (inquam) ipſam Dei Providentiam, qua per ſingulas mundi partes proſpicit, apparet & loquitur, tum etiam per ipſas res tantum non clamitans indomita veſtra obturat labia, & effræenes vobis linguas frano coercet. Videte eam in cœlo & luminibus, quæ in cœlo ſunt ſole nimirũ, lunâ & ſtellis, in aëre & nubibus, in terra & mari, in omnibus itẽ quæ in terra ſunt, in plantis & herbis, in ſeminibus, in animalibus tam rationalibus quã brutis, pedeſtribus, volatilibus, aquatilibus, reptilibus & amphibijs, manſuetis & ſylveſtribus, cicuribus & indomitis. Ipſi vobiſcum perpendite, quiſnam ille ſit, qui cæleſtes orbes continet*, ut in tot annorum millibus cœlum nec conſenuerit, nec aliquem è temporis diuturnitate ſubierit mutationem, *idque cum paſſibili natura conſtet, ſicuti Beatus ille David docet: 'Ipſi (inquit) peribunt, tu verò permanes, & omnes ſeu veſti-'mentum veteraſcent, & quaſi pallium involves eos & mutabuntur. Tu au-'tem unus & idem es, & anni tui non deficient. Verùntamen cum & paſſibili & corruptibili ſubſtantiâ conſtet*, integrum tamen & ſalvum permanſit hactenus

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'hactenus non aliâre quàm Creatoris sui verbo conservatum. Quod enim
'hoc condidit verbum, ipsum quoq; conservat, & *firmitatē simul soliditatēq;*
'illi, quo voluerit largitur. Hanc ergo ob causam, cum tantus circa hoc ig-
'nis volvatur, solis nimirum, lunæ & reliquorum syderum, tot tamen an-
'norum revolutionibus nec liquefactam funditur, nec arescit, nec incēsum
'ardet. Hasce enim vires ignis natura à Creatore acceptas habet. Aurum
'quippe & argentum, ferrum item & æs, plumbum & stannum, ceram &
'picem, & quæcunque alia sunt hujus generis, liquefacta dissolvit, & in flu-
'xam naturam transmutat. Lutum verò & palustria, aquisque cænosa loca
'humore consumpto arere facit lapides autem excoquit, & omni duritie
'exuit, quin solidissimam horum naturam in pulverem redigit. Lignum
'item, fœnum & arundines ociùs & facillimè incendit. *Atqui nihil horum*
'*cœli natura patitur.* Nec enim quod in illo glaciale apparet, liquefactū fū-
'ditur, cum tanta adsit illi ignis copia: Nec eadem illius levitati nocet, nec
'sphæricam quæ in eo est figuram vel inæqualem reddit, *Sed quem primò*
'*situm accepit, eundem in finem usq; conservat.* Qui enim hoc seu fornicem
'constituit, & idem quasi terrorium ad inhabitandum extendit, contrarias
'sibi invicem naturas amicitiæ legibus constrinxit. Nec ignis naturam
'aquarum copia extinguit, nec glaciale illud, vel aërium et nubilum cæli
'corpus nimio illo ex ardenti ignis ardore liquescit aut perit. Sed licèt vi-
'cina sibi cohabitent, celant tamen hostiles vires, et Creatoris sui verba
'perfuase *perpetuam junxêrunt amicitiam*, ideq; cum inanimata sint et mente
'gubernatrice careant: *manent tamen, & cum qui ab initio ipsis constitutus est*
'*terminum custodiunt. Creaturam* enim ipse Creator regit, nec navim quam
'ipse construxit, regimine et gubernatore destitui patitur. Sed cum idem
'ipse navim fabricarit, et materiam è qua constat plantaverit, simulq; ma-
'teriam crearit, navimq; extruxerit, clavum quoq; ejusdem constanter
'tenet et regit. Testantur hoc ipsum tot annorum circuli, et longissimum
'temporis spatium, quod navim hanc non corrupit, *sed salvam* et *integram*
'*non primis modò hominibus sed seræ quoq; posteritati spectan-dam exhibet.*

Idem Sermone secundo.

'Quoniam ergo ipsum aërem quoq; divinæ Providentiæ gubernatione
'frui, & eundem illum hujus beneficio per tot jam annorū millia sufficisse
'vidisti, adeò ut nec animalium respirationibus absumptus sit, nec corpo-
'rum quibus continetur, fines eruperit, agedum ad terram quoq; commu-
'nem omnium nutricem, matrem ac sepulchrum te ducamus.
'Dic ergo mihi quisnā sit qui hæc tam pulchrè disposuit? qui tantis facul-
'tatibus hæc instruxit, ut tot annorum evolutiones thesaurum hunc non
'potuerint consumere? quis item ille sit, qui ea quæ in rerum natura sunt
'*firma & immota* conservat.

Idem de Materia & mundo lib: 4°.

'Illud præterea opificis Dei sapientiam planeq; potentiam ostendit, quòd
'neq; ipsa tellus quanquā per tot annorū millia aratris tergo scindatur, se-
'ratur, conseraturq; quanquā et fructibus alimenta sufficiat, conculcetur,
'effodiatur, radatur, imbribus nivibusq; subsidat atq; ardoribus atteratur,
'*ullā sui diminutionē perpessa est minoresve agricolis fœtus aut pauciores educit.*
'Sed enim undiq; mundum intuenti miraculum miraculo superadditur,
'parum verò abest ne confidenter dicam miraculū hoc loco pro miraculo
'habendum non esse. Cum sit enim mundi opifex Deus omnipotens,

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'quæcunq; ab eo fiant decet admirari quã minimè, ſed Authorẽ profecto
'decet laudari quam maximè. Sunt enim quæcunq; fieri conveniant factu
'illi perquàm facilia, Inſervit autem & rebus omnibus quas creavit, ſuffi-
'cientem ad id temporis facultatem quo eſſe illas, ac perdurare decrevit,
'ex quo factum eſt, *ut tellus hodieq; ita permaneat, ſicut ab initio facta fuit*,
'neq; item mare augeſcat neq; decreſcat, utq; aer quam ab initio naturam
'ſortitus fuit *inviolatam* conſervet, neq; ſol firmiſſimum illud cælum, per
'quod aſſiduè currit, eliquare poſſit, neq; diſſolvere, ſed neque ipſum fir-
'mamentum, tametſi humidâ ſit naturâ flagrantem ſolem extinguat. *Singu-*
'*la enim res, quod ab initio munus ſortita ſunt, illud perpetuò conſervarunt.*

Lodovicus Vives de Veritate fidei lib: 1°. cap: 9°.

Quod Deus omnia condidit, quodque ejus Providentiâ omnia reguntur.

'Nam quid magis temeritati fortunæ aut caſus contrarium aut inimicum,
'quàm ordinis *perpetui*, ſeries ac *Conſtantia*? in toto verò mundo videre eſt
'ordinem *invariabilem* atq; admirandum. Facies univerſi qualis eſt nunc,
'talis fuit *Omni* homnium memoriâ. Non aliam videre Patres, aliamve
'Nepotes aſpicient: inquit Manilius. motus cælorum & actiones *ſui*
'*ſemper* ſimiles, rerum inferiorum ſpecies *eodem modo* procedunt. Nam
'etſi in ſingulis rerum varient nonunquam inhærentia, ut in aliquibus ho-
'minum, in aliquot frugibus, hoc aut illo tempore vel loco, in ventis, in-
'undationibus, incendijs: natura tamen ſpeciei *eadem & perpetuò & invà-*
'*riabilis*, eædem formæ, eædem facies rerum, eædem cupiditates,
'appètitus, actiones, opera. Vbi ergo eſt caſus, vbi temeritas in natu-
'ra, in qua eſt tanta & tam *perpetua conſtantia*, tam omnia certis adeo le-
'gibus deſcripta & conſtituta? temeritatis enim & fortuiti caſus propria
'ſunt varietas, inconſtantia, mutationes crebræ ſine cauſa & diverſiſſimæ.
'Nam ſi tu quòd venti mutentur, quòd facultates & fortunæ hominum &
'regionum, protinus caſum colligis, caſu etiam dices fieri, quòd in æſtate
'aliud ſumas pallium, quàm in hyeme, & alijs utare ciborum generibus; Ad
'eundem modum caſum eſſe affirmabis mutationes quatuor anni tempo-
'rum: non enim ſemper eſt idem habitus cæli & ſoli, *quum nihil ordinatius*
'*cogitari poſsit aut deſcriptius.* Mutantur enim rerum *perpetuarum & immu-*
'*tabilium* actiones, prout expedit ijs ad quæ referuntur.
'Quam illud prudẽter & magno eſt ab *Ariſtotele* judicio animadverſum, ſi
'quis ex tenebris prodiret in hanc lucem cæli & mundi, quem nunquam
'antea conſpexiſſet, nec de illo audiviſſet, conſideraret autem curſus &
'actiones rerum, nullo penitus modo dubitaturum hunc, quin hæc omnia
'cura conſilioque tenerentur principis ſapientiſſimi & potentiſſimi.

Lactantius Divinarum inſtitutionum lib: 1°.

De Providentiâ cap. 2°.

'Nemo eſt enim tam rudis, tam feris moribus quin oculos ſuos in cælum
'tollens, tametſi neſciat cujus Dei Providẽtiâ regatur hoc omne quod cer-
'nitur: aliquam tamẽ eſſe intelligat ex ipſâ rerũ magnitudine, motu, diſpo-
'ſitione, *conſtantia*, utilitate, pulchritudine, temperatione: nec poſſe fieri,
'quin id quod mirabili ratione *conſtat* conſilio majori aliquo ſit inſtructũ.

Idem de Divino præmio lib: 7°.

De Natura & mundo cap. 3°.

'Cum verò mundum omneſque partes ejus, mirabilis, ut videmus ratio
'gubernet, cum cæli temperatio & *equalis* in ipſa varietate curſus aſtrorũ,
luminumq;

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'luminumq; cælestium, temporum *Constans* ac mira descriptio, terrarum 'variafæcunditas, plana camporum muniment a & aggeres montium, vi- 'riditas ubertasq; sylvarum, fontiũ saluberima eruptio, fluminum op- 'portuna inundatio, maris opulenta et copiosa interfusio, ventorum di- 'versa & utilis aspiratio, cæteraq; omnia ratione summâ *constent*: quis 'tam cæcus est ut existimet sine causâ esse facta, in quibus mira disposi- 'tio *providentissimæ* rationis elucet?

Minucius Felix in Octavio.

'Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum, tamq; perspicuum 'cùm oculos in cælum sustuleris, & quæ sunt infra citraque lustraveris, 'quàm esse aliquod numen præstantissimæ mentis, quo omnis natura 'inspiretur, moveatur, *alatur*, gubernetur? Cælum ipsum vide quàm late 'tenditur, quam rapide volvitur, vel quòd in noctem astris distinguitur 'vel quòd in diem sole lustratur; jam scies quàm sit in eo summi mode- 'ratoris mira & divina *libratio*. vide & annum ut solis ambitus faciat: & 'mensem vide ut luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat. Quid tenebrarũ '& luminis dicam recursantes vices, ut fit nobis operis & quietis alterna 'reparatio? Relinquenda verò Astrologis prolixior de syderibus oratio 'vel quæ regant cursum navigandi, vel quæ arandi metendiq; tempus 'inducant. quæ singula non modò ut crearentur, fierent, disponerentur, 'summi opificis & perfectæ rationis egerunt; verumetiam sentiri, per- 'spici, intelligi sine summâ solertiâ & ratione non possunt. Quid cum 'ordo temporum hac frugum *flebili* varietate distinguitur, nonne auctq- 'rem suum parentemq, testatur? ver *æquè* cum suis floribus, & æstas cum 'suis messibus, & autumni maturitas grata, & hyberna olivitas necessa- 'ria: qui ordo facilè turbatur nisi maximâ ratione *consisteret*. Iam *Pro- 'videntiæ* quantæ, ne hyems solâ glacie ureret, aut sola æstas ardore tor- 'reret, autumni & veris inserere medium temperamentum, ut per vesti- 'gia sua anni revertentis occulti & innoxij transitus laberentur? Mari in- 'tende, lege litoris stringitur; quicquid arborum est vide, quàm e terræ 'visceribus animatur; Aspice Oceanum, refluit reciprocis æstibus: vide 'fontes manant venis *perennibus*: fluvios intuere, eunt semper exercitis 'lapsibus. &c.

Philippus Morneus de Veritate Religionis Christianæ. cap. 11.

Quòd Dei Providentia regitur mundus, & quæ in mundo omnia.

Rogo te quicunq; sis vel apud Anthropophagos ipsos, qui deum fateris, 'unde Deum nosti? Animadvertisti, ais, dispositionem quandam in re- 'bus summis, & imis ordinẽ *perpetuum* & nusquam *interruptum*, contra- 'ria innumera eodem spectantia, quæ inquam totis viribus contendunt, 'nec eò minus ad unum finem tendunt. Vides etiam ut cælum terram 'foveat, Aer verò subinde riget, ut terra herbas producat, animalia het- 'bis vescantur, animalibus cæteris utatur homo. Hæc cum dicis, Deum, 'tu ex *Providentiâ* agnovisse dicis, ex concatenatione illâ quæ in om- 'nibus conspicitur.

Pierre Le Charron. Les Trois Veritez. cap: vi Raisons & Preuues naturelles de la Deitè contre l'Atheisme.

Le mouvement si bien *reglè*, *si juste*, *si egal*, *si constant* & *immuable*, vient, & depend necessairement d'vn tres-sage & premier mouvant, &, meu de nul. Considerons plus particulierement la multitude si grande

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& comme infinie des choses : en icelle la variete si diverse & multipliee ; en tous les deux la disposition, l'arrengement si beau, l'ordre si *harmonieux*, la concorde si *Ferme* : cela se reduit necessairement a une premiere infinité, tres-fertile, trespuissante & tres sage unité.

Aquinas contra Gentiles lib: 1o. cap: 13o.

Rationes ad probandum Deum esse.

'Adhuc etiam inducitur a *Damasceno* alia ratio, sumpta ex rerum gubernatione, quam etiam innuit Commentator in secundo Physicorum, '& est talis: impossibile est, aliqua contraria & dissonantia in unum ordi'nem concordare *semper*, vel pluries nisi alicujus gubernatione, ex quâ 'omnibus & singulis tribuitur, ut ad certum finem tendant: sed in mun'do videmus res diversarum naturarum in unum ordinem concordare, 'non ut raro & a casu, sed ut *semper* vel in majori parte: oportet ergo esse 'aliquid cujus Providentiâ mundus gubernatur & hoc dicimus Deum.

Idem contra Gentiles lib: 3o. cap: 64.

Quòd Deus suâ Providentiâ gubernet universa.

'Adhuc sicut supra probatum est, Deus res omnes in esse produxit, non 'ex necessitate naturæ, sed per intellectum & voluntatem. Intellectus 'autem & voluntatis ipsius non potest esse alius finis ultimus, nisi boni'tas ejus, ut scilicet eam rebus cõmunicaret, (sicut ex præmissis apparet) 'res autem participant divinam bonitatem per modum similitudinis, 'in quantum ipsæ sunt bonæ. *Id autem quod est maximum bonum in rebus 'creatis, est bonum ordinis universi*, quod est maximè perfectum ut Phi'losophus dicit. Cui etiam consonat Divina scriptura Genes. 1. cum di'citur: Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat & erant valdè bona, cum de sin'gulis operibus dixisset simpliciter quòd erant bona. Bonum igitur or'dinis rerum creatarum a Deo, est id, quod est præcipuè volitum & in'tentum a Deo: nihil autem aliud est gubernare aliquam rem quàm ei 'ordinem imponere: Ipse igitur Deus omnia suo intellectu & voluntate 'gubernat.

Doctor Crakanthorp *in Epistolâ Dedicatoriâ præfixa libro suo de Providentiâ.*

'Vt illa ad Deum, sic ad illam cætera omnia nos recta ducunt, rapiuntq; 'Cælum aspice, & mirabilem hujus quòd universum dicimus, mundi 'fabricam. Quid est aliud quàm volumen grande, in quo characteribus 'ac typis, amplissimis simul et splendidissimis (quos non currentes modò '& oculati, sed vel cæcissimi legere adeoque palpare possunt) inscripta '& insculpta est non ad umbilicum modò sed & a tergo infinita Dei 'potentia, sapientia, *Providentia*.

Dionysius de Divinis nominibus cap: 4o.

'Hoc autem unum & bonum & pulchrum, unius ut ac nomine omnium 'multorum, & pulchrorum causa est & bonorum; ex hoc sunt omnes 'rerum status qui essentiam attingunt, conjunctiones & divisiones, 'ut ita dicam, identitates & diversitates: similitudines, dissimilitu'dines: societates commerciaque contrariorum: eorum quæ una 'facta sunt, non confusæ res & proprietates, superiorum providentiæ, 'parium inter se connexiones; conversiones inferiorum: omnium sui 'conservatrices, & *immotabiles stabilitates atque firmitates*: rursusque 'omnium in omnibus congruenter cuiq; communiones, coherentiæ, ac

'confusæ

confusæ concordiæ, concentusque universi, temperationes in universo, indissolubiles*que; rerum coherentiæ* perpetuæ*que; eorum quæ oriuntur* propagationes.

Idem. cap. 8°.

Proficiscuntur autem inexhaustæ *virtutis muneræ ad homines, ad animantia, ad ea quæ stirpibus nituntur, ad omnem denique naturam hujus universitatis: confirmatq; ea quæ conjuncta & concreta sunt ad mutuam amicitiam & societatem; quæ autem secreta divisaq; sunt, ut sint pro suo quidq; modo atq; termino & non confusa & non permixta:* mundi ordines & descriptiones in bono suo conservat: *immortales Angelicarum conjunctionum vitas salvas & integras tuetur, cælorumque ac luminum & stellarum naturas atque ordines* immutabiles: *facitq;* ut possit esse æternitas: *temporisq; conversiones dividit quidem progressionibus, colligit autem* revocationibus, *facit & ut vis ignis* restingui non possit, *nec aquæ fluxiones* exhauriri: *aeris diffusionē determinat: terram in nihilo firmat, vitalesq; ejus partus* integros *custodit; mutuum elementorum concentum, temperationemq; ab* omni confusione *ac divisione liberam conservat. Animi etiam corporisq; vinculum continet, ac eorum quæ terra ex se fundit alendi crescendiq; facultates excitat, vimq; omnium quæ essentiam attingit tenet ac mundi* indissolubilem constantiam tuetur.

Idem in epistola ad Polycarpum.

Scire debebat Apollophanes, cum sapiens esset, nihil unquam cælestis *ordinis ac motus immutari ullo modo potuisse, sine instinctu Auctoris sui à quo & ut esset accepit, & cujus potentia conservatur, qui, secundum scripturæ testimonium, cuncta perficit ac mutat.*

Cyrillus contra Iulianum lib: 2°.

Dicit autem quòd facit benè ordinatam congruam & aptissimam motionem, & quod sol ac luna dent fulgores definitos, ordinem servent, astrorum ortus & occasus & circumferentiæ & cursus, ipsique suis locis motus sunt ijdem & omni tempore absq; mutatione. Igitur quo pacto non sapienter egit Paulus, qui ex illis ducem ostendit, & præfectum creaturæ ex bona ordinatione & legibus, ut Deum decet, subdita gubernantem, secundum quod cuiq; ut se habeat opus est; & ita magnum & immensum opificium ex his per quæ tam benè habet, & admirationi est, declarat non carere præside. Dicit enim, Invisibilia illius a Creatura mundi, dum per ea quæ facta sunt intelliguntur, Pervidentur, nempe sempiterna ejus potentia ac Divinitas. Idipsum ex Doctoribus illius & sentiendum & dicendum videbatur. Dixit itaq; Plutarchus de illis ut supra diximus. Sumpserunt autem ex hoc cogitationem Dei. Semper enim sol & luna astraq; cætera ut sub terram ierint, similia quidem coloribus oriantur & æqualia magnitudinibus, & in ijsdem semper locis. Igitur prisci & eorum dogmatum inventores non sic cogitarunt de cælo, quum admirarentur solum cursum & contemplarentur omnes alias creaturas, motus benè ordinatos, congruos & aptissimos sortitas, conjecturunt autem multò magis imperantis potentiam, mobilemque & superexaltatum ejus principatum intellexerunt.

Keckermannus systemate theologico lib: 1°. De Providentiâ.

Cæterum prout Deus res in prima creatione constituit, qualemve ijs naturam indidit, tali etiam constitutionis modo eas conservat. *Plantæ & animalia conservantur generationis beneficio, quoad species; beneficio nutritionis quoad individuum: cælum verò eatenus habet continuationem et conservationem sui, qualem habet naturæ constitutionem; ut nimirum nec generetur nec nutriatur, sed tale omnino nunc existat, quale in primâ*

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creatione cæpit esse. *Sic Angeli cum in creatione spiritualem acceperint naturam, etiam spirituali modo conservantur, sine generatione & sine nutritione.*

Bucanus in Institutionibus theologicis

De Providentia Dei loco 14.

Quid est universalis providentia? quâ Deus creaturas omnes dirigit secundum arcanum instinctum, quem singulis in creatione indidit, & ita naturæ ordinẽ a se positum conservat.

Polanus syntagmate theologiæ lib: 6. cap. 109.

De generali Providentia Dei.

Providentia Dei conspicitur in successione, quâ vel individuis morientibus seu intereuntibus alia individua succedunt, *ut hominibus homines, jumentis jumenta, fruges frugibus; vel tempestas tempestati succedit, ut ver hyemi, veri æstas, æstati autumnus, autumno hyems. Sic hodie creat Deus singulas homines Psal: 65. v. 6. Iesaiæ 49. 5. Ierem: 1. v. 5. Quum flumina in mare delata sunt, mare per alias vias terræq; venas, ea rursus in suos alveos remittit, ne terra humore vacua aresçat Ecclesiast: cap. 1. v. 4. 5. 6. 7. proinde Providentia divina est creationis quædam* perpetuatio. *Conservatio enim hæc per successionem est quædam* Creationis continuatio *Iob. 10. v. 8, 9, 10, 11. & cap: 31. v. 15. 1. Timoth 4. v. 3.*

Boetius de consolatione lib: 3° Prosâ Duodecimâ.

Mundus ex tam diversis contrariisq; partibus in unam formam minimè convenisset, nisi unus esset qui tam diversa conjungeret. Conjuncta verò naturarũ ipsa diversitas invicem discors dissociaret, atque divelleret nisi esset unus qui quod nexuit contineret. *Non tam verò* certus naturæ ordo *procederet: nec tam* dispositos motus, *locis, temporibus, efficientia, spatiis, qualitatibus explicaret, nisi unus esset qui has mutationum varietates manens ipse disponeret. Hoc quicquid est quo condita* manent *atq; agitantur, usitato conctis vocabulo Deum nomino.*

Idem lib: 4° prosâ sextâ.

Ea series cælum ac sydera movet, elementa in se invicem temperat: & alterna permutatione transformat. eadem nascentia occidentiaque omnia persimiles fætuum seminumque renovat, Progressus.

Idem metro sexto lib: 4°.

Sedet interea conditor altus
Rerumque regens flectit habenas,
Rex & Dominus fons & origo
Lex, & sapiens arbiter æqui
Et quæ cum mota concitat ire
Sistit retrahens; ac vaga firmat.
Nam nisi rectos revocans idem
Flexos iterum cogat in orbes,
Quæ nunc stabilis continet ordo
Dissepta suo fonte fatiscant,
Hic est cunctis communis amor,
Repetuntque boni fine teneri,
Quia non aliter durare queunt,
Nisi converso rursus amore
Refluant causæ quæ dedit esse.

Alstedius

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Alstedius Theologiâ Scholasticâ Sect. 3. cap. 6. regula 6.

Quis enim amabò adeo rudis est ut ex cœli magnitudine, firmitate, *motu, innumerabili syderum copiâ, dispositione, splendore, & ad* statas *temporum vices moderandas, terræq; facunditatem utilitate, conspicuam Dei Providentiam non agnoscat? quis tam hebes ut ex soli medio aëre* librati stabilitate, *& admirabili animalium, arborũ, fructuũ structura, varietate, opportunitate, generis cujusq;* conservatione atque propagatione *incredibili, Dei sapientiam & potentiam non persentiat? Quis adeò cæcus est ut ex* perenni *fontium scaturigine*, perpetuo *fluminum cursu, Oceani amplitudine*, fertilitate, *fluxu & refluxu* certissimo; *ex omnium denique mundi partium compage, usu, ordine, & ornatu summo quasi ex speculo relucentem Dei Providentiam, non pervideat, admiretur, prædicet?*

Nicolaus Contarenus de perfectione rerum, lib. 2°. De Providentia generali, cap. 3°.

Principiò eos qui fortunam venerantur appello. Descendant in amplum hoc atque admirabile mundi theatrum. Cæli hunc ornatum aspiciant, considerent tantò motus, tanta cæli conversiones, utrum potuerint tam immenso temporis spatio constantes, æquabiles, ratæ, *à fortunâ conservari?*

Perkins *in his Exposition of the Creede, on these wordes Maker of heaven and earth.*

And thus much for the Creation. Now in these words, maker of heaven and earth, is more to be understood then the worke of the Creation, namely Gods Providence in governing all things created, as hee appointed in his eternall decree: and therefore S. *Peter* saith, *God is a faithfull Creatour*, that is, God did not only make heaven and earth, and so leave them, as Masons and Carpenters leave houses when they are built; but by his Providence doth most wisely governe the same.

Now God governeth all good things two wayes; first by sustaining and preserving them *that they decay not*; secondly by moving them that they may attaine to the particular ends, for which they were severally ordained.

Gods Providence is either generall or speciall: generall, is that which extends it selfe to the whole world and all things indifferently, even to the Divells themselves. By this Providence God *continues and maintaines the order which hee set in nature in the Creation*, and hee preserves the life, substance, and beeing of all and every Creature in his kinde.

Downam *in his Summe of sacred Divinity, 1. booke 4. chap. Of Providence.*

After the everlasting decrees of God, and the Creation of the world, his kingdome thirdly standeth in governing the things created: both the *course which at the first Creation hee set in nature*, and the actions and events of things.

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Zanchius de Providentiâ Dei, cap. 1. quæſt. 1.

Pulcherrimum eſſe in mundo rerum omnium ordinem, quo ordine ignobiliores ſubjectæ ſunt nobilioribus, inanimes animatis, rationis expertes ratione præditis; denique terrena cæleſtibus; ita ut pulcherrimo nexu inter ſe omnia ſint conjuncta & unum alteri inſerviat, nemo non videt. Et quidem hic ordo ſemper manet & nunquam deficit. *Quotidiè enim oritur ſol & occidit: & ita quotidiè ſuccedit nocti dies, ſingulis menſibus ſuum conficit curſum luna. Singulis annis ver ſequitur hyemem, æſtas ver, æſtatem autumnus, autumnum hyems: poſt tenebras lux: poſt pluviam ſol: poſt æſtum frigus. Denique cæcus eſt qui non videt pulcherrimum eumque* conſtantem & perpetuum rerum *omnium ordinem: quo in ſuum quæque res finem ordinata, dirigitur & tendit. Vnde autem eſt iſte ordo? Certè ab illo à quo & res ipſæ ſunt, & omnia bona: hoc eſt à Deo. Qui enim res condidit, eas etiam ſimul ordine iſto verè divino conjunxit: & ad ſuos fines deſtinavit. Et ſi omnia bona à Deo; certè & ordo iſte rerum in mundo optimus. Quid enim melius hoc ordine? à quo autem eſt ordo, in eo certe Providentia ſit neceſſe eſt: Providentia enim (ut etiam* Ariſtoteles *in Ethicis docuit) eſt omnia ad finem ordinare. Eſt igitur in Deo vera Providentia.* Anni ſunt amplius quam 5. millia & 576. ex quo mundus conditus in hac ſua forma, pulchritudine virtute conſervatur atque conſiſtit.

Idem Quæſt. 2.

At certum eſt fieri non poſſe, quin mundus Dei præſentis manu & conſilio regatur, quis enim pater non ſuam regat domum? quis Rex ſuum deſerit regnum? & qualis eſt navis in medio mari ſine gubernatore? Tolle animam à corpore, quid fiet de corpore? ruet, peribit, diſſolvetur. Quantò magis ſi gubernationem Dei è mundo tollas, mundus totus in nihilum redigetur? quòd igitur mundus tam diu ſervetur: quòd cœli ſuos curſus retineant perennes atque perpetuos: *quòd dierum & noctium aliarumque rerum viciſſitudo* firma *permaneat: quòd terra ſuper aquas fundata & circumquaque cincta aquis, non tamen obruatur et pereat: an non argumento ſunt hæc omnia Dei manu omnia ſuſtentari et regi? per ſe enim durare non poſſent, præſertim tam diu, cum ſint omnia ex nihilo: cum multa ſint ex contrarijs compoſita: cum alia ab alijs perimantur. Ab alio autem præterquam à Deo non poſſunt dici gubernari & conſervari. Nihil enim tantæ eſt virtutis, ut totam hanc machinam ſuſtentare et conſervare poſſit præter Deum. A Deo igitur mundum regi fateri oportet, etiamſi haberemus nulla ſacrarum literarum teſtimonia. Ad hoc enim ingenuè confitendum adducimur & cogimur rationibus à natura ductis, ut ſupra aſtenſum eſt.* Quæcunque enim certum habent ordinem eumque conſtantem; præſertim ſi illum ordinem res ipſæ non intelligunt: alicujus intellectu ac voluntate, hoc eſt, Providentiâ regantur neceſſe eſt.

Muſculus de Providentia Dei in locis Communibus.

Secundam Providentiæ Dei ſpeciem conſervationis eſſe diximus. Intelligimus autem de eâ, quâ omnia ab ipſo creata ſic conſervantur, ut non modò in ſeipſis ſubſiſtere, ſed et in ordine quæque ſuo ſic perdurare valeant, ut uſui in quem creata ſunt, non uni et alteri generationi, ſed per omnia ſæcula *ſervient; ac* rationi conſilioque creationis *reſpondeant. Sine hac Providentia tantum opus durare nequiviſſet, quin ſuâ ipſius mole ſtatim initio corruiſſet.*

Quod

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Quod ſol ille omne rerum igneum omnium ſit ardentiſſimus, nec ipſe comburendo conſumatur, nec ea quæ in terra ſunt ardore ſuo deuret, an non manifeſtum eſt divinæ Providentiæ opus? quòd paſſim ſcaturiant fontes, quod flumina continuo curſu contendunt in mare, quodque è mari recurrunt in ſuos alveos, atque ita perpetuitate fluendi uſibus noſtris ſeruiunt; quòd terra cælitus compluitur, cœleſti rore humectatur, ac hyemali nocendi ſequatur æſtatis ardores commodius ferendos præparatur, quòd ſertilitas eſtatis, unde omnis generis alimenta colliguntur, hyemis ſteritatem quotannis præuenit, quòd antiquique frugum & animalium generi ſua ſpecies pariter & naturæ vis immota ſeruatur, quòd ignis vim ardendi, calefaciendi & comburendi, aqua refrigerandi, humectandi & purgandi, & aër ſpirandi ad hunc uſque diem conſtanter retinet, quòd fœtus in utero materno ſecundum unuſcuiuſque ſpeciei naturam concipiuntur, alantur, provehuntur, illuſtre in lucem edantur ac conſeruantur, de quæ alia ſunt ejuſmodi innumera, quid aliud prædicant quam non deeſſe Providentiam Dei ab ipſo rerum quæ cuncta in ordine ſuo conſeruentur.

Bartas *in his ſeauenth day of the firſt weeke.*

The Lord our God wants neither diligence,
Nor loue, nor care, nor power, nor Prouidence.
He prov'd his power by making all of nought:
His diligence by ruling all he wrought:
His care by ending it in ſixe dayes ſpace:
His loue in building it for *Adams* race:
His Providence (maugre times maſtfull rages)
Preſerving it ſo many yeares and ages.
For O how often had this goodly Ball,
By his owne greatneſſe cauſ'd his proper fall?
How often had this world deceaſt, except
God's mighty armes had it vpheld and kept?
God is the ſoule, the life, the ſtrength, the ſmue
That quickens, moues, and makes this frame continue.
God's the maine ſpring that maketh every way
All the ſmall wheeles of this great Engine play.
God's the ſtrong *Atlas* whoſe vnſhrinking ſhoulders,
Haue been and are Heauens heavy globes vpholders.
God makes the fountaines runne continually,
The dayes and nights ſucceed inceſſantly.
The ſeaſons in their ſeaſons he doth bring
Summer and Autumne, Winter and the Spring.
God makes the earth fruitfull, and he makes the earth's
Large ſides not yet faint for ſo many births.

Leſſius de Providentiâ, lib. 1. cap. 2. ratione 4.

'Pulchrum planè & pretioſum lacunar hujus mundani palatij. Quid 'colore iſto cæruleo & purpuraſcente oculis gratius? quid micantibus 'illis gemmis pulchrius? quid adamantina illa firmitate, quæ jam tot ſæculis inviolata perdurat, nuſquam attrita, nuſquam obſoleſcens, aut faſtidium ſolidium? Quid ſolari globo, lucis & caloris fonte mirabilius? quæ natura

rerum

'rerum his omnibus hanc formam, hunc ſitum, hunc nitorem & ſplen-
'dorem, hanc cœleſtem & *inviolabilem* pulchritudinem impertiit, &c.

Andreas Hyperius de Dei Providentiâ.

'Videmus pulcherimum & perpetuum rerum omnium inter ſe ordi-
'nem, præcipuè autem ſolis, lunæ, ſtellarum: videmus *ſtatas* recurrere
'viciſſitudines: Videmus alia hujuſmodi *ſemper* decentiſſimè toto mun-
'do fieri, ex quibus maximè redit ad univerſum genus mortalium com-
'moditas, Igitur mundus Dei *Providentiâ* regitur.

'In elementis quæ vocant, hic ſervatur ordo, ut viciſſitudine eorum
'mundi natura *continuetur*: item in terra & iis omnibus quæ terrâ pro-
'veniunt, *ſempiterno* ordine ad *immenſum* tempus procreantur arbores,
'fructus, vites, animantia, & quidem tam decorè, tamque utilitèr omnia
'iſta diſponuntur ut meliùs ſapientiúſve non poſſent; Igitur mundum
'Deus regit, & inferiora iſta per ſuam *Providentiam* moderatur.

Hunnius de Providentiâ

'Quid eſt Providentia? eſt actio Dei quâ non tantum videt ac ſcit
'omnia, quæ fuerunt, ſunt, erunt; ſed etiam naturas rerum ſuſtentat &
'*ordinem à ſe conditum*, quamdiu ipſi viſum eſt conſervat, liberâque vo-
'luntate gubernat.

Gellius Snecanus Friſius de Providentia.

'Quemadmodum enim Deus ſemel univerſum creavit orbem, ſic
'etiam omnia in eo tuetur, manumque operi ſuo admotam habet, quo
'cuncta *in ſuo ſtatu* ſuſtinet & diſponat.

Vrſinus explicationibus Catecheticis part. 1.
loco de Deo. An ſit Deus.

'Eſſe Deum multis argumentis Philoſophiæ & Theologiæ commu-
'nibus probatur. 1. Ordo in natura, hoc eſt, partium diſpoſitio, &
'motuum actionumque ſucceſſio, *certis ac perpetuis* legibus conſtans non
'poteſt exiſtere & conſervari, niſi à natura aliqua intelligente & omni-
'potente, quæ eſt Deus.

Idem quæſt. 7. de Providentia. Argumenta
à poſteriori ſeu ab effectis.

'1° Ab ordine, hoc eſt, apta diſpoſitione & ſucceſſione rerum om-
'nium, motuum, temporum, & *conſervatione* ſpecierum in natura.

Calvinus Inſtitut. lib. 1. *cap.* 14. *ſect.* 20.

'Ex eo diſcimus cum omnia ſint corruptioni obnoxia, Deum tamen
'providiſſe ut ſingulæ ſpecies ad diem extremum *ſalvæ* conſerventur.

Idem cap. 16. *ſect.* 1.

'Porro Deum facere momentaneum Creatorem, qui ſemel duntax-
'at opus ſuum abſolverit, frigidum eſſet ac jejunum, atque in hoc præ-
'cipuè nos à prophanis hominibus differre convenit, ut non minus *per-*
'*petuo mundi ſtatu* quàm prima ejus origine, præſentia divinæ virtutis
'nobis illuceat.

Albertus Hero Snecanus de Providentia. lib. 1. *cap.* 2.

'Reſpondemus, quale cœlum nunc eſt, tale & *perpetuo* fuiſſe, nam
'ſi alterationis capax eſſet, interitui quoque obnoxium foret.

Lipſius

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Lipsius in epist. select. Hieronymo Berchemio, ubi Deum esse rationibus convincit.

'Ordinem in universo intuere: qui cum admiratione vel stupore potius 'examinetur. Supera illa locum suum habent & *servant*; tum media & 'ima: nihil *exorbitat aut mutat*. Ignis in terram non descendit, terra ad 'cœlum non ascendit; aër, mare, flumina locum, cursum suum servant: 'omnia ex usu & decoro, ut melius pulchriusque nihil possit: & non au- 'ctorem horum agnoscis & rectorem? In domum aliquam magnam si 'veniisti, ubi aulæa expansa, pavimenta consperſa, sedilia disposita, vasa 'exposita, succincti & pexi ministri: an non ab ipso illo ornatu, domi- 'num cum non vides, præsumis? fac idem in hoc mundo & Deum 'habes. *Ab ordine universi.*

'Conservatio rerum eò ducat: dissident elementa inter se, & à natu- 'ra ijs est luctatio & pugna: cur autem alia non interimunt, aut vincunt? 'cur tanto ævo *in modo & finibus suis perseverant*? Ipsæ animantes den- 'te, cornu, ungue, venæno noxiæ sunt, aliæ alias insequuntur: quid tue- 'tur quodque genus & servat? Nos homines sic asperi & assidui in bel- 'la, in mutuas cædes; quomodo non perdimus aut perimus? *manent om- 'nia, erigantur aut coercentur*: & vis profectò atque imperium est quod 'tam diversa continet atque adstringit? id autem est Deus. *A conservatione universi.*

Fulgentius Mythol. lib. 2. in Prometheo.

'Denique vulturem in modum mundi posuerunt; quòd mundus & 'celeri quadam volucritate versetur, & cadaverum nascentium occi- 'dentiumque perennitate depascitur. Itaque alitur ac sustentatur divi- 'næ providentiæ sapientia, quæ nec ipsa finiri novit, *nec mundus cessare 'ab ejus alimentis aliquatenus possit.*

Tilenus disput. 18. de Providentia Dei, Thesi 4.

'Est Providentia ejusmodi vis & ratio, qua Deus res omnes à se con- 'ditas *conservat*, gubernat & ad certum quemque finem dirigit; ut sapi- 'pientiam, bonitatem, potentiam, & justitiam suam nobis in hac sua *œconomia* visendam & admirandam proponat.

Seneca in Naturalibus quæst. lib. 2.

'Vis illum fatum vocare? non errabis. Hic est ex quo suspensa sunt 'omnia, causa causarum. Vis illum Providentiam dicere? rectè dices; 'est enim cujus consilio huic mundo providetur, ut *incōcussus* eat & actus 'suos explicet. Vis illum naturam vocare? non peccabis.

Idem de Providentia, cap. 1.

'Supervacuum est in præsentia ostendere non sine aliquo custode 'tantum opus stare, nec hunc syderum *certum cursum* et discursum for- 'tuiti impetus esse, & quæ casus incitat sæpe turbari, & citò arietare, 'hanc inoffensam velocitatem procedere *æternæ legis* imperiò.

Cicero de Natura Deorum: lib. 2.

'Ut si quis in domum aliquam, vel in gymnasium aut forum venerit: 'cum videat omnium rerum rationem, modum, disciplinam, non possit 'ea sine causâ fieri judicare, sed esse aliquem intelligat, qui præsit, & cui 'pareatur: multò magis in tantis motibus, tantisque vicissitudinibus, 'tam multarum rerum atque tantarum ordinibus, *in quibus nihil unquam*

immensa

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immensa & infinita vetustas mentita sit, statuat necesse est ab aliquâ mente 'tantos naturæ motus gubernari.

'Maximè verò admirabiles sunt motus earum quinque stellarum 'quæ falsò vocantur errantes: Nihil enim errat, quod in *omni aeternitate conservat* progressus & regressus reliquosque motus *constantes & ratos*.

'Cœlestem ergo admirabilem ordinem incredibilemque *constantiam* ex quâ conservatio & salus omnium omnis oritur, qui vacare mente 'putat, is ipse mentis expers habendus est.

'Talis igitur mens mundi cum sit, ob eamque causam Providentia 'appellari rectè possit, hæc potissimùm providet, & in his maximè est 'occupata. Primùm ut mundus quàm aptissimus sit ad *permanendum*. 'Deinde ut *nullare* egeat: maximè autem ut in eo eximia pulchritudo 'sit, atque omnis ornatus.

'Nec verò hæc solum admirabilia, sed nihil magis, quam quòd ità 'stabilis est mundus, atque ita cohæret *ad permanendum*, ut nihil ne excogitari quidem possit aptius.

'Quæ copulatio rerum, & quasi consentiens ad mundi *incolumitatem* 'coagmentatio naturæ, quem non commovet, hunc horum nihil unquam reputavisse certò scio.

Claudianus in Rufinum lib. 1.

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem
Curarent superi terras, an nullus inesset
Rector, & incerto fluerent mortalia casu:
Sed cum dispositi *quæsissem fœdera mundi,*
Præscriptosque *maris fines, annique meatus*
Et locis noctisque vices, tunc omnia rebar
Consilio firmata *Dei, qui lege moveri*
Sydera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,
Qui variam Phœben alieno jusserit igne
Compleri, solemque suo: porrexerit undis
Litora, tellurem medio libraverit axe.

Manilius lib. 1.

Nec quicquam in tantâ magis est mirabile mole,
Quam ratio & certis quòd legibus omnia parent.
Nusquam turba nocet, nihil ullis partibus errat.
Ac mihi tam præsens ratio non ulla videtur,
Quâ puteat mundum divino numine verti.

At cur dispositis vicibus consurgere signa,
Et, velut imperio, præscriptos reddere cursus,
Cernimus, ac nullis properantibus ulla relinqui?

Deus est qui non mutatur in ævo.

Hooker

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Hooker of Eccleſiaſticall Politie, lib. 1. ſection 3.

The law which naturall agents have given them to obſerve, and their neceſſarie manner of keeping it.

God then did inſtitute a law naturall to bee obſerved by Creatures, and therefore according to the manner of lawes the inſtitution thereof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemne injunction. His commanding thoſe things to bee which are, and to be in ſuch ſort as they are, *to keepe that tenure and courſe which they doe*, importeth the eſtabliſhment of Natures law. This worlds firſt Creation, and the preſervation ſince of things created, what is it but onely ſo farre forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the eternall law of God is concerning things naturall? And as it commeth to paſſe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far and wide, all ſtates framing themſelves thereunto, even ſo let us thinke it fareth in the naturall courſe of the world: *ſince the time that God did firſt proclaime the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voyce, and their labour hath beene to doe his will*: Hee made a law for the raine. He gave his decrees unto the Sea, that the waters ſhould not paſſe his commandement. Now if nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſervation of her owne lawes: if thoſe principall and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, ſhould looſe the qualities which they now have, if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads ſhould looſen & diſſolve it ſelfe: if celeſtiall ſpheares ſhould forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubilitie turne themſelves any way as it might happen: if the Prince of the lights of heaven which now as a Gyant doth runne his unwearied courſe, ſhould as it were through a languiſhing faintneſſe begin to ſtand and to reſt himſelfe: if the Moone ſhould wander from her beaten way, the times and ſeaſons of the yeare blend themſelves by diſordered and confuſed mixture, the windes breath out their laſt gaſpe, the cloudes yeelde no raine, the earth bee defeated of heavenly influence, the fruites of the earth pine away as children at the withered breaſts of their mother, no longer able to yeeld them reliefe; what would become of man himſelfe whom theſe things now doe all ſerve? *See we not plainely that obedience of Creatures unto the law of nature, is the ſtay of the whole world?*

For as much as the workes of nature are no leſſe exact, then if ſhe did both behold and ſtudy how to expreſſe ſome abſolute ſhape or mirror, alwayes preſent before her, yea, ſuch her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacitie to do, that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath ſome director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of nature but onely the God of nature? In him we live, move, and are. Thoſe things which nature is ſaid to do, are by divine art performed, uſing nature as an inſtrument: nor is there any ſuch art or knowledge divine in Nature her ſelfe working, but in the guide of Natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall which

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are not in the number of voluntarie agents (for of ſuch onely wee now ſpeake, and of no other) doe ſo neceſſarily obſerve their certaine lawes, that *as long as they keepe thoſe formes which give them their beeing, they cannot poſſible be apt or inclinable to doe otherwiſe then they do*; ſeeing the kindes of their operations are both *conſtantly* and exactly framed, according to the ſeverall ends for which they ſerve, they themſelves in the meane while, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they doe nor why; It followeth that all which they doe in this ſort, proceedeth originally from ſome ſuch agent as *knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up*, and even actually *frameth* the ſame. *The manner of this divine efficiency being farre above us*, wee are no more able *to conceive by our reaſon*, then Creatures unreaſonable by their ſenſe are able *to apprehend* after what manner we diſpoſe & order the courſe of our affaires. Only thus much is diſcerned, that the naturall generation & proceſſe of all things receiveth order of proceeding, from the ſetled ſtabilitie of divine underſtanding. This appointeth unto them their kindes of working, the diſpoſition whereof, in the purity of Gods owne knowledge, and will, is rightly termed by the name of *Providence*. The ſame being referred unto the things themſelves here diſpoſed by it, was wont by the ancient to bee called Naturall deſtiny. That law the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authenticall or an originall draught written in the boſome of God himſelfe; whoſe ſpirit being to execute the ſame, uſeth every particular nature, every meere naturall agent only as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and ever ſince the beginning uſed to worke his owne will and pleaſure withall.

Baſilius Magnus in Hexamero. Homilia 9ª.

Intelligas velim opificis Dei verbum per orbem terrarum diſcurrens: quod quidem & tunc operari cæpit, & hucuſque operatur, et operabitur etiam ſemper quouſq; mundus fuerit conſummatus. Nam uti pila compulſa manu, ſi declivem nacta fuerit locum, partim ob ſuam formam, partim ob aptitudinem loci præceps ad ima ſuâ celeritate fertur: neque prius moveri deſinit, quàm plana ſuſcipiant ipſam loca: ſic ſanè natura rerum, hoc unico concitata præcepto, per res generandas æquali quodam curſu corrumpendaſque tranſit, generum ſucceſſionē ſimilitudine ſervat. Succedit equus equo naturâ, leo leoni, aquila aquilæ, ſingulaque animalia ſuis ordine ſucceſſionibus conſervantur uſque ad exitum conſummationemq; mundi. Nullum unquam tempus proprias peculiareſq; naturas animalium delet, ſed omnium ipſorum natura *recens ſemper novaque perinde atque nunc incepiſſet*, tempus hujus ſœculi concomitatur. Educat terra viventem animam jumentorum reptilium atque ferarum. *Hoc imperium telluri impreſſum, infixum in ipſâ permanſit, nec deſinit unquam tellus opificis voluntati ſubminiſtrare.*

Gregorius Nyſſenus in Hiſtoria ſex dierum, quibus mundus à Deo creatus eſt.

'Audivi Prophetiam, magnificentiam divinæ potentiæ per miracula, 'quæ in Creatione rerum animadvertuntur, exponentem, dum dicit: 'Quis aquam manu menſus eſt, & cœlum palmo, & omnem terram pug- Iſa. 40. 'no? Quis ponderavit montes ſtaterâ, & ſaltus librâ? per quæ apertè 'Prophetam opinor docere, quòd unumquodque elementum ſuis ſpa-

'tiis

'tiis circumscriptum sit, comprehensiva potentia Dei, quam manum, & 'pugnum, & palmam nominat peculiariter unamquamque rem intra 'convenientes & justum spatium coercente.

'Si igitur per divinam potentiam, cœlum mensurâ continetur, & manu 'tenetur, & pugno omnis terra, & ponderantur saltus & rupes, & montes 'certo pondere definiti sunt: prorsus necesse est, *unumquodque, ut sua mensura, atque pondere maneat, itaut neque incrementum, neque diminutionem ea res quæ à Deo dimensa sunt, & alio comprehenduntur, accidere possit. Si igitur neque additamentum, neque diminutionem circa res accidere Propheta testatur: prorsus in suis unumquodque mensuris in perpetuum permanet*, natura verten-'di quæ rebus inesse intelligitur, omnia invicem mutante, & unumquod-'que in alterum transformante, ac rursus è diverso etiam ab illo per mu-'tationem & conversionem in id, quod ab initio erat reducente.

Divus Ambrosius in Hexamero. lib. 3. cap. 8.

'Quid dicam quemadmodum clementia Dei humanæ prospexerit uti-'litati? fæneratum terra restituit quod acceperit, & usurarum cumulo 'multiplicatum. Homines sæpè decipiunt, & ipsâ fæneratorem suum 'sorte defraudant: terra fidelis manet. Et si quando non salverit, si for-'te adversata fuerit frigoris inclementia, aut nimia siccitas, aut immensa 'vis imbrium, alio anno superioris anni damna compensat: ita & quan-'do proventus spem destituit Agricolæ, nihil terra delinquit: & quan-'do arridet ubertas, fœcundæ matris partus effundit, *ut nunquam ullum dispendium suo inferat creditori.*

Idem lib. 3. cap. 10.

'Sed fortè quis dicat: quomodo secundùm genus terra profert semina, 'cum plerumque semina jacta degenerent, & cum bonum triticum fue-'rit seminatum, decolor ejus species, & inferior forma reddatur? sed 'hoc si quando accidit, non ad translationem generis, sed ad ægritudi-'nem quandam, & inæqualitatem seminis videtur esse referendum. Non 'enim desinit esse triticum, si aut frigore aduratur, aut imbre madidetur, 'sed specie magis quàm genere, colore quoque et corruptione mutatur. 'Denique frequenter madidata frumenta in sui generis speciem revertun-'tur, si autem sole aut ignibus torreantur, aut diligentibus commissa cul-'turis, aeris temperie, terrarumq; feracium ubertate foveantur. *Itaque reparatur in sobole quod degeneraverat in parente. Unde non periclitamur ne præceptum illud Dei cujus usus naturæ instruit, in reliquum successionis vitio destitutum sit, cum hodieque in seminibus generis sui fœcunditas reservetur. Denique hodieque fœcunditas terræ veterem effluentiam spontaneo usu fertilitatis operatur.*

Clemens Recognitionum lib. 8.

'Quis astrorum cursus tanta ratione disposuit? ortusque eorum et oc-'casus instituit, *certisque* et *demensis* temporibus unicuique tenere cœli 'ambitum dedit? Quis ad occasum, aliis etiam redire in ortum permisit? 'quis imposuit modum curribus solis, ut horas, et dies, et menses, et tem-'porũ vicissitudines, diversis motibus signet? et nunc hyemem, inde ver, 'æstatem pòst et autumnũ *certâ* cursus sui dimensione discernat, et *sem-'per eisdem vicibus* anni orbẽ *immensa* varietate constringat? quis in quã 'tanti ordinis moderatricem non ipsam Dei pronunciet sapientiam?

Chryſoſtomus Homiliâ in Pſalmum 148.

'Neque verò eſt ſolum admirabile quòd regit & continet, nec quòd 'termini naturæ ſtant *fixi & immobiles*, ſed quòd tempore adeò infinito. *Conſidera quantum eſt ævi ſpatium, & eorum nihil eſt omnino confuſum.* Non 'mare terram inundavit, non ſol ea quæ videntur exuſſit, non cœlum la-'befactum eſt, non noctis nec diei termini confuſi ſunt; non temporum 'converſiones, nec aliquid aliud ejuſmodi, ſed *unumquodque eorum quæ ſunt & ſupernè & infernè, ſtetit diligentiſſimè, impoſitos ſibi ab initio fines ad unguem ſervans.*

Proſper in opuſculo de Providentia Dei.

Quod verò adverſis compugnant condita cauſis,
Atque alix alijs obſiſtunt: contraria diſcors
Omnia motus alit: dumque illi occurritur illo
Vitalem capiunt cuncta exagitata vigorem:
Quæ vel pigra ſitu, vel prono lubrica lapſu,
Aut curſu inſtabili, ſtabili aut torpore perirent.
Mollia ſic duris; ſic raris denſa reſiſtunt;
Et liquidis ſolida, & tardis velocia, claro
Obſcurum objectum, & dulci contendit amarum.
Nec mihi fas dixiſſe aliquid non rite creatum,
Aut ullas auſim mundi reprehendere partes,
Cum ſator ille operum ſepeat momenta ſuorum.
Et carptim varios in totum temperet uſus.
Denique quicquid obeſt, aut cauſa aut tempore verſo
Prodeſt: & gemino ſubſiſtunt cuncta periclo.

Iuſtinus Martyr contra Ariſtotelem, circa initium hæc habet.

'Quod mundus cæpit & aliquid eſt & mirè duret voluntas Dei in 'cauſa eſt, dicitque, cœleſtia & inviſibiles virtutes in *incorruptione per-'manere*, res alias per generationem & corruptionem ut animantes & 'plantas; quia ſicut quòd conditum eſt, non extaret niſi Deus præcepiſ-'ſet, fiat; ſic etiam non permaneret, niſi idem ille præceptum poſuiſſet, 'incorruptibilibus quidem ut conſtarent in ſæculum ſæculi, eis verò 'quæ in generatione conſiſtunt, ut creſcerent & multiplicarentur & re-'plerent terram.

Abulenſis in Geneſ. cap. 3. verſ. 17.

'Sed iſtam maledictionem terræ putant aliqui eſſe diminutionem in 'fertilitate, quaſi ſi homo non peccaſſet, fuiſſet futura feracior: & talem 'eam creatam dicunt & permanſuram ſi homo non peccaſſet, ſed iſtud 'non eſt verum, *quia Deus non mutavit aliquid in natura rerum propter pec-'catum hominis.* Nam perfectio illa & fertilitas terræ in quâ creata eſt, 'pertinebat ad perfectionem operum Dei, *ſed indignum eſt quòd Deus di-minuat gloriam ſuam, quæ eſt in operum ſuorum perfectione propter iniquita-'tem alienam*; ergo non minuerat illam fertilitatem propter hominis pec-'catum. Item non eſt veriſimile, quia ſi Deus ſtatim peccante homine 'ablaturus eſſet terræ fertilitatem, fruſtra produxiſſet eam mox tollen-'do, cum ſciret peccaturum hominem, non ergo producere eam debu-'iſſet ſi ablaturus erat.

Hieronymus

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Hieronymus in Ecclesiasten cap. 3. v. 14.

Solis cursus & lunæ vices, & terræ arborumque siccitas vel viror, cum ipso mundo nata sunt atque concreta: & ideirco Deus certa ratione *cuncta moderatus est, & jussit humanis usibus elementa servire, ut homines hæc videntes intelligant Providentiam & Creatorem.*

Eadem ex Hieronymo verbatim mutuatus est Alcuinus.

Augustinus de Genesi ad literam lib. 1. cap. 8.

Ita etiam rebus ex illa inchoatione perfectis atque formatis, vidit Deus quia bonum est: placuit enim quod factum est, in ea benignitate quâ placuit & fieret. Duo quippe sunt propter quæ amat Deus Creaturam suam, ut sit, & ut maneat; ut ergo esset quod maneret, *spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam: ut autem* maneret, *vidit Deus quia bona est. Et quod de luce dictum est, hoc & de omnibus:* manent *enim quædam supergressa omnem volubilitatem temporalem in amplissimâ sanctitate sub Deo: quædam verò secundum sui temporis modos,* dum per decessionem successionemque rerum, fœculorum pulchritudo contexitur.

Idem de Genesi ad literam lib. 3. cap. 24.

Ea quæ facta sunt, in eo quòd facta sunt quantum acceperunt, manent: *sicut vel illa* quæ non peccaverunt, *vel illa quæ peccare non possunt: & singula bona sunt, & in universo bona valdè sunt.*

Idem libro de Naturâ Boni.

Fit autem decedentibus & succedentibus rebus, temporalis quædam in suo genere pulchritudo, ut nec ipsa quæ moriuntur, vel quòd erant, esse desinunt, turpent aut turbent modum, & speciem, & ordinem universæ Creaturæ: sicut sermo bene compositus utique pulcher est, quamvis in eo syllabæ atque omnes soni tanquam nascendo & moriendo transcurrant.

Gregorius Nazianzenus oratione vigesimâ primâ, De modestiâ in disceptationibus observandâ.

Ordo igitur universum constituit, ordo cœlestia continet & terrestria, ordo est in intelligibilibus, ordo in sensibilibus, ordo in Angelis, ordo in astris tam motu quam magnitudine, necnon habitudine invicem & splendore. Alia enim gloria solis est, alia verò luna, alia quoque astrorum. Gloria enim stella differt 1. Cor. 15. *à stella, ordo in anni partibus & temporibus: quæ in mundo nunc progrediuntur, nunc iterum recedunt, ac per mediocritatem austeritatem mitigant: ordo est in diebus & noctibus, mensuris & intervallis: ordo in elementis ex quibus & corpora, ordo cælum circumvolvit, aërem expandit, terram supposuit, quæ & superposita est, naturam humidam effudit & conjunxit, ventos emisit & non remisit; aquam nubibus colligavit, & non cohibuit, sed super faciem universæ terræ decorè & indifferenter sparsit.* Et hæc nequaquam parumper, neque ad tempus unum parvum, aut ætatem unam, sed ut ab initio ad finem usque per eandem viam dirigantur & circumvolvantur, fixa & mobilia, solidata quidem verbo, labilia autem motu, constituit ea in sæculum sæculi, præceptum dedit & non præteribit, firmitatis nempè: *sed & id quod factum est, aut deinc fiet, fluxum est. Ubi igitur ordo dominatur, ibi universum ornatus est, ac pulchritudo* inconvulsa.

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Arias Montanus Naturæ historiâ, capite de Natura numero 8.

Constat autem natura mundi omnia cœlo ut terrâ, quibus corpora cætera omnia, & quæ corporibus adhærent, vel insunt, vel tenentur. Quamobrem cœlum ac terram à Deo in principio creata Moses *præfatus, partes deinde singulas quo modo locoque essent, utque haberent indicavit. Et apud* Haiam *Deus: Ego ipse, ego primus & novissimus. Manus quoque mea fundavit terram, & dextera mea mensa est cœlos. Ego vocabo eos & stabunt simul.* Atque hoc responso nihil fortuito casuve factum: nihil temerè dissolvi posse affirmatur. *Perinde enim omnia* perseverant, atque ab initio recentia adhuc extiterant: quippe præsenti efficacitate virtute & voluntate auctoris, nec usu atteritur universum, nec vetustate exesum deteritur.

Idem, numero 9.

Atque eadem hæc ut facta & creata, ab initioque constituta fuerunt, *non aliunde, quam* ex Dei constante voluntate & pacto pendere & conservari *Deus ipse docet*, aliàs in nihilum reditura, aut senio & vetustate conficienda. *Itaque constante voluntate Dei mundus constat & servatur*: atque suas leges obtinens perpetuo tuetur.

Idem, numero 12.

Quippe eadem ipsa quo Arets *extitit die, inhærentis efficientiâ sermonis Dei, & spiritus in ipsam permeantis virtute plantarum, multiplici genere, forma atque splendore ornata, spectabilis ac læta enituit. Atque in hac primâ plantarum editione nihil à cœlis terram mutuasse aut accepisse, sed quicquid edidit, ex verbo divini* jussu futuri temporis forma enunciato: *ideoque* constanter & perpetuum retinendo mandato accepit & reddidit.

Idem, numero 16.

Dixitque Deus: ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram, & universa ligna, quæ habent in semetipsis sementem generis sui: ut sint vobis in escam, & cunctis animantibus terræ, omnique volucri cæli, & universis quæ moventur in terrâ, & in quibus est anima vivens, ut habeant ad vescendum. Atque hoc constans, ratum, ac perpetuo confirmatum decreto, nullaque rerum naturæ exceptione dissolvendum, *adjuncta declaratio adnotatio*, Et factum est ita: *quæ in exemplari lingua* futuri temporis perpetuitate *enunciatur*.

Idem de constitutione mundi cap. 4. numero 1.

Quam rebus omnibus perfectis, mundique probata pulchritudine, quietem sacraverat Deus, nulli eorum quæ jam facta constabant, generi non communem esse voluit, sed singulis integritatis ac bonitatis propriæ gratulationem, illo, quo ipse quievit die impertitus, suam deinceps naturam conditionemque tueri indulsit. Id quod in cæteris omnibus rerum ac naturæ formis ratum, fixum constansque *evasit, præterquam duabus cæterarum omnium præstantissimis, & quæ maximè in suo ordine manere decuerat & oportuerat: id est spirituum naturæ, cujus pars, & humanæ etiam quæ omnis vitio facto corruit. Utraque à Deo electa, utraque electionis compos ea ex parte, quâ libertatem suam ingenitam tueri debuit, dum sorte sua non continetur, altioraque sè quærit, dignitate, loco, conditione, donis, muneribus, denique amplitudinis concessæ depulsa gradu, utraque in exitium corruit. Atque hac duarum tantum partium ruina,* cæteris omnibus incolumibus, quod factum fuerat opus, demum resedit ac substitit, deincepsque per sæcula mansit.

Doctour

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Doctor Goodman now L: B: of Glouceſter, in his booke of the fall of Man pag: 271.

Surely to a right judgement Gods *Providence* & actions doe more manifeſtly appeare by the little and ſmall alteration in nature; for I would gladly aske, if a clocke or inſtrument of iron were made, which would daily want mending, would ye commend the workeman? but ſuppoſe this clocke ſhould continue for many years perfect and ſound, without reparation, then certainly the workeman ſhould have his due praiſe & commendation: ſo is it in the frame of this world, *which hath now continued for many thouſand years without alteration and change*; And therfore therein *Gods Providence, power and Protection* doth more eminently appeare, then if God ſhould daily create new formes of creatures, and ſhould alter and change the preſent condition, and ſtate of this world, which he himſelfe in his great wiſdome hath already contrived, ſupporting and *preſerving* it by the ſame power wherewith hee created it. For otherwiſe creatures ſhould be diſſolved, the earth ſhould have no ſtable foundation amidſt the ayre and the waters, the whole world ſhould reele and tumble in the waſt deſarts of an infinite *Vacuum*. And as nature was made of nothing, ſo it ſhould have a power to returne againe to the ſame nothing, as being the firſt matrix or proper place, whereunto of it ſelfe, being left to it ſelfe, it is naturally inclined; for it is a worke of as great difficulty, & of as high excellency to preſerve, as at firſt to create, *Non minor eſt virtus quam quærere parta tueri*, to eſtabliſh and continue the government, is a worke of no leſſe glory, then at firſt to obtaine the conqueſt.

Idem pag. 313.

It is not unknowne unto you, that God, by vertue of his promiſe, to *preſerve and continue* the ſame excellent order, which was firſt inſtituted in the Creation, hath tyed himſelfe to impart ſome things unto the Creatures, as neceſſary, and eſſentiall to thre being without which the Creature cannot ſubſiſt.

Idem pag. 382.

Suppoſe there were little alteration in this world. It would then argue the newneſſe of this world, that it was created but this morning, for as yet the heavens have not once ſeene their owne revolutions. *It would likewiſe argue the excellencie of the workeman, as in the framing, ſo in the continuance of his worke*; for if the heavens ſhould alwaies want ſome repayring and mending, wee might well thinke that the ſtate of the Church triumphant, were not unlike the ſtate of the Church militant alwaies requiring and calling for dilapidations.

Idem pag. 332.

Conſider this inferiour world, conſiſting of the ſame different & contray elements, yet *ſtill continuing in the ſame ſtate*; aſſuredly it is no greater difficultie to preſerve man from death, then to *preſerve the whole world from corruption*: for the ſame cauſes appeare in both, the elements & the elementarie qualities, & once in every mans age they are equally tempered, as it were the *Equinoctiall* of his age. Then why ſhould there not bee a ſtate of *conſiſtency* in man, as well as *in the whole world*?

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Not to insist alone in this sublunarie world; strange it is, that the heavens themselves which were onely ordained for mans use, should *so long continue without change or alteration*, & man himselfe in the whole course of his life, should not be able to see a revolution: that the superiour causes preserving mans life should move by a *most certaine and unchangeable rule*, as the *Divine Providence* hath appointed them; and yee mans life to which all is ordained, should bee most subject and lyable to the greatest hazard, chance and uncertainty.

Seing it hath stoode with Gods mercy first to produce the Creatures, it cannot but stand with the goodnesse and constancy of his will, still to continue them, and to preserve his owne most excellent workemanship. So that now all things rely not on the weaknesse of their owne foundation and pillars, but on the invincible strength of Gods power, the most certaine assurances of his promises, the most infallible effects of his Providence.

Idem in his Sermon of the religion of the dumbe Creatures. pag. 22.

Where he speaks of their *constancy* and *perseverance* in keeping their due course, And againe pag. 26. Hee assures, us that they are still carried with the same course which God first appointed, being like *the Angels in heaven, sealed and confirmed* in their state and condition. And in the next page there following, his Lordship tells us, That to this purpose hee had made a long discourse, but forbore to make farther mention thereof, for that it is a matter so evident and palpable, as that it cannot admit any contradiction.

I have done with my testimonies all concurring as so many different lines in this Center, that the *Preservation of the world from decay is a speciall part of the Divine Providence*. Now if in the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth shall stande, much more in the mouthes of two or threescore, against whom lies no exception, neither can be suspected of partiality; Which number I have the rather thus mustered up together, because many seeme to take it as graunted, that the decay of the world may aswell stand with the Providence as the Preservation of it from decay which I must confesse I shall hardly be induced to beleeve, till I shall see the like number of witnesses produced, intending, to prove the *Divine Providence* from the *Worlds decay*.

CHAP. 2.

That the preservation of the course of nature, and consequently of the world from decay, suites best with the Divine Providence; *inasmuch as it serves most to advance his glory, by the evidencing and illustration of his Attributes.*

Eternity. I will beginne with his *eternity*, which is best shadowed forth in a Circle that hath neither beginning nor ending; and hence it is that the whole world is made of a *Spherical* figure, so are the celestiall bodies both the orbs and the starres, so are the elements; the motions of the

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the heavens are likewise Circular, the transmutation of the elements circular, the generation and corruption of the mixt bodies circular; the akorne springing from the oake, and the oake againe from the akorne; the egge from the henne, and the henne againe from the egge; the rivers running into the sea, and returning from the sea againe; Corruption treading upon the heels of generation, & generation againe upon the heels of corruption; the spring upon the heels of winter, summer of the spring, autumne of the summer, winter of autumne, and the spring upon winter againe: and therefore the *Egyptians* characterized the yeare by the *Hieroglyphike* of a *Serpent*, roled round, and holding his taile in his mouth. And thus the whole world by dauncing the rounds is *perpetuated*; & by this perpetuation represents the eternity of the maker thereof, which *Lombard* out of S. *Augustin* hath well observed, *ex perpetuitate creaturarũ intelligitur conditor æternus, ex magnitudine omnipotens, ex dispositione sapiens, ex gubernatione bonus*; and it may well be that the *Apostle* in the first to the *Romans* hereunto alluded: The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seene, being understood by the things that are made, even his *eternall* power and Godhead; not onely his power, but the eternity of his power and Godhead are seene and understood, by the lasting and perpetuity of the things that are made: some being perpetuall by constitution, as the heavens; others by compensation, as the elements; and others by succession as the mixt bodies. Dist. 3.

Secondly by the preservation of the world from decay, his *Immutability* is more illustrated; the heavens being in regard of decay immutable both in whole, and in part; the elements though not in part, yet in whole; the mixt bodies though neither in whole, nor in part, yet in their species. This unchangeablenesse of the *Creator*, *Clemens Alexandrinus in admonitione ad Gentes*, well resembles by the equality of the *Creature*: *Qui solus est verè Deus semper æqualis, & semper eodem modo se habens, omnia metitur & ponderat tanquam trutina justitiæ, universorum naturam in æquilibrio continens & sustinens*; but most lively wee have it expressed in the Epistle dedicatory set before *Zanchius* his workes, *De operibus Dei*: *Verùm e terra si lubet ascendamus in cælum. Ibi enim illustriores extant imagines divinæ potentiæ, sapientiæ, bonitatis, & erga nos amoris; ut non immeritò, quod de terrenis elementis, omnibusque rebus apud nos existentibus, verè dici poterat, illud de cælis duntaxat & firmamento τοῦ ἐχόντος ἀσφάλειαν asseverare voluerit Psaltes, divinus vates: Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei: quòd hi nimirum exhibeant eximium quoddam ceu ἄγαλμα simulacrum, & vivam picturam gloriæ Dei, quodque nos in admirationem & honorem ipsius meritò rapiant & concitent. Primum enim si substantiam spectes: ista superiora corpora, haud perinde ut sublunaria mutabilia sunt, feculenta, fluxa, caduca, continuaque vicissitudine, reciprocove tanquam Euripi fluxu, nascentia & pereuntia: sed* qualia primum condita sunt, talia ad hodiernum usque diem, nulla materiæ imminutione, virium debilitatione, vel amissione qualitatum factâ durant eademque perseverant; *id quod Peripateticis occasionem præbuit quintam quandam & sempiternam essentiam, ab elementorum ista longissimè discretam invehendi. Unde verò materia istius simplicissimæ* nullis alteratio- Immutabilitie.

terationibus & perpessionibus obnoxia, perpetuitas sive constantia firmissima? *Certè ab aeterno illo & immutabili qui semper erat est & erit idem, qui hoc argumento fidem suam & [illegible] & constantiam confirmat teste Psal. 89. v. 3. In caelis firmasti veritatem tuam &c.*

Vbiquitie. Thirdly by the preservation of the world from decay his *ubiquity* is more illustrated; as the soule is knowen to be in all the parts of the body, by the life and sense and motion thereof; and as the body cannot die till the soule leave it; So neither can the frame of this world bee dissolved till God with draw himselfe from it, it can neither die nor decay as long as he is present with all the parts thereof. And thus much the very Gentils vnderstood by the light of nature, when they beheld and considered the perpetuation of the essences, the faculties, the operations, the order of all things, from thence they conclude: *Jupiter est quodcunque vides. Jovis omnia plena. Deum nempe ire per omnes terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum.* If the *Architect* should still abide in the shippe, or castle, or house he had built, there were good hope it would not suddenly decay, because hee would still repaire and supply what hee found defective; what feare then of decay can there bee in this great house, where the maker is alwayes present, in all the parts thereof: which *omnipresence* sustaining & supporting all things, S. *Gregory* in the second booke of his morals & 8th cap: hath after his manner elegantly described: *Egressusque est* Satan *à facie Domini, quid est quod* Satan *a facie Domini egressus dicitur: quò enim exitur ab eo qui ubique est? Hinc namque ait: Caelum & terram ego impleo: Hinc est quod sapientia illius dicit, gyrum caeli circumivi sola. Hinc de ejus spiritu scriptum est: Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum. Hinc est quod Dominus dicit iterum: Caelum mihi sedes est, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum. Hinc rursum de eo scriptum est: caelum metitur palmo, & omnem terram pugillo concludit. Sedi quippe cui praesidet interior & exterior manet. Caelum palmo metiens, & terram pugillo concludens ostenditur, quòd ipse sit circumquaque cunctis rebus, quas creavit exterior. id namque quod interius concluditur, à concludente exterius continetur. Per sedem ergo cui praesidet, intelligitur esse interius supra, per pugillum quo continet, exterius subterque signatur. Quia enim ipse manet intra omnia, ipse extra omnia, ipse supra omnia, ipse infra omnia, & superior est per potentiam, & inferior per sustentationem: exterior per magnitudinem, interior per subtilitatem: sursum regens, deorsum continens: extra circundans, interius penetrans, nec alia ex parte superior, alia inferior, aut alia ex parte exterior, atque alia manet interior: Sed unus idemq; totum ubique praesidendo sustinens, sustinendo praesidens, circumdando penetrans, penetrando circumdans; unde superius praesidens, inde inferius sustinens, & unde exterius ambiens, inde interius replens, sine inquietudine superius regens, sine labore inferius sustinens, interius sine extenuatione penetrans, exterius sine extensione circundans.*

Love. Fourthly the preservation of the world from decay serves best for the illustration of his love. *Totus mundus pignus est Creatoris sui*, saith *Salvian*, it is a pledge of his love to mankind, and to the other Creatures made for mans use, to perpetuate both them and their use, and in their perpetuation to make them like himselfe. *Amor divinus rerum omnium*

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omnium est principium, & vinculum universi (saith Divine *Plato*), *amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus sustentaculum, ac universæ machinæ fundamentum.* The love of God to the world is as the love of a tender father to a dutifull sonne, whom he would indow no doubt with perpetuity if it lay in his power, as the most singular argument of his affection: Such then being the will of God, and of his power there being no question, it must needs follow, that *ex posse & velle sequitur esse.* The force and efficacie of this love springing from the fountaine of goodnesse, *Picolominie* in his chapter de *perfectione mundi* hath well expressed: *Prodijt* (saith hee) *mundus ex ipso bono, nec alia ratione, nisi quia bonum, & propterea absoluti boni, ut sua conditio exposcebat, redditus fuit particeps: facundissimum est summum bonum, absolutissimus est mundus, qui est universus fœtus ejus, cui cum nihil desit, etiam hoc mirabiliter comperit, ut ei nunquam Deus desit, sed continenter a Deo regatur, servetur,* resarciatur.

Fifthly, the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his *wisedome*, who in an excellent and wonderfull manner hath so tempered and disposed his workes, that they all serve to uphold one another: by their warres hee maintaines their peace, and by their death their life. *Sapientia Dei magna et admirabilis in rerum creaturum ac potissimùm corruptibilium* conservatione *et* duratione *conspicitur*, (saith Bellarmin,) *de ascens: mentis ad Deum per scalas rerum creatarum gradu* 13°. And S. *Augustin de Genesi ad literam lib:* 4°. *cap:* 12°. *Et quod scriptum est de* sapientia *ejus, pertingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter, de qua item scriptum est, quòd motus ejus agilior celeriorque sit omnibus motibus, satis apparet rectè intuentibus, hunc ipsum incomparabilem & ineffabilem, & si possit intelligi* stabilem motum suum, *rebus eam præbere suaviter disponendis, quo utiq; subtracto si ab hac operatione cessaverit, eas cõtinuò perituras. S. Basil* likewise in his *Hexameron Homil:* 6. obserues this admirable *wisedome* of the Creator, in the constant moderation of the sunnes warmth ordained for the cherishing and perpetuating of these inferiour bodies: *Hoc loco* sapientiam *opificis animadvertas ipse perspiciasque velim: quemodo moderatissimum ad hoc intervallum accommodatissimumque præstiterit Soli calorem. Est enim in eo tantus caloris imprimendi facultas, ut neque ob exuperationem urat inflammetque tellurem: neque* defectionis ratione refrigeratam eam gelidam infæcundamque relinquat. *Gregory Nyssen* also the Brother of this great *Basil*, in his Commentaries *de historia sex dierum*, magnifies the same unspeakeable *wisedome* in the constancy & stability of the glorious lights of heaven: *Atque in sydere rursus non temerè atque fortuitò unumquodque stellæ, quæ in illa figura collocata est, vel hunc vel illum situm habet, sed aquabiliter quæ ea, quæ naturaliter insita est ei, proprietas eam abduxit, illic manet,* in immutabili constantia atque stabilitate, *propria naturæ vi, juxta opificis* sapientiam *coercita atque circumscripta.*

Wisdome.

As by his excellent wisedome hee made the heavens *Psal.* 136. 5. So the keeping both of them and the whole world safe and sound, still serves both as a witnesse to testifie, and as an *Herald* to proclaime the

the ſame incomparable wiſedome to all ſucceeding generations. Were it not for overſights committed in playing at Cheſſe, the game would never have an end; ſo that if a man could foreſee in *infinitum*, the game likewiſe muſt needs bee drawen out in *infinitum*. Now what is the whole world but as a great Cheſſe-bord, and all the Creatures therein as ſo many ſeverall peeces of different degrees, different names, different ſhapes, different draughts or motions? all made and the play it ſelfe invented by the gameſter, the ſupreame and yet the immediate mover of them all. What marvaile then, if in regard of the ſeverall kinds of things at firſt preſented upon this table, their motions hitherto have beene, yet are, and ever ſhall bee (till hee pleaſe to end the game himſelfe) ſo ordered by the foreſight and wiſedome of their maker, that not ſo much as a pawne hath beene loſt or diſranked, nor poſſiblely can bee by all the power and policy of men, or Angels, or Divels or all of them conſpiring togeather? they may perchance thruſt a peece out of its ranke one way, but doe they what they can, it will fall into a juſt ranke another way; ſo that though the game ſeeme to bee indangered to a ſtander by, who lookes upon that particular peece, or ſome few others ſtanding about it in a narrow compaſſe, yet the skilfull gameſter as a *Maſter workeman* taking a generall view of all his peeces at once, and adviſedly forecaſting their dangers and their remedies, their hurts and their helps, their oppoſitions and concurrences, ſo orders the matter by ſetting the one againſt the other, and repairing the one by the other, that the whole ſtill ſtands upright and is preſerved intire. Which preſervation and comlineſſe of the whole by the divine wiſedome, though ſeemingly indangered or obſcured in the parts, the great wit of S. *Auguſtine* hath in many paſſages moſt lively and fully expreſſed; and becauſe it is it, that deceives the greateſt part of men in this controverſie, I will vouch him at large in his owne words.

In his eleventh booke then de civitate Dei and 18th chapt. hee thus 'writes: Neque enim Deus ullum, non dico Angelorum, ſed vel homi-'num crearet quem malum futurum eſſe præſciſſet, niſi pariter noſſet, 'quibus eos bonorũ uſibus commodaret. *Atq; ita ordinem ſeculorum, tanquam pulcherrimum carmen etiam ex quibuſdam quaſi antithetis boneſtaret.* 'Antitheta enim quæ appellantur in ornamentis elocutionis ſunt de 'centiſſima, quæ latinè appellantur oppoſita: vel quod expreſſius di-'citur contra poſita. Non eſt apud nos hujus vocabuli conſuetudo, 'cum tamen eiſdem ornamentis locutionis, etiam ſermo latinus utatur, 'imò linguæ omnium gentium. His antithetis etiam *Paulus* Apoſtolus 'in ſecundâ ad Corinth: epiſtolâ, illum locum ſuaviter explicat, ubi dicit: Per arma juſtitiæ a dextris & a ſiniſtris, per gloriam & ignobi-'litatem, per infamiam & bonam famam, ut ſeductores & veraces: ut 'qui ignoramur & cognoſcimur, quaſi morientes & ecce vivimus: ut 'coerciti & non mortificati: ut triſtes ſemper autem gaudentes: Si-'cut egeni multos autem ditantes: tanquam nihil habentes & omnia 'poſſidentes. Sicut ergo iſta contraria contrarijs oppoſita, ſermonibus pul-

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'pulchritudinem reddunt: *ita quadam non verborum ſed rerum eloquentiâ, contrariorum oppoſitione, ſeculi pulchritudo componitur.* Apertiſſimè hoc 'poſitum eſt in libro Eccleſiaſtico, hoc modo: Contra malum bonum 'eſt, & contra mortem vita: ſic contra pium peccator. Et ſic intuere 'in omnia opera altiſſimi, bina & bina, unum contra unum. And againe in his 12. booke cap. 4. Cæterum vitia pecorum & arborum, aliarumq; 'rerum mutabilium atq; mortalium, vel intellectu, vel ſenſu, vel vitâ om- 'nino carentium, quibus eorũ diſſolubilis natura corrumpitur, damna- 'bilia putare ridiculum eſt, cum iſtæ creaturæ eum modũ nutu creatoris 'acceperint, ut cedendo, ac ſuccedendo peragant infimam pulchritu- 'dinem temporum in genere ſuo iſtius mundi partibus congruentem: 'Neq; enim cæleſtibus fuerant terrena coæquanda: aut ideo univerſi- 'tati deeſſe iſta debuerunt, quoniam ſunt illa meliora. Cum ergo in his 'locis ubi talia eſſe competebat, alijs alia deficientibus oriuntur, & ſuc- 'cumbunt minora majoribus: atq; in qualitates ſuperantium ſuperata 'vertuntur, rerum eſt tranſeuntium. *Cujus ordinis decus propterea nos non delectat: quoniam parti ejus pro conditione noſtræ mortalitatis intexti: univerſum, cui, particulæ quæ nos offendunt, ſatis aptè decenterq; conveniunt, ſentire non poſſumus.* Vnde nobis, in quibus eam contemplari minus idonei ſu- 'mus, rectiſſimè credenda præcipitur providentia Conditoris, ne tanti 'artificis opus in aliquo reprehendere, vanitate humanæ temeritatis au- 'deamus. Quanquam & vitja rerum terrenarum non voluntaria neque 'pænalia, naturas ipſas, quarum nulla omninò eſt cujus non ſit autor & 'conditor Deus, ſi prudenter attendamus eadem ratione commendant: 'quia & in eis hoc nobis per vitium tolli diſplicet, quod in natura pla- 'cet: niſi quia hominibus etiam ipſæ naturæ plerunque diſplicent, cum 'eis fiunt noxiæ: non eas conſiderantibus, ſed utilitatem ſuam: ſicut illa 'animalia quorum abundantia Ægyptiorum ſuperbia vapulavit. Sed 'iſto modo poſſunt ipſi & ſolem vituperare: quoniam quidam peccan- 'tes vel debita non reddentes, poni à judicibus jubentur ad ſolem. *Non itaque ex commodo vel incommodo noſtro, ſed per ſeipſam conſiderata natura dat artifici ſuo gloriam.* Sic eſt & natura ignis æterni ſine ullâ dubitati- 'one laudabilis, quamvis damnatis impijs futura pænalis. Quid enim 'eſt igne flammante, vigente, atque lucente pulchrius? quid calefacien- 'te, curante, coquente utilius? quamvis eo nihil ſit urente moleſtius? 'Idem igitur ipſe, pænaliter appoſitus pernicioſus eſt, qui convenienter 'adhibitus commodiſſimus invenitur. Nam ejus in univerſo mundo 'commoda verbis explicare quis ſufficit? nec audiendi ſunt, qui lau- 'dant in igne lucem, ardorem autem vituperant: *videlicet non ex ſui na- tura, ſed ex ſuo commodo & incommodo,* videre enim volunt, ardere no- lunt. Sed parum attendunt eam ipſam lucem quæ certè & illis placet: 'oculis infirmis per inconvenientiam nocere: & illo ardore, qui eis diſ- 'plicet, nonnulla animalia per convenientiam ſalubriter vivere.

And againe in his 16. booke cap. 8. Deus Creator eſt omnium, qui ubi '& quando creari quid oporteat, vel oportuerit, ipſe novit; ſciens uni- 'verſitatis pulchritudinem quarum partium, veliſimilitudine vel diver- 'ſitate contexat. Sed qui totum inſpicere non poteſt, tanquam deformi- 'tate partis offenditur, quoniam cui congruat & quo referatur ignorat.

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And againe in his first booke de ordine cap. 1°. Sed hoc pacto si quis tam
'minutũ cerneret, ut in vermiculato pavimento, nihil ultra unius tessellæ
'modulum acies ejus valeret ambire, vituperaret artificẽ velut ordinati-
'onis & compositionis ignarum: eo quod varietatẽ lapillorũ perturbatã
'putaret, a quo illa emblemata in unius pulchritudinis faciem con-
'gruentia, simul cerni colluſtrarique non possent. *Nihil enim aliud mi-
nus eruditis hominibus accidit, qui universarum rerum coaptationem atque
concentum imbecilla mente complecti & considerare non valentes, si quid
eos offenderit, quia suæ cogitationi magnum est, magnam rebus putant inhæ-
rere foeditatem.* Cujus erroris maxima causa est, quòd homo sibiipsi
'est incognitus. qui tamen ut se noscat, magna opus habet consue-
'tudine recedendi a sensibus, & animum in seipsum colligendi atq; in
'seipso retinendi. Quod ij tantum assequuntur, qui plagas quasdam
'opinionum, *quas vitæ quotidianæ cursus infligit*, aut solitudine minu-
'unt, aut liberalibus medicant disciplinis. Ita enim animus sibi red-
'ditus, quæ sit pulchritudo universitatis intelligit, quæ profectò ab
'uno cognonimata est; Idircoque illam videre non licet animæ quæ
'in multa procedit secta. *And againe in his second booke* cap: 4.
'Namque omnis vita stultorum quamvis per eosipsos minimè con-
'stans, minimeque ordinata sit, per divinam tamen providentiam, ne-
'cessario rerum ordine includitur, & quasi quibusdam locis illâ inef-
'fabili & sempiternâ lege dispositis, nullo modo esse sinitur, ubi esse
'non debet. Ita fit ut angusto animo ipsam solam quisque considerans,
'veluti magna repercussus fœditate aversetur. *Si autem mentis oculos
erigens atque diffundens, simul universa colluſtret, nihil non ordinatum
suisque semper velut sedibus distinctum dispositumq; reperiret. And againe
in his fifth booke* de vera religione cap. 40. Ita ordinantur omnes offi-
'cijs & finibus suis in pulchritudinem universitatis, *ut quod horremus in
parte, si cum toto consideremus; plurimum placeat*: quia nec in ædificio
'judicando unum tantum angulum considerare debemus, nec in ho-
'mine pulchro solos capillos, nec in benè pronunciante solum digi-
'torum motum, nec in lunæ cursu aliquas tridui tantum figuras. Ista
'enim quæ propterea sunt infima quia partibus imperfectis tota per-
'fecta sunt, sive in statu, sive in motu pulchra sentiantur, *tota conside-
randa sunt, si rectè volumus judicare.* Verùm enim nostrum judicium,
'sive de toto sive de parte judicet pulchrum est: universo quippe
'mundo superfertur, nec alicubi parti ejus in quantum verum judica
'mus, adhæremus. *Error autem noster parti adhærens ejus, ipse per se fœdus
est.*

And againe in his first booke de Genesi contra Manichæos cap.
16. solent etiam Manichæi movere quæstionem ut dicant: Quid opus
'erat ut tam multa animalia Deus faceret, sive in aquis, sive in terra,
'quæ hominibus non sunt necessaria? multa etiam pernitiosa & ti-
'menda. Sed cum ista dicunt non intelligunt *quemadmodum omnia
pulchra sunt conditori & artifici suo, qui omnibus utitur ad guberna-
tionem universitatis, cui summa lege dominatur.* Si enim in alicujus
'opificis officinam imperitus intraverit, videt ibi multa instrumenta,

'quorum

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'quorum causas ignorat, et si multum est insipiens superflua putat.
'Iam verò si in fornacem incautus ceciderit, aut ferramento aliquo a-
'cuto, cum id malè tractet seipsum vulneraverit, etiam pernitiosa et
'noxia existimat ibi esse multa: quorum tamen usum quoniam novit
'artifex, insipientiam ejus arridit, et verba inepta non curans, offici-
'nam suam constanter exercet. *Et tamen tam stulti sunt homines ut apud artificem hominem non audeant vituperare quæ ignorant, sed cum ea viderint credunt esse necessaria, ut propter usus aliquos instituta: in hoc autem mundo cujus conditor & administrator prædicatur Deus, audent multa reprehendere quorum causas non vident, & in operibus atque instrumentis omnipotentis artificis volunt se videri scire quod nesciunt.* Ego verò fa-
'teor me nescire, mures & ranæ quare creata sint, aut muscæ aut
'vermiculi, video tamen omnia in suo genere pulchra esse, quamvis *propter peccata nostra multa nobis videantur adversa.* Non enim anima-
'lis alicujus corpus & membra considero, ubi non mensuras & nu-
'meros & ordinem inveniam ad unitatem concordiæ pertinere. Quæ
'omnia undè veniant non intelligo, nisi a summa mensura & numero
'& ordine, quæ in ipsa Dei *sublimitate incommutabili atque aterna con-
sistunt. Quod si cogitarent loquacissimi, & ineptissimi, non nobis tædium
facerent, sed ipsi considerando omnes pulchritudines & summas & infimas,*
'Deum artificem ubique laudarent: & quoniam nusquam offendi-
'tur ratio, sicubi fortè sensus carnalis offenditur, non rerum ipsarum
'vitio, sed nostræ mortalitatis meritis imputarent. Et certè om-
'nia animalia aut utilia nobis sunt, aut pernicioſa, aut superflua. Ad-
'versus utilia non habent, quid dicant. De pernicioſis autem vel
'punimur, vel exercemur, vel terremur, ut non vitam istam multis
'periculis & laboribus subditam, sed aliam meliorem ubi securitas
'summa est diligamus & desideremus, ut eam nobis pietatis meritis
'comparemus. De superfluis verò quid nobis est quærere? si tibi
'displicet quod non prosunt, placeat quòd non obsunt, *quia etsi do-
mui nostræ non sunt necessaria, eis tamen completur hujus universitatis in-
tegritas, quæ multò major est quàm domus nostra, & multo melior.*
'Hanc enim multò melius administrat Deus, quam unusquisque no-
'strùm domum suam. Vsurpa ergo utilia, cave pernitiosa, relinque
'superflua. In omnibus tamen mensuras & numeros & ordinem vi-
'des, artificem quære, nec alium invenies nisi ubi summa mensura,
'& summus numerus, & summus ordo est, id est, Deum, de quo ve-
'rissime dictum est, quòd omnia in mensura in numero et pondere dis-
'posuerit: sic fortasse uberiorem capies fructum, cum Deum laudas in
'humilitate formicæ, quàm cum trahis fluvium, in alicujus jumenti al-
'titudine.

And againe cap. 21. of the same booke: Quod si manichæi considera-
'rent, laudarent universitatis authorē et conditorē Deum: et quod eos
*propter conditionem nostræ mortalitatis in parte offendit, regerent ad universi
pulchritudinem, & viderent quemadmodum Deus fecerit omnia non solū bona,
sed etiam bona valde.* Quin etiam in sermone aliquo ornato atque com-
posito si consideremus singulas syllabas, vel etiam singulas literas, quæ

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'cum ſonuerint ſtatim tranſeunt, non in eis inveniemus quid delectet 'atque laudandum ſit. *Totus enim ille ſermo non de ſingulis literis aut ſyllabis, ſed de omnibus pulcher eſt.* And laſtly in his enarration in Pſal. '148. Quicquid ergò hic accidit contra voluntatem noſtram, no- 'veris non accidere, niſi de voluntate Dei, de providentia ipſius, 'de nutu ipſius, de legibus ipſius: & ſi nos non intelligimus quid quare 'fiat, demus hoc providentiæ ipſius, quia non ſit ſine cauſa, & non 'blaſphemabimus. Cum enim cæperimus diſputare de operibus Dei: 'quare hoc, quare illud, & non debuit ſic facere, malè fecit hoc, 'ubi eſt laus Dei? perdidiſti halleluia, omnia ſic conſidera, quomodo 'placeas Deo, & laudes artificem. Quia ſi intrares in officinam fortè 'fabri ferrarij, non auderes reprehendere folles, incudes, malleos; '& da imperitum hominem neſcientem quid quare ſit, & omnia 'reprehendit. Sed ſi non habeat peritiam artificis, & habeat ſaltem 'conſiderationem hominis, quid ſibi dicit? non ſine cauſa hoc loco 'folles poſiti ſunt artifex novit quare, & ſi ego non novi. *In officina non audet vituperare fabrum, & audet reprehendere in hoc mundo Deum?*

And with the renowned *Auguſtin*, the golden-mouth'd *Chryſoſtome* in his commentaries upon theſe words, Et erant valde bona, herein reſolutely accords: Igitur cum Deus, qui res ex nihilo ut eſſent, 'produxit, eas bonas & *valde bonas dicit.* quis *tam inſanus*, ut vel os 'aperire, & contradicere Dei verbis audeat? quoniam enim in viſi- 'bilibus non ſolum lumen condidit, ſed & tenebras adverſas luci: & 'non ſolum diem, ſed & noctem contrariam diei: & in ſeminibus 'quæ ex terra naſcuntur, non ſolum herbas utiles, ſed & pernicioſas: '& arbores non ſolum fructuoſas, ſed & infructuoſas: & ani- 'malia non ſolum manſueta, ſed & ſylveſtria & truculenta: & in his 'quæ aquæ produxerunt, non ſolum piſces, ſed & cete & alias ma- 'rinas belluas. Et terra non ſolum habitabilis eſt, ſed & inhabitabi- 'lis. & non ſolum planicies ſunt & campi, ſed etiam montes & colles. '& inter aves non ſolùm domeſticæ & altiles, ſed & feræ, nullumque 'commodum per ſe afferentes, & milvi & vultures, & aliæ quædam. 'Preterea in his quæ terra profert, non ſunt tantùm manſueta et inno- 'xia animalia: Sed et ſerpentes et viperæ et dracones, et leones, et 'pardi. Quin et in aere non ſolum pluviæ et venti utiles ſed et grandines 'et nives. Et ſi quis ſingula pertractare vellet, multa in unaquaque crea- 'turarum inveniet, quæ non ſolum non utilia, ſed et nociva *exiſtimentur.* 'et ideo ut nulli poſthac liceat ob creaturas accuſare conditorem et 'dicere, quare hoc et hoc? ad quid iſtud? hoc bene factum eſt, hoc non 'bene: ſacra ſcriptura omnes *ingratè obloqui*, ut ita dicam, tentantes 'compeſcitura, ſexto die abſolutis creaturis omnibus, inquit: Et *vidit Deus omnia quæcunque fecit, & ecce valde bona.* Quid igitur obſecro par- 'fuerit tam fidelibus teſtimonijs? cui juſtius fides habenda quam con- 'ditori, qui ipſe calculum ſuum affert, et dicit: Omnia quæcunq; facta 'ſunt, bona ſût et valde bona? Quocirca cum videris aliquẽ, qui ſuis rati 'onibus motus, obloqui divinæ ſcripturæ audet, *eum quaſi inſanum avur:*

imò

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'imò ne adverseris, sed *miserum ignorantiæ ejus*, cita quod ait divina 'Scriptura, & dicit: vidit Deus omnia quæcũq; fecit, & dixit, ecce valde 'bona. Fortassis indomitam illius linguam continere poteris. Nam si in 'humanis rebus, cum videmus viris gravibus ea quæ fiunt probari, cal- 'culo illorum non obsistimus, sed adstipulamur, & illorum sententiam 'proprio judicio & operi præferimus; quanto magis in his visibilibus, 'quæ a Deo omnium opifice facta sunt, hoc fieri oportet, præsertim 'cum ab ipsomet suam de his acceperimus sententiam? Proinde *sopian- 'tur rationes nostræ*, & nihil illi ultra præferatur: idoneis autem & crebris 'argumentis persuasum sit, quod omnia ratione quadam & misericor- 'dia ab eo producta sint, *et in summa nihil temere et absque causa factum. Verum licèt nos ab nostræ rationis imbecillitate, ignoremus factorum causam; ipse tamen juxta suam sapientiam et potentissimam misericordiam omnia produxit.*

By all which I trust it sufficiently appeares, that whatsoever any man doth or can object against the order, or vigour of the parts of the world yet in the whole is no defect or decay to bee found, nor yet in the parts themselves, as they serve for the making up of the whole; though to our darke understandings and weake judgements, looking through the false Spectacles of distempered affections, it happily appeare otherwise, which may in part serve to excuse mee, If I doe not in all points fully satisfy all doubtes, which in all controversies are many, but in this being of so vast an extent, must needs bee infinite.

Sixthly, the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his *Power*; as the decay of the worke argues the impotẽcy of the workeman: So doth the long continuance thereof without decay argue his power. During the space of fortie yeares travell through the wilderneſſe, the garments of the *Israelites* waxed not old upon their backs, nor their shoes upon their feet: Deut the 29. 5. this shewed the *Power* of that great God who conducted them; much more then his preserving of the world from decay. Looke how much the most sumptuous and stately Pallaces of Princes exceed the Cottages of Pesants, or the houses of Noblemen contrived by the skilfullest Architects, for the honour of their name, excell the houses of cards set up by children, which the touch of a finger, or a puff of breath suddenly overturnes. So much & more by many degrees doth this house, which almighty God by his infinite power hath built, and richly furnished for the sonnes of men, exceed and excell not onely in magnificence, but in duration, all buildings that by them have beene or possiblely can bee erected. That which *Nabucadnezzar* vainely spake touching the citty hee dwelt in, Is not this great *Babilon* that I have built *by the might of my power*, and for the honour of my Majesty: may truly and justly bee applied unto God in the building of this great and goodly frame. Now the buildings of men whose breath is in their nostrils, may last for some thousands of years, (as I conceive *Babilon* did) & shall we allow no more for the building of the immortall God, set up purposely to declare his glory as the *Psalmist* speaks, or that men might therein contemplate his eternall *power* and Godhead as the Apostle? Quod si ejus sunt opera perennia

Power.

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'multò magis ipse & perennis & *potens*, *saith S. Chrysostome Homilia in* 'Psal: 147, in illa verba, qui fecit cælum & terram mare & omnia quæ in eis sunt. *The durable strength of this building.* Alstedius *in his Preface to his* naturalis Theologia *eloquently describes*: Tanta est hujus pala-'tij diuturnitas & firmitas, ut ad hodiernum usque diem supra annos 'quinquies mille & sexcentos creatus ita perstet, ut in eo *nihil immuta-tum, diminutum, aut vetustate et diuturnitate temporis vitiatum conspiciamus.* 'Quis non miretur motuum cælestium æquabilitatem, syderum circui-'tus certos, terræ quietem, & tam multarum atq; tantarum rerum ordi-'nes, quasi circino distinctos & æquatos? Quæ quæso urbs est inexpug-'nabilis? quæ tandem res manu hominis facta machinamentis everti 'non potest? at quos arietes, quæ tormenta huic amplissimæ, munitissi-'mæq; urbi adhibebimus? quæ tela, quæ saxa in eam contorquebimus? 'quibus eam copijs adoriemur? qua obsidione cingemus? quibus insidijs 'in potestatem adducemus? Adamantina & invicta est. Non ut aliæ 'quæ quodam tempore florentissimæ fuerunt, nunc prostratæ & solo 'æquatæ jacent, sic illa brevi jacebit, *cum nexus, compages et vincula ejus sint firmissima.*

'And *Bellarmin* de ascens. mentis ad Deum per scalas creaturarum 'gradu 11°. *from this durable strength of the Creature so strongely infer-res the almighty* power *of the Creator*: Iam verò longitudo *potentiæ* di-'vinæ cernitur in eo, quod cum omnibus quæ Deus fecit, ipse assidue 'cooperatur, nec fatigatur cooperando, nec fatigabitur in æternum: 'Siquidem potentia ista Dei nec minui, nec debilitari, nec frangi ullo 'modo potest, cùm sit cum verâ æternitate conjuncta, vel potius ipsa sit 'veræ divinitatis æternitas. Mirantur multi, quomodo possint Sol & 'luna, & stellæ tanto tempore & tanta celeritate moveri ab ortu ad oc-'casum, & in circulos suos sine ulla intermissione reverti: & sanè res est 'set omni admiratione dignissima, nisi sciremus, ea deferri ab omnipo-'tente Deo, qui portat omnia verbo virtutis suæ. Mirâtur alij quomodo 'fieri possit, ut in gehenna vel ignis non consumatur æterno tempore 'comburendo, vel corpora infælicium illorum æterno tẽpore ardentia 'non dissolvantur. Sed & hoc non mirabile solum sed etiam impossi-'bile judicari posset, nisi qui ignem illum sic ardere semper facit, ut nũ-'quam extinguatur, & qui corpora miserorum in igne illo ita conservat, 'ut semper crucientur, & nunquam consumantur, Deus esset omnipo-'tens & æternus. Mirantur alij denique quòd Deus omnia portet, ac 'sustentet, nec fatigetur portando & sustentando tam ingentem molem 'ponderis propemodũ infiniti. Potest enim robustus homo, aut equus, 'aut bos, aut elephantus magnum pondus ad modicum tempus gerere, 'vel ad tempus breve onus gravissimum ferre: Sed pondus maximum 'æterno tempore sine fatigatione portare, superat vires omnium rerum 'creatarum. Sed si jure mirarentur, si Deus vires haberet in pondere, & 'mensura, ut omnes creatæ res habent; sed cum vires Dei planè mensu-'ram omnem excedant, & sit ipse omni ex parte infinitus, mirum non 'est, si robur infinitum, molem quantumvis gravem infinito tempore 'sine fatigatione perferat. Dicamus ergo cum sancto Propheta *Mose*, 'Quis similis tui in fortibus Domine?

'Let

Let us not then be so foolish as to measure the greatnesse of his *power* by the weaknesse of our capacities, or by the resemblance and proportion taken from our works; the difference is greater then betweene *Rome* in her height, and the poore Village the silly shepheard in his fancy compared with it.

Vrbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe putavi
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.

His wayes are not as our wayes, neither are his thoughts as our thoughts; but as his wayes are unsearchable, so his thoughts are past finding out; And his *power* every way answerable to his wayes, and his thoughts; and his workes in some sort proportionable to his wayes, his thoughts, and his *power*.

Seventhly, the preservation of the world from decay serves best for the illustration of his *truth*; nay in very deede I cannot see how his *truth* can well stand with such a decay as is pretended, his *truth* I meane consisting in the certainety of his promises made to *mankinde*, to his *Church* the noblest part of mankinde, to *Christ* the head of the Church, and all three confirmed by the stabilitie of the Creature. The first of these made to mankinde in generall wee have recorded. *Gen.* 8.22. *While the earth remaineth seed time, and harvest, and cold, and heate, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease*: upon which words *Musculus* thus Commenteth. *Deinde admonemur etiam hoc loco, unde sit quod istorum vicissitudo, tam constanti & infracto ordine, tot jam sæcula permanet: sit hoc nec nostro merito, nec naturæ viribus, sed totum quicquid est divinæ bonitatis constitutioni debetur, quam nobis* Moles *in isto oraculo Dei considerandam proponit. Quod nos attinet, non sumus meliores illis hominibus propter quorum malitiam Deus hac omnia unius anni spatio per diluvium sustulit: quod naturæ vires concernit in diluvio declaratum est, non constare istas aliquo naturæ robore, sed voluntate Dei, cui omnis natura tam virtus quàm ordo cedere cogitur.* Veritas *itaque pacti hujus, quo post diluvium Deus istam sementis & messis, frigoris & æstus, æstatis & hyemis, noctis ac diei vicissitudinem, initio quidem mundi inductam, postea verò propter malitiam cordis humani sublatam*, in integrum restituit, *& confirmavit, anni cursum in eo servat ordine, quem singulis annis videmus & experimur.* Qua in re admoneri possumus, quàm sit firma & infracta pactorum Dei veritas, usque adeò videlicet, ut in hunc usque diem, nulla quantumvis immodica, mortalium malitia infringi potuerit. Truth.

The second of these promises made to his Church wee have registred, *Jerem.* 31. *v.*35.36. *Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the Sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the Moone, and of the Starres for a light by night, which divideth the Sea when the waters thereof roare, the Lord of hosts is his name. If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel shall also cease from being a nation before me for ever.* Upon which words S. *Hierome* thus writeth: *Quamodo, inquit, rerum & maximè cælestium astrorum non potest ordo mutari; sic semen & genus Israelis, Domini voluntate erit perpetuum, nec aliquando deficiet.* And *Bullinger* to like purpose: *leges vel statuta, inquit, dedi, soli, lunæ, & stellis, ortus inquam*

& occasus eorum: oriuntur enim & occidunt illa certâ lege quam acceperunt à Domino. Iam si possibile est illa, lege suâ desertâ non facere illa ad quæ condita: certè possibile erit, ut cesset Ecclesia, nec sit amplius populus Dei in terris. Cæterum impossibile est ut astra illa relicta sua lege non faciant id ad quod sunt condita: impossibile est itaque deficere Ecclesiam.

His third promise made to Christ as head of the Church wee have expressed; *Psal.* 89. *v.* 29. 36. 37. *His seede also will I make to endure for ever: and his throne as the dayes of heaven. His seede shall endure for ever, and his throne as the Sun before mee. It shall be established for ever as the Moone: and as a faithfull witnesse in heaven.* The first of which verses *Mollerus* thus unfoulds: *per Dies cœlorum* notat æternam durationem, *in terris nihil est quod constet aut duret perpetuò: solum hoc regnum, quia est cœleste, non prius desinit, quàm quæ in cœlis sunt pereant aut evanescant: id est,* nunquam. Cœlestia enim mutationis aut interitus sunt expertia. And the two latter thus: *Solem igitur & lunam quoties intuemur, veniat nobis in mentem hujus promissionis, ut hæc corpora videmus* nunquam mutari: *ita statuamus promissionem de hoc regno factam esse firmam & ratam. Iansenius* likewise thus paraphrases the one: *& durare faciam posteritatem ejus in omne ævum: & solium regni ejus* tam diuturnum faciam *quàm erunt dies cœli.* And the other thus: *Neque posteritas ejus tantùm, sed solium regni ejus tam erit stabile &* diuturnum, *tam etiam clarum, quàm est ipse sol in conspectu meo: regnum ejus* imperpetuum *erit clarum, sicut luna perfecta tempore plenilunij,* perpetuoque subsistit *sicut luna quæ facta est* ut in æternum perduret. *Et ne quis vanas fore credat has pollicitationes, horum omnium testem fidelem in cœlo constituo solem scilicet ac lunam: omniaque astra quæ pollicitationis meæ* stabile *signum esse volo, ut his durantibus, omnes intelligant regnum ejus certissimò duraturum.* Finally the Bishop of *Galloway* in his exposition of those words, *Psal.* 119. *v.* 89. *O Lord thy word endureth for ever in heaven:* rendereth this reason of them. The other cause (saith he) why he so speakes, is that this visible frame of the heaven, stands *as an eternall witnesse of the verity of Gods word,* that hee will not retreat, nor call backe that which hee speakes: for hee once commanded the heavens to bee, and incontinent they were, and ever since, continue.

equitie: Eightly, the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his *justice and equitie.* That which the Psalmist speakes of the righteous, *Psal.* 92. 14. 15. may not unfitly bee applyed to the Creatures, and the generations of the world succeeding each other: *They shall bring forth fruit in old age, they shall be flourishing, to shew that the Lord is upright.* The heavens cease not to preach the glory of their and our maker to us, as effectually as they did to the generation living in the Prophet *Davids* time; his eternall power and Godhead are still as clearly seene by the things that were made, as they were in S. *Pauls* time: the booke is still open, and the letters as legible, if wee have the eyes to see them, the wisedome and grace to reade them and make use of them; as 'tis written of S. *Anthonie*: *Quærenti cuidam quo pacto vitam sustentare posset, orbatus eo solatio quod ex libris capere posset; Meus (inquit) ô philosophe liber est natura rerum à Deo conditarum.* In this booke wee may as well

Soc. hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 18.

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reade his eternitie, his immutabilitie, his ubiquitie, his love, his wiſedome, his power, his truth as former ages have done, and in caſe wee doe it not, are ſtill as inexcuſable as they were. That which the Apoſtle ſpeakes of the generations before him: *Acts* 14.17. is likewiſe applyable to all ages ſince him; *Nevertheleſſe, hee left not himſelfe without witneſſe, in that he did good, and gave us raine from heaven, and fruitfull ſeaſons, filling our hearts with foode and gladneſſe.* Which aſſertion that it may as truely bee verified of all ſucceeding generations S. *Chryſoſtome* notably teacheth us *Homil. in Pſal.* 144. *in illa verba, Generatio & generatio laudabit opera tua. Hoc eſt, non uno ſolum tempore facta ſunt & præterierunt, neque in duobus aut tribus annis, ſed per univerſum præſens ſæculum extendantur, ita ut unaquæque generatio ejus opera contempletur. Hoc eſt enim generatio & generatio.* Et quæ eſt (inquit) & quæ ſequitur, & quæ poſt illam futura eſt, & quæ rurſus poſt eam, & unaquæque earum quæ ſequuntur, *& rurſus creatura, qua hoc omni tempore ſimiliter extenditur, nempè cælum, terra, mare, aër, lacus, fontes, fluvij, ſemina, planta, herba & quæ ex ijs capiuntur beneficia, naturæ curſus qui* nunquam interrumpitur, *imbres, & temporum viciſſitudines* conſtanti & certo ordine *aſſiduè procedentes, nox, dies, ſol, luna, aſtra alia omnia.* And S. *Auguſtine enarr. in Pſalm.* 148. to much like purpoſe: *Omnibus ergo locis Deus, regionibus,* temporibus, *ſua quaque deſtribuit & ordinavit: & longum eſt commemorare diligentiorem conſiderationem omnium rerum. Quis illum explicat? tamen qui oculos habent, multa ibi vident, cum viderint placent, cum placuerint laudantur, non tanquam ipſa, ſed ille qui fecit ita omnia laudabunt Deum.*

Wherewith that which *Zanchius* in his fifth booke *De operibus Dei, quæſt.* 4. hath ſet downe by way of *Theſis*, well accords: *Terra mater omnium eſt, facundiſſima, optima, indefeſſa, patientiſſima, conſtantiſſima, fideliſſima, liberaliſſima: ac proinde talis, quæ omnium optimè naturam ingeniumque Dei nobis repreſentet.* It is ſtill full of the goodneſſe and bounty, and riches of the Lord, and ſtill calls upon us for thankefulneſſe, which in caſe we performe not, it ſtill condemnes us of ingratitude.

Laſtly, the preſervation of the world from decay, ſerves beſt for the illuſtration of his excellent and glorious *beauty*, the world being by him made to repreſent himſelfe, the freſher and fairer the luſtre thereof remaines, the more lively it repreſents him: as a picture and looking-glaſſe the clearer and cleaner it is kept from duſt and ſpots, the better it repreſents the face it was made to expreſſe. *For by the greatneſſe and beauty of the Creatures proportionably the maker of them is ſeene. Wiſd.* 13.5. If then by tract of time the Creature ſhould be ſoiled with duſt & ſpots as is pretended, how can it be but in regard of us and our apprehenſion drawne from the contemplation of the Creature, the beauty of the Creatour ſhould likewiſe in ſome ſort and degree bee eclipſed and obſcured? as we conceive of the perſon whom we never ſaw, by the colours and figures of the ſtatue made to reſemble him. Whereupon as *Alexander* would be painted by none but by *Apelles*, and carved or graven by none but by *Lencippus*: So *Queene Elizabeth* (as witneſſeth Sr *Walter Rawley* in his preface prefixed to his hiſtorie of the world) commanded that all the pictures made of her by the hands of unskilfull Beauties

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.and common Painters, ſhould bee knockt in peeces and caſt into the fire; becauſe they knew that the greateſt part would judge of their perſons whom they ſaw not, by the images and repreſentations which they ſaw. In like manner the great Creatour, and ſole Monarch of heaven and earth, hath given charge that no image ſhall be made to repreſent him by the art of man, having ſo fully & lively pourtraied himſelfe (according to the modell of our capacities) in this great & goodly table of the world, continually expoſed to the publique and common view of all the inhabitants thereof; that to draw him forth by the moſt exquiſite cunning of humane art, is but to diſhonour him, and that in an high degree. Which S. *Auguſtine* well conſidering in his enarration upon thoſe words, *Pſal.* 148. *Confeſſio ejus in cælo & terra*, no leſſe piouſly then wittily draweth us up from the view of the beauty of the Creature, to the incomprehenſible and incomparable beauty to bee found in the fountaine and authour thereof: *Quid eſt confeſſio ejus in cælo & in terra? quia ipſe confitetur? Non, ſed quia illum omnia confitentur, omnia clamant*, omnium pulchritudo *quodammodo vox eorum eſt confitentium Deum. Clamat cælum Deo, tu me feciſti non ego. Clamat terra tu me condidiſti non ego. Quomodo ergo clamant iſta? quando conſiderantur, & hoc invenitur, ex tua conſideratione clamant, ex voce tua clamant. Confeſſio ejus in cælo & in terrâ: Attende cælum* pulchrum eſt: *Attende terram* pulchra eſt: *utrunque ſimul valde* pulchrum eſt. *Ipſe fecit, ipſe regit, ipſius nutu gubernantur: ipſe trajicit tempora, momenta ipſe* inſtaurat, *per ſeipſum* inſtaurat: *Omnia ergo iſta laudant illum, ſive in ſtatu, ſive in motu, ſive in terra deorſum, ſive de cælo ſurſum, ſive in vetuſtate, ſive in* renovatione. *Cum vides hæc & gaudes, & attolleris in artificem, & inviſibilia ejus per ea quæ facta ſunt intellecta contueris, confeſſio ejus in cælo & in terra, id eſt, confiteris ei de rebus terrenis, confiteris ei de rebus cæleſtibus, & quia ipſe fecit omnia, & melius illo non eſt aliquid*, quicquid fecit intra illum eſt, *& quicquid in his tibi placet, minus eſt quàm ipſe. Non ergo ita tibi placeat quod fecit, ut recedas ab eo qui fecit, ſed ſi amas quod fecit, multò magis eum qui fecit.* Si pulchra ſunt quæ fecit, quanto magis pulchrior eſt qui fecit.

As he made all things, and ſtill keepes them being made in number, weight and meaſure, from whence ariſes ſo excellent an harmonie, that *Maximus Tyrius* doubted not to affirme. *Natura eſt perfectiſſima harmonia*; and *Treſmegiſtus, muſicam noſce nihil aliud eſt quam cunctarum rerum ordinem ſcire*: So *Anſelme in Proſolog. cap.* 17. lifts up his ſoule from this harmonie and muſicke in the Creatures, to ſeeke and admire it in the Creatour: *habes hæc in te* (ſaith he) *tuo ineffabili modo, qui ea dediſti rebus à te creatis ſuo ſenſibili modo.*

And ſo doth *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, in his 7th booke *De eruditione Diduſcalicâ cap.* 4. *Conſideremus & nos quanta ſint mirabilia Dei &* pulchritudinem *rerum conditarum, quæramus* pulchrum illum pulchrorum omnium pulcherrimum, *quod tam mirabile & ineffabile eſt ut ad ipſum omnis pulchritudo tranſitoria, & ſi vera ſit comparabilis eſſe non poſſit.*

Which hee ſeemes to have borrowed from S. *Auguſtine, De Civit. Dei, lib.* 11. *cap.* 4. *Exceptis Propheticis vocibus mundus ipſe ordinatiſſima ſua mutabilitate & mobilitate, & viſibilium omnium* pulcherrimâ *ſpecie, quodam-*

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quodammodo vacuus & factum ſit eſſe, & non niſi à Deo ineffabiliter atque invisibiliter magno, & ineffabiliter atque invisibiliter pulchro *ſemper eſſe proclamet.*

Or from *Nazianzen, Orat. 2. de Theologia. Sicut qui citharam affabrè ſtructam conſpicit, ejuſque ſuavissimum concentum audit, ipſum cytharæ artificem & cytharœdum mente reputat, licet ſibi de facie ignotum: ita qui mundi hanc harmoniam* pulcherrimam *intuetur, mundum à divino conditore factum intelligit, quamvis eum non videat.*

I have done with mine affirmation, that the preſervation of the world from decay, ſtands more with the Divine Providence then the admiſſion of a decay, in as much as it makes more for the illuſtration of the *eternitie*, the *immutabilitie*, the *ubiquitie*, the *love*, the *wiſedome*, the *power*, the *truth*, the *equitie*, the *beauty* of the maker thereof; all which I take to be ſufficiently proved aſwell by reaſon as authority, and conſequently my title ſufficiently vindicated.

CHAP. 3.

That the greateſt part of the Schoolemen and Chriſtian Philoſophers are againſt mee; the contrary whereunto is proved, aſwell by their teſtimonies as their axiomes.

I Will be bold to ſay that let them ſtand to their owne Principles, and not one of twenty can diſſent from me, unleſſe he will firſt diſſent from himſelfe.

It is an Axiome univerſally received in all the Schooles of Chriſtendome, and (as I conceive) not more generall then true, that in the courſe of Nature. *Generatio unius eſt corruptio alterius*, and ſo againe *vice verſâ, corruptio unius eſt generatio alterius*; nay corruption is none otherwiſe by nature intended, but to make way for generation, the reaſon whereof is grounded upon the condition of the firſt matter, which cannot ſubſiſt without ſome forme to actuate it, and that two ſpecificall formes cannot conſiſt in the ſame ſubject; from whence it conſequently followes, that in the courſe of nature, there muſt neceſſarily be ſpunne out a perpetuall and never faying ſucceſſion of generations and corruptions, (in things I meane corruptible and generable) or the firſt matter contrary to its naturall condition, muſt ſubſiſt without any forme, or be annihilated which Philoſophie is much abhorres; the turning of ſomething into nothing, being equivalent to the making of ſomething out of nothing, and they both equally diſtant from natures reach. Now to ſay that nature is, and for theſe many thouſand yeares hath bin lure coverably ſicke of a languiſhing conſumption; and yet that there muſt, and in the courſe of nature muſt be a never failing thread, or rather chaine of generations and corruptions, interchangeably ſucceeding each other by reciprocall and alternative turnes, is doubtleſſe a contradiction irreconciliable, as containing two propoſitions evidently incompatible; whereof the one is, That the world in the courſe of nature may have an end, the other, that it cannot: which two let any

Schooleman

Schooleman or Philoſopher by the beſt ſtrength of his wit knit together, or looſe my knot; *Et erit mihi magnus Apollo.* *Lucretius* himſelfe who in one place maintaines a decay, (as in mine *Apologie* I have ſhewed) is ſo preſſed with the force of this Argument, that in another place hee manifeſtly contradicts himſelfe, as may appeare in theſe enſuing verſes:

Quoniam minui rem quamque videmus:
Et quaſi longinquo fluere omnia cernimus ævo,
Ex oculiſque vetuſtatem ſubducere noſtris:
Cum tamen incolumis videatur ſumma manere,
Propterea quia qua decedunt corpora quoique,
Vnde abeunt, minuunt: quo venêre augmine donant:
Illa ſeneſcere, at hæc contra floreſcere cogunt:
Nec remorantur ibi. Sic rerum ſumma novatur
Semper, *& inter ſe mortales mutua vivunt:*
Augeſcunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur:
Inque brevi ſpatio, mutantur ſæcla animantum,
Et quaſi curſores vitai lampada tradunt.
Si ceſſare putas rerum primordia poſſe,
Ceſſandoque novos rerum progignere motus:
Avius à verâ longè ratione vagaris.

And *Lambin* in his Commentaries upon theſe words, *ſic rerum ſumma novatur* gives this note. *Quia quod ex una decedit alteri accedit: & ortu unius alterius eſt interitus*, *ita* quædam æternitas *quoadejus fieri poteſt, per ſucceſſionem rerum conſervatur.*

Another common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philoſophers is, that, *Corpora cæleſtia peregrinæ impreſſionis non ſunt receptiva.* In which poſition both *Thomas* and *Scotus* accord, and ſo doe all their followers, as appeares by the teſtimonie of *Sixtus Senenſis Biblioth. Sancta lib. 6. Annot. 245.* *Huic ſententiæ omnis recentium Theologorum ſchola adverſatur, præſertim verò in his quæ ſpectant ad corpora cæleſtia: hæc enim idcirco perpetua & incorruptibilia eſſe oſtendunt, quoniam ſubſtantiam habent à quatuor elementorum ſubſtantia diverſam, omniſque peregrinæ impreſſionis expertem:* & quia tot ſæculorum lapſibus ita permanſerint incorruptibilia, ut nullum ſeneſcentiæ præbuerint indicium, nihilque de eorum magnitudine, aut pulchritudine temporis injuria conſumpſerint. As alſo of *Faardenſius in Iran. lib. 4. cap. 4.* *Huic opinioni reclamant omnes tam philoſophorum quàm theologorum ſchola, fortiſſimiſque argumentis contendunt, Corpora cæleſtia prorſus eſſe incorruptibilia, & in ſempiternum manſura.*

Now if the heavens which by ſenſible experience, and the free acknowledgement of all, are found to be by infinite degrees the greateſt and nobleſt part of the world, in the opinion of the Schoolemen and Philoſophers, remaine unaltered ſince their Creation for motion, light, warmth, or influence, how can they withall maintaine a perpetuall and univerſall decay in all the parts thereof, without a manifeſt contradiction?

A third common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philoſophers is, that theſe ſublunarie bodies receive their formes, their faculties, their operations,

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operations, their luſtre, their order, their vigour, from the cœleſtiall, ſo that if there be no decay in the one, neither can there be in the other, the firſt matter (upon which the heavens worke) being ſtill the ſame in all reſpects, and as capable of all formes as ever, the originall fountaines from which all operations ſpring.

A fourth common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philoſophers is, that *Creation* and *Conſervation* differ not *really* but *rationally*; Conſervation being nothing elſe but a continuation of Creation, or rather a creation continuated. Which being ſo, from thence it followes, that at leaſtwiſe for the maine integrall parts of the world, that is, the heavens, the elements, and the ſeverall ſpecies of mixt bodies; they are ſtill as freſh and vigorous by vertue of the divine *Conſervation*, as if they had beene but now created, and conſequently cannot admit of a decay.

A fifth common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philoſophers is, that the end of things is proportioned to their beginning, ſo that whatſoever hath no beginning can have no end; whatſoever hath a beginning may have an end. Whatſoever hath a beginning after a naturall manner, ſhall have a naturall end; and laſtly whatſoever hath a beginning after a manner metaphyſicall and ſupernaturall, ſhall have a ſupernaturall and metaphyſicall end; neither can it end otherwiſe but by the ſame power that gave it a beeing in a ſupernaturall manner. Since then the world was not at firſt made after a naturall manner, neither can it end by a naturall meanes, as in reaſon it might, and in continuance of time muſt, ſhould wee grant in all the parts thereof a perpetuall decay.

A ſixth common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philoſophers is, that as *Moſes* was to frame the tabernacle according to that patterne which he ſaw in the mount; ſo Almighty God created this world according to that *Archetype* or *mundus intelligibilis* as they call it, that mould which was eternally and ſtill is in the Creatour himſelfe.

---Tu cuncta ſuperno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipſe
Mundum mente gerens, ſimilique ab imagine formans,
Perfectaſque jubes perfectum abſolvere partes.

Boethius lib. 3. met. 9.

So that this world being ſhaped in all points according to that modell, and for ſo much as concernes the worke of God, moſt exactly anſwering thereunto, it can no more by tract of time ſwarve from its native perfection, then can the ſamplar from which it was firſt copied forth.

A ſeaventh common Principle of the Chriſtian Philoſophers is, that the fire is ſtill *calidus ad actu*, hot in the higheſt and extreameſt degree, and conſequently that it now burnes as fiercely, *cæteris paribus*, inhering in, and working on matter equally diſpoſed, as it did at the firſt Creation; from whence it is apparent that it ſtill holdes faſt, and hath loſt nothing of that active and maſculine efficacie, which originally was conferr'd upon it; and if the fire have loſt nothing, why ſhould

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we imagine that the aire, or the water, or the earth, or those bodies which are compounded of them have lost any thing? or if they should loose their strength more and more by degrees as is pretended, and the fire should retaine its full force, it cannot bee but by long wrastling, even in the course of nature, the whole world would at last be turned into fire, which though some of the ancient Philosophers held, yet no Christian that I know at this day maintaines.

An eighth common Principle of our Philosophers is, that considering nature will by no meanes admit of the annihilation of any thing, whatsoever is lost to one must of necessity be gained to another, that so the ballance may bee kept upright; to say then the severall species of men, of beasts, of fowles, of fishes, of vegetables, nay the elements themselves are much decayed, and degenerated both in quantitie and qualitie, and yet to assigne nothing that is thereby made either bigger in the one, or better in the other, what is this but apparently to crosse that Principle, and upon the matter, though perchance unawares to grant the annihilation of something.

Finally, hee that shall attentively peruse the large and learned discourses of our Philosophers touching the admirable perfection of the world, and advisedly weigh their Arguments drawne from the name thereof both in *Greeke* and *Latine*, from the definition, the figure, the efficient, the end, the order, the beauty, the harmonie, the connexion, aswell of the whole as of the parts, and that not as it was created, but as now they finde it, will easily be perswaded that either they must be on my side, or thwart both themselves and the truth. Yet can it not bee denyed but that some of them (carried along as it should seeme in the common streame) to prove that the world should have an end bring in the decay thereof, but somewhat coldly and faintly, not as a demonstration to evince, but as a conjecturall reason to induce it; Whereas could but this one point be soundly & sufficiently proved, there would need no more arguments against *Aristotles* eternity, it would alone serve as a twohand sword, to wound him with both edges, and to make it evident to the eye of sense & naturall reason, that the world both had a beginning and shall have an end. But considering none of the ancient Philosophers or the Fathers of the Christian Church, ever used this sword against him, truly it made me greatly suspect, that there was little force therein, and that they who used it, did it rather out of zeale to the religion they professed, then out of soundnes of judgement, not observing in the meane time how whiles they fought against *Aristotle* in the point of eternity, they joyned hands, and tooke part with *Epicurus* and his adherents in the opinion of decay, and thereby carryed at leastwise a semblance of favour to his chance and fortune, and so blemished that Providence which they professed. This the witty *Aquinas* undoubtedly foresaw, & therfore in his disputing against *Aristotles* eternity, doth not so much as offer to produce this argument drawne from the worlds decay, but his conclusion is *parte prima quæst. 46. art. 2. mundum incæpisse sola fide tenetur, nec demonstrativè hoc sciri potest, sed id credere maximè expedit.* And that which hee there affirmes touching the

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the beginning of the world, is alike applyable to the end thereof. *Et hoc utile est* (saith he) *ut consideretur ne forte aliquis demonstrare præsumens, rationes non necessarias inducat, quæ præbeant materiam irridendi infidelibus existimantibus nos propter hujusmodi rationes credere quæ fidei sunt.* He was in a manner the father and founder both of Schoole-divinitie and Christian Philosophie, and very much it is that he hath written in both kindes, as also in Commentaries upon sundry parts of the Scripture; yet to my remembrance I never observed throughout the large body of his workes, so much as one word touching upon the worlds decay, but many passages to the contrary, as often as hee comes to speake of the nature of the heavens, of the dependance of these inferiour bodies upon the heavens, of the divine Providence in the government of the Creatures, of the conservation of the species of all things, of the transmutation of the elements, and lastly of that wonderfull order, which the wisedome of the Almighty hath set aswell in the conducting, as the contriving of all the peeces, and parcells, and particles of this goodly frame which wee call the world. And truely for mine owne part I can not well conceive how there should be an universall and perpetuall deficiencie in their operations, and not thereupon ensue a generall confusion in their order; in as much as the stabilitie of their operations is it which maintaines their order: And againe, the constancie of their order is it which perpetuates the vigour of their operations.

I now come to the particular testimonies of the Christian Philosophers, and those none of the meanest ranke, who freely and clearely oppose themselves against the opinion of the worlds decay, and the dissolubilitie thereof in the course of nature.

Franciscus Picolomineus in Academia Patavinâ Philosophus primus, de mundo cap. 23.

Natura semper ubique est eadem, cœli virtus cætera servans consimilis est, & nulla unquam in cœlo apparuit varietas; *accidit tamen quòd homines cum senescunt, quia ipsi debilitantur, & in deterius labuntur, putant cœlum idipsum competere*, solum adest aliqua varietas & mutatio in hominibus viventibus secundum rationem modò in deterius, modò in melius.

Idem cap. 25.

Quoniam principium originis mundi longè abest à nobis, & ejus creatio superat naturæ vires, per cujus opera elevantur Philosophi ad inventionem causarum, ideò mirum non est, si Philosophi humanâ ductâ ratione facile in hanc sententiam labuntur, quòd mundus omni ex parte sit æternus; re vera enim per naturam nec principio nec fine valet esse prædituς; *At Dei lumine illustratus constanter assero, per immensam Dei potentiam, per voluntatem æternam, & per liberum Dei extrinsecus operandi modum, in principio Deum creasse cœlum & terram.*

Idem ibidem.

Regitur hoc universum regnum tam admirabili imperio, ut simul respublica cum legibus, administrationis optimatum, & imperij regij dignitatem & præstantiam includat, absolutè tamen in eminentissimam redigitur monarchiam, cujus monarcha est Deus, cujus conditio est ipsum bonum, adeò ut non sit

timendum ne in tyrannidem inclinet, hic eminentissima providentia cuncta dispenit, quæ mox per naturam à fato sola ratione distincta exequantur & absolvantur; adeo ut in universo nil otiosum, nil diminutum, *nihilque redundans inveniatur, cujus gradus tam exacta invicem ratione sunt juncti, ut mirabiliter etiam longe à se distantes sibi mutuò consentiant, & quamvis* per partes varientur, tamen eandem semper servant rationem locum & ordinem.

Collegium Conimbricense in 1. lib. Arist. de cœlo cap. 12. quæst. 2.
Utrum mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuò durare possit, an non, artic. 2.

'His positis sit prima assertio. *Posset mundus sibi relictus, sub eo statu, quem modò habet, solo communi & ordinario concursu, quo nunc à Deo conservatur in perpetuum durare.* Hæc assertio, *quæ nostrorum Philosophorum communis est*, ex eo ostenditur, quia imprimis corpora cœlestia, cum 'suapte natura sint corruptionis expertia, ut ad tertium hujus libri caput 'ostendimus, immortalia sunt. Quin verò & ipsorum motus, cum ab 'intelligentiis, quæ lassari non possunt administretur, perennis ac perpetuus esse potest.

'Quod autem ad corpora sublunaria spectat, constant illa, ut plasum 'est ex materiâ & formâ. Materia verò nulla vi naturæ interimi valet, 'quia ut tantummodo per creationem à Deo esse accepit, ita non aliter 'destrui potest, quàm subtrahente Deo concursum, quo ei ejusmodi 'esse confert. At formæ ita se habent, ut nulla earum intercidat, materiamve relinquat, quin alia ejus locum subeat. Tum quia alioqui maneret materia prima absque omni substantiali forma: tum quia agens 'naturale non intendit per se interitum rei, utpote naturæ malum, sed 'generationem. Quapropter semper unius corruptio est alterius gene'ratio. Unde etiam fit, ut licèt prædicta corpora singulatim sumpta intereant, alia ex toto, nempè mista, alia ex parte, videlicet elementa; 'semper tamen species, aut genere eadem permanent, *possintque hac modo in perpetuum durare.*

Idem artic. 3.

'Ad quartum respondendum est. Nonnullos parentibus proceriores 'evadere, sicque non in omnibus degenerare staturam, sed in quibus'dam imminui, in alijs augeri, & illorum dispendia in his quoquo modo 'resarciri: quæ compensatio sat erat, ut hominum genus propagari in 'æternum posset; accedente præsertim naturæ ipsius *Providentia*, ad 'quam pertinet antevertere, & præcavere pericula, quæ interitum & 'amissionem totius speciei minitentur: quale esset corporum decrementum infra quantitatem, in quâ species humana posset consistere.

Nicolaus Taurellus Medic. & Physic. in Alsdorffensi Noricorum Academiâ Professor. de rerum æternitate pars 4.
Sitne mundus æternùm mansurus.

'Deus mundum solus corrumpere potest: quod nos etiam alias tarmine fortè, non injucundo expressimus.

Solus *certè qui condidit, idem*
Et solus *novare potest, & tollere* Solus

Immensâ

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Immensâ *virtute Deus, qui solus & author*
Solus & *hostis erit, certo qui tempore tollet,*
Accensumque novis hunc destruet ignibus orbem,
Qui virtute tamen persistere posset eadem
Quâ nunc consistit longumque manere per orbem
Non prohibente Deo.

Antonius Ruvio de cœlo & mundo. lib. 1. cap. 12.

An mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuò durare possit.
Affirmativa pars tenetur ut à Collegio Conimbricensi.

'Ad secundum de viventibus corporibus, concedimus, aliquando fi-
'lios parentum staturam non adæquare, sed etiam aliquando procerio-
'res evadunt, non *tamen possible esse juxta ordinem naturalem à divina Pro-*
videntia in rebus constitutum simperque continuatum, ad tam parvam quan-
'titatem reduci viventia corpora alicujus speciei, in qua non possint na-
'turaliter conservari, quia nec potest naturalis virtus vitalis eorum tan-
'tum deficere, nec alimenta ex quibus nutriantur, cum pertineat ad *eun-*
dem divinam providentiam, naturalem vim illorum & corpora ex quibus
'alenda sunt conservare, & id quidem, sicut hucusque fecit cum *solo con-*
'*cursu generali*, efficiet etiam in futurum toto tempore quo mundus in
'hoc imperfecto statu generationum & corruptionum duraturus est.

Morisanus in Commentarijs disputat. Physic. 1. dubio 5.
An solo Dei generali concursu posset mundus in æternum durare.

Dico, *solo Dei concursu generali posset in æternum preservari mundus cum*
omnibus rerum speciebus tum simplicibus tum mixtis. Probatur, quia posi-
'to Dei concursu generali, intelligentia moveret cœlos, elementa, ad
'mixtorum compositionem concurrerent cœli, in hæc inferiora, per in-
'fluentias suas agerent, unde sequeretur perpetua mixtorum generatio,
'unumquodque vivens produceret sibi simile, suamque speciem in aliis
'individuis propagaret, Ergo omnes rerum species, atque adeò mundus
'totus perseveraret.

Iohannes Combachius Philosophiæ Professor Marburgensis
Phys. lib. 2. theoremate 6.

'Ordinis verò perseveratio est, quòd *nec mutatio, nec senecta, nec lassi-*
tudo, quædam huic rerum & operationum ordini obvenit. Hæc *divinam po-*
tentiam arguit; cum enim rerum inferiorum quæcunque natura sua sit
'mutabilis, divina gratia obtineat, ut hoc quod est in ipsis mutabile, *mu-*
tationi tamen non subijciatur, sed sit ut maneat in perpetuum. Eam verò per-
'petuitatem tantæ moli largiri præter ipsius universi naturam, hoc non
'nisi summè potentis esse potest. Eaque potentia tantò major est cen-
'senda, quantò nos minus, quibus inter creaturas omnes præstantissima
'conditio obvenit, nec in nostro corpore, quamvis laboremus, possu-
'mus incolumitatem præstare; *is tantam molem regit, ut sit firma & sta-*
bilis.

Idem Phys. lib. 2.

'Et ita mundus sua natura mutabilis propagatione & generationis per-
'petuâ successione redditur immutabilis & *corruptionis expers.*

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Keckermanus Professor Philosophiæ Dantiscanus in cursu Philosophico Disput. 20. Problem. 17.

Nec consistere potest Cardani opinio, qui imaginabatur mundum defatigatione solutum iri; In quo Cardanum magnus Scaliger non minus *piè* quàm *graviter* perstringit, Exercitat. 77

Idem Problem. 15.

'Tria sunt ex quibus mundi perfectio & integritas potissimùm consta-'re dicitur, nempe singularum rerum ex quibus componitur absolutio, 'naturarum distinctio & varietas, partium denique ordo & connexio *in-'dissolubilis*: quæ omnia in mundi universitate mirum in modum elu-'centia considerans Philosophus de cœlo, cap. 34. exclamat, Mundus optimè omnium se habet.

Marsilius Ficinus de immortalitate animæ. lib. 18. cap. 1.

'Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei o-'pus, vitâ æquali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. 'Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam 'ab opifice ex parte unâ, quia non fuit semper, retinet alteram, *quia sit semper futurus.*

Fridericus Wendelinus Gymnasij Anhaltini Rector, Contemplationum Physic. Sectione 2. cap. 14.

'Nos ad quæstionem de mundi corruptibilitate, breviter respon-'demus, per distinctionem incorruptibilis, quòd absolutè vel cum certo 'respectu sic dicitur: absolutè incorruptibile est, quod intra se vel ex-'tra se nihil habet à quo ullo modo corrumpi possit, seu quod planè & 'simpliciter independens est, cum certo respectu incorruptibile est, 'quod à nullâ causâ secundâ, ordinaria & naturaliter agente corrumpi 'potest. Hac præmissâ distinctione, sit

'1ª Assertio: Mundus non est incorruptibilis, priori modo: ratio as-'sertionis: quia ens est à Deo dependens.

'2ª Assertio: *Mundus quoad corpora simplicia omnia, posteriori modo est in-corruptibilis.*

'3ª Assertio: mundus quoad corpora mista corruptibilis est, quoad 'primam & secundas causas.

Simon Grynæus Professor Basiliensis in Annot. in Arist. de mundo.

'Miracula celebrant in terris quædam; Ægypti labyrinthum præ cæ-'teris, nulla re nisi ambagibus insignem, atque iis inutilibus, nempe ho-'minibus implicandis factum, præterea assiduè restaurandum, reficien-'dumque. *At verò naturæ opus constitutum semel, ex se habet omnia quibus 'opus est*, & omnem optionem longè rebus omnibus antevertit, majesta-'te, inexpectatâ suavitate & pulchritudine omnem cogitationem super-'grediente.

Idem de meteoris Commentar. 2. cap. 18.

'Nec hic quicquam valet quod de natura corruptâ objicere fortè pos-'set quispiam, cum cœli & quæ in ipso collocata, ab opifice rerum om-nium *integrè conservata sunt, & ea omnia propter quæ à Deo optimo maxi-mo creata sunt, semper & sine errore præstiterint.*

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Io: Ionstonus Thaumatographia naturalis. cap. 1°.

Quo me verto, exquisita sapientiæ, bonitatis & potentiæ conspicio insignia; sejunguntur hic contraria ita ut vinculis medijs copulentur, hinc sapientia; actiones ordinatissimè recurrunt, inde bonitas; nec senectus, *nec* mutatio, *nec* lassitudo *obvenit, inde potentia.*

Dionysius a Richel Carthusianus de venustate mundi art. 7. de pulcherrima mundi dispositione.

Ipsa quoque tempora ita immutabili lege suæ mutabilitatis vices custodiunt, ut neque aliquando à sui ministerij expletione deficiant; neque secus currentia primæ ordinem institutionis confundant.

Vincentius Turturetus in parallelis Ethicis & Iuridicis, Dissertatione 13. An res humanæ ruant.

Sed ego pace senum, bonaque venia illustrium virorum, quorum dicta recitavi, falsam censeo hanc vocem, quâ rem humanam in peius ruere contendunt. *Nostris præsertim temporibus notam istam non patiar inuri, sed generatim rationes aliquot adduxerim, cur a vero longè absint qui oppugnant præsentis sæculi conditionem, præterita tempora extollunt.*

As for those who maintained the *Worlds decay*, as before I observed of *Lucretius*, and in mine *Apologie* of *Pliny*, for the most part in other places they evidently contradict themselves, neither in truth can they doe otherwise, if they will stand to their owne principles, as hath already beene shewed, I will instance onely in *Magyrus Professor* of *Marburge* who in his Commentaries upon the second booke of his Physicks, and first chapter, endeavouring to prove by naturall reason that the world shall have an end; among other Arguments bringeth in the consumption thereof as no light conjecture inducing thereunto. Yet this very man in the first booke and fifth chapter of the same worke, discoursing of generation and corruption hath these words. *Hinc rectè philosophus ait: generatio unius est corruptio alterius: & corruptio unius est generatio alterius. Arist: 1. de gener: & corrupt: textu 17°.*

Hæ enim duæ mutationes ita sunt invicem connexæ & complicatæ, ut una ad alteram necessariò consequatur, idque propter naturam materiæ. Quæ cum per se sine forma esse nequeat; ideò una formâ recedente, alteram induit. Cumque duabus formis specificis perfici non possit, propterea cum una oritur, alteram in eâ præexistentem interire oportet. Zab: & Merc. in dilucid. tom: 2.

Atque hinc fit, quod rerum generationes perpetuâ quadam successione durant. 1. *quia materia in subjecto perpetuò manet.* 2. *quia primum principium immobile semper manet & agit, & ex paratâ materia res naturales producit.* 3. *ex corruptione sequitur* generatio perpetua quadam serie. *Arist. 1. de gener. cap: 7. & corrup: cap. 3°.*

Hyppolitus Pindemontius in Dissert. de mundo. cap. 34. Quid de fine mundi sentiendum sit.

Mundus nullam sui dissolutionis causam intrinsecam obtinet prorsus, ut sua natura relictus, in omne ævum sit perseveraturus. *Patet ista assertio, quippe omnia quæ in mundo sunt, ita perfectè ordinata, ita congruè & concinnè sunt disposita, ut ejus unitatem numquam valeant perturbare. Confirmatur hæc ratio; namque quod corrumpitur à suo semper contrario corrumpitur, at vero*

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'mundus contrario caret, cum nihil præter ipsum detur. Dices, nun-
'quid non constat ex contrarijs quæ semper infensissimè pugnant, atque
'adeo alterum aliquando victoria potiatur? Sed enim si rem profunde
'perpendas, & quæ alias diximus mente recolas, videbis manifestè
'contrarietatem nedum destructionis, at potius conservationis & pro-
'pagationis ipsius mundi in causa esse. Per illam nempe elementa alte-
'rantur, alterata modificantur, & talia mixtum generant; per illam
'certas sedes in ipso universo obtinent, prorsus ut nullum alterius lo-
'cum & domicilium occupare gestiat; ut benè dixerit Seneca, Rerum
'mundi concordiam & pacem in discordia & pugna esse mirabiliter
'fundatam.

2. 'Probatur 2° hæc eadem assertio, quia ea est rerum conditio, ut nul-
'læ unquam corrumpantur; quin aliæ generentur, adeo ut ipsam etiam
'corruptionem intendere videatur universalis natura propter generatio-
'nem, quamobrem nunquam mundus deficiet, in quo nimirum rerum
'generatio perpetuatur. Et hoc est quod dicebat *Trismegistus* in Asc.
Mundum esse stabili sempiternitate vivendi circumvallatum.

3. 'Corroboratur hæc ratio; quippe cœlum cæleſtiaque astra, nulli cor-
'ruptioni sunt obnoxia, *æternoque* motu circumagi possunt; namque mo-
'trices ipsorum intelligentiæ non laborant aut defatigantur in moven-
'do; ipsis porro horum inferiorum cura demandata est, atque adeò si
'illi perpetui sunt, & motus per quem sublunaria hæc disponuntur, pe-
'rennis esse potest, profectò & hæc inferiora *perpetua vicissitudine* gau-
'dere possunt.

4. 'Denique favere videtur huic assertioni sacra scriptura; dicitur enim
'Eccles. 3. Quod omnia opera quæ fecit Deus perseverant in perpetu-
'um: videlicet si naturæ cursus servetur, nec aliunde ab ipsa quam fecit
'causa idem impediatur; sunt enim ex se à conditoris sapientia perfe-
'ctissimè digesta, & ut dicitur Gen. 3. valde bona.

Daniel Sennertus epitome naturalis scientiæ: lib. 2. cap. 1.

Vt mundum originem habuisse è sacris literis constat: ita eædem solæ nobis persuadent mundum hunc interiturum, & nulla philosophica ratio ad evincendum mundi interitum satis firma est. Nam etsi verum est quod à Scal. exerc. 61. sect. 5. & exerc. 37. sect. 20. demonstratur: Omnes res ex eo quod non habent causam essendi à se, sed dependent ab alio, esse ex se mutabiles & corruptibiles, non corrumpi autem, quia Deus non vult: tamen nec illud falsum est; Mundum cum eo, quem nunc habet, communi & ordinario Dei concursu, sibi ipsi relictum, perpetuò durare posse, *nec sponte ad interitum vergere.*

To these testimonies and those formerly alleadged by mee in mine *Apologie*, many more might be added, as may appeare by those words of *Collegium Conimbricense* already quoted, *Hæc assertio nostrorum Philosophorum communis est*; where, by *nostrorum Philosophorum*, undoubtedly they understand the Christian Philosophers; and to that purpose in their margine referre us to *Marsilius*, *Albertus de Saxonia*, *Ianduno*, *Conciliator*, and others. So that now there seemes to bee just cause indeed of quarrelling with my title, inasmuch as therein I terme the opinion contrary to mine a *common error*; but the truth is, I so termed it, rather as being commonly entertained among the vulgar then among

the

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the learned; though it cannot bee denied that many of them also (having together with their milke sucked in this popular errour) in some of their writings subscribe unto it, but in other places againe manifestly crosse themselves, as hath in part beene shewed already in declaring the reasons brought by Divines and Philosophers, why the Preservation of the world doth more illustrate *Gods Providence*, and will farther appeare, aswell in setting downe the profitable uses of my opinion, as also when I shall alleadge their expositions upon severall passages of Scripture produced for the confirmation thereof.

CHAP. 4. *Ob.* 3.

That I alleadge few passages of Scripture for my opinion; for answere whereunto I have digested those passages into one chapter, together with the interpretation of the soundest Expositours thereupon.

BEcause my booke is charged by some to bee Philosophicall rather then Theologicall, and that my quorations out of Scripture are very few, I have thought it not amisse to muster up my forces gathered out of holy Scripture; seconded with the judgement of the best and most approved interpreters; (besides those expositions which in mine *Apologie*, and in the defence thereof I have already alleadged) that so it may appeare that (as it becomes a professed Divine and a good Christian) I reare not to stand to the determination of the Divine Oracles in this question; which in truth I did not at first imagine to have beene so plentifull and punctuall for mee, as upon farther search I have since found them.

Geneseos cap. 1. vers. 11.

Germinet terra herbam quæ semen producat; arborem quæ semen in sese.

Calvinus in locum.

Significat non modo creatas fuisse tunc herbas & arbores, sed utriusque simul inditam propagationis virtutem, ut soboles maneret. Quia ergo terram quotidie videmus è gremio nobis fundere tot divitias, quod didicimus herbas semen emittere, & semen illud terræ sinu conceptum fovere donec emergat, alias arbores ex aliis pullulare: id totum manat ex verbo isto. Si ergo quærimus quid fiat ut fertilis sit terra, & semine germen nascatur, fruges ad maturitatem perveniant, singula genera quotannis soboleſcant: non alia causa invenietur, nisi quia semel loquutus est Deus, hoc est æternum suum decretum protulit: terra autem, & quæ ex ea proveniunt, Dei mandato quod semper exaudiunt, præbent obsequium.

Petrus Martyr.

Non solum designat nobis præsentem productionem, sed vim producendi à Deo inditam, usque hodie perseverantem.

Cornelius

Cornelius à lapide.

Hoc fine, ut cum planta individua intereant, manant tamen in semine & fructu quem ex se propagant; itaque quandam quasi immortalitatem *& æternitatem quam naturaliter ambiunt consequantur, ut scilicet, semper sint, & semper perdurent in sua propagine.*

Geneseos cap. 1°. ver: ultimo.

Et vidit Deus omne quod fecerat & ecce bonum valde.

Calvinus in locum.

Rursum in clausula Creationis refert Moses *Deum approbasse quicquid fecerat, de aspectu Dei loquitur humano more: nam & hoc suum judicium Dominus quasi regulam & exemplar nobis esse voluit:* ne aliter de suis operibus sentire vel loqui quisquam audeat. *Neque enim quod probavit, fas nobis est disputare probarine debeat: sed potius absque controversia subscribere convenit. Repetitio etiam denotat quàm lascivа sit hominum temeritas: alioqui satis fuisset semel dici, Deo placuisse sua opera, sed Deus sexies idem inculcat, ut quasi totidem frænis cohiberet nostram audaciam, qua prurire non desinit. Cæterum plus exprimit* Moses, *quàm antea: addidit enim* MEOD, *id est valdè in singulis diebus fuit simplex approbatio. Nunc postquam numeris omnibus absolutum est opificium mundi, & extrema (ut ita loquar) manu expolitum, perfectè bonum esse pronunciat: nunc sciamus inesse in operum Dei symmetria, summam perfectionem cui nihil addi queat.*

Junius.

Summa verò conservationis causa in versu ultimo adhibetur, nimirum approbatio, confirmatio, & sanctio naturæ rerum, *qualem in singulis fermè singulorum dierum historijs meminimus antè adhiberi, tamen in eò discrimen est, quod in locis superioribus de approbatione, confirmatione, & sanctione unius alicujus generis agebatur, hìc verò de omnibus simul in tota rerum universitate. Itaque, ut has locos evidentius distinguamus, sic paucis statuimus, res omnes à Deo creatas in hac rerum universitate, singulariter atque communiter respectu ipsarum in se, & inter se bonas tripliciter appellari*, specie, modo, & ordine, *in se quidem* specie, *quatenus sunt*; modo, quatenus sunt ut sunt: *inter se verò quatenus* ordine *naturæ, aliæ ad alias referuntur, & suam habent convenientiam. Quæcunque autem res antè fuerunt appellatæ bonæ, sic fuerunt appellatæ respectu ipsarum in se, nempe quòd specie modoque bonæ essent, qua subsistunt in natura rerum, & sunt ejusmodi.* Quæ autem hic de approbatione, confirmatione, & sanctione rerum omnium in universitate hac prædicantur, ea non solum de specie & modo dici, verumetiam de ordine, quo res singulæ aliæ ad alias relationem (nam) & aliæ ex alijs affectionem habent: denique sapientissimè inter se ordinatæ sunt.

Geneseos

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Geneseos cap. 8° ver. ultimo.

Deinceps quandiu erit terra, sementis & messis, frigusque & æstus, & æstas & hyems, dieſque & nox non ceſſabunt.

Pascus in locum.

Iam Deus pollicetur ordinis naturæ, qui prius inde à Creatione fuerat, restitutionem immutabilem in integrum. *Simul igitur & commoda quæ ex ordine hoc pendent ſunt inæſtimabilia iterum pollicetur idque* immutabiliter.

Nos hic rursus agnoſcamus immensam Dei bonitatem, qui in noſtri gratiam quaſi naturæ ſe ſubjicit, & ad ordinem ejus, inviolabiliter *ſervandum nobis ſeſe obligat.*

Atque hic [illegible] *fiducia in nobis confirmetur promiſſionis gratiæ, & ſalutis æternæ. Si enim in naturæ legibus ſervandis juxta hanc promiſſionem Deum adhuc videmus* conſtantem: *multò magis in promiſſionibus æternæ ſalutis conſtantem fore perſuaſum habeamus.*

Chryſoſtomus.

Immobilis *erit hæc ordinatio, terra nunquam deſinet ſuppeditare quæ hominum generi neceſſaria, neque* ceſſabit proferre laborum & agriculturæ retributiones, *neque anni partes alijs verſionibus mutabuntur, ſed & frigus & calor, & æſtas & ver in anni circulo erunt, neque nox, neque dies ſuum relinquet curſum, ſed aduſque ſæculi conſummationem* immotum eorum permanebit miniſterium.

Ferus.

Sunt commoda vices nunc æſtu, nunc frigore viciſſim terras & ſata coquente. Quod igitur promiſit Deus hoc etiam nunc experimur: terra ſeminatur & metitur, nunc æſtus nunc frigus, nunc dies nunc nox, nunc æſtas nunc hyems eſt. Et hæc omnia divina ordinatione conſiſtunt, *eaque omnia in ſalutem humani generis ſic ordinata ſunt à Deo, frigus non minus prodeſt quam æſtus: Deus novit quomodo illa debeat moderari. Et ideo illa fiunt, ut Deum cognoſcamus, illum adoremus veneremurque.*

Mercerus.

Vt intelligas hæc non ceſſatura, *quin per ſuas vices ſeſe gerant, & in terra in uſum hominum locum habeant, juxta ſyderum curſum &c.*

Petrus Martyr.

Tu verò hic attentè conſidera, in hac mundi inſtauratione ferme omnia illa & repeti & confirmari quæ facta ſunt, dum mundus prima inſtitutione conderetur.

Calvinus.

His verbis iterum reſtituitur mundus in integrum. *Teſtatur Dominus ſibi placere, ut omnia* recuperent ſuum vigorem, *& redeant ad ſuas functiones.*

Quamvis non ita temperatur mundus, ut perpetua ſit æqualitas, cernimus tamen prævalere naturæ ordinem.

Aquinas.

Quaſi diceret, omni tempore durabit debita *alternatio dierum & noctium, & æſtatis & hyemis, ſeu quatuor temporum anni, ac frigoris & æſtus*

ſive

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sive caloris, id est, quatuor qualitatum elementalium, in quibus illæ duæ prædominantur, & messium seminum sive seminationum, quasi diceret; cursus mundi hominum conservationi expediens, à me de cætero continuabitur.

Pererius.

Cum igitur prædicta vicissitudo temporum immutabilem *rationem motus orbium cœlestium ac syderum necessariò consequatur, & ex ea ipsa pendeat rerum sublunarium, maximè vero animantium incolumitas & salus; apparet sanè fabulosum esse, vanitatisque atque insciticæ plenum quod dixit Ovidius lib. 1. Metamorph. hanc temporum inæqualitatem non fuisse aureo Saturni sæculo, sed perpetuum id temporis fuisse ver: postea verò degenerante jam sæculo alternam hanc per vices successionem inductam esse orbi.*

Junius.

Deus adductus est ad instaurationem *universitatis faciendam, cujus instaurationis loci duo sunt; prior Deum non esse deinceps huic universitati importaturum exitium* v. 21. *posterior*, naturæ ordinem in hac universitate gratioſè conservaturum esse. *v.* 22.

Iob 38. *vers.* 33.

Nunquid nosti ordinem cœli, & pones rationem ejus in terrâ?

Pineda in locum.

Elegantur Tygur: *&* Vatablus *legunt*, jura legesq; cœli *videlicet*, perpetuum atque constantem ordinem, *rationemque movendi, illuminandi, efficiendi, leges, inquam, atque jura non solum quæ ipsis cœlestibus orbibus imposuit, edixitque naturæ author; sed leges etiam atque jura cœlestia, quibus parent inferiora, nam illa nobis præscribunt designantque certas agendi, quiescendi, atque movendi leges atque rationes.*

Psalmo 19. *vers.* 1.

Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei fortis, & opus manuum ejus indicat expansum eorum.

Iansenius in locum.

'Cœli sua varietate, ornatu, motu ac utilitate multiplici, declarant 'nobis, ac materiam submini ſtrant nobis narrandi majestatem poten-'tiæ, sapientiæ, ac bonitatis Dei: & tam amplus cœli ambitus infinitis 'syderibus ornatus, testatur quàm magna & admirabilia sunt opera po-'tentiæ ipsius.

Calvinus.

'Fieri non potest quin ad ipsum usque authorem nos attollat cœlo-'rum intuitus, ac mirabilis quæ illic apparet distinctio, ornatus & splen-'dor, luculentum ejus *Providentiæ* testimonium reddant. Creationis 'quidem tempus & modum scriptura explicat: sed etiam Deo tacente 'cœli ipsi ejus manibus se compositos fuisse clamitant; quod ipsum ad 'testandam ejus gloriam abundè sufficit: simul enim ac Deum agnoſ-

cimus

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'cimus mundi opificem, mentes noſtras in admirationem immenſæ ejus 'bonitatis, ſapientiæ & potentiæ rapi neceſſe eſt.

Fabritius.

'Senſus eſt: tota cæli machina, ejuſque exactiſſima ſtructura ſatis oſten-'dit & teſtatur.

'1° Deum aliquem eſſe qui hæc omnia condiderit: Siquidem ornatus 'ille cæleſtis, non caſu aut fortuito potuit extitiſſe.

'2° Hunc Conditorem & opificem eſſe infinitè ſapientem, potentem, 'æternum, bonum &c. ſiquidem hæc ab alio condi non potuiſſent.

Bellarminus.

'Cæli ſunt, qui ſua magnitudine, & *pulchritudine* gloriam Dei manifeſtã 'faciunt.

Mollerus.

'Tota cæli machina, ejuſque *exactiſsima* ſtructura teſtatur, non fortuitò 'hæc quæ cernimus conflata eſſe: Sed condita ab opifice ſapiente & 'potente: atque ideo nos in admirationem ſapientiæ, potentiæ, & boni-'tatis divinæ rapiunt.

Muſculus.

'Cogitemus hîc quàm ſit opus hoc cæli vaſtum, amplum, latiſſimè ex-'tenſum, aſpectu jucundum, ornatu ſpecioſum, *tempore diuturnum, ac robore firmum*. Licet nobis hæc omnia ad gloriam Dei expendere, etiam-'ſi occultiora cælorum miracula ignoremus.

Theodoretus.

'Sufficit etiam ſola cælorum pulchritudo, atque magnitudo quæ appa-'ret ad opificis magnificentiam prædicandam. Si enim quis maximum '& pulcherimum ædificium inſpiciens, architectum miratur: & navi-'gium videns benè & optimè conſtructum, artificem conſiderat, & 'cum contemplatione imaginis memoria pictoris concurrit, multo ma-'gis mundi fabricatio, quæ videtur, ad opificem nos videntes conducit.

Zanchius de operibus Dei lib. 6. quæſt. 5. theſi 21.

'Alij volunt eum muſicæ & harmoniæ nomine intellexiſſe conſtantem 'illam aſtrorum erga Deum obedientiam, & ſummam inter ipſa con-'ſenſionem: quâ *perpetuo inviolabilique tenore* moventur, & ſuum quoq; 'illorum facit officium. Nam ſic ſolitum eſt dici, ubi, puta in republica 'omnes inter ſe conſentiunt, dictoq; parent magiſtratus, & ſuum quiſq; 'diligenter facit officium, ibi ſummam eſſe harmoniam. Quia itaque 'nullibi præſtantior ordo, obedientia, omnium inter ſe conſenſio ſpe-'ctatur quàm in cælis & inter aſtra, idcirco dixit Pythagoras ſummam 'perfectamque ex motu aſtrorum cæleſtium gigni harmoniam. De hac 'harmonia loquebatur & David, cum dixit, Cœli enarrant gloriam 'Dei; & opera manuum ejus annunciat firmamentum, dies diei eructat 'verbum, et nox nocti indicat ſcientiam; in omnem terram exivit ſo-'nus eorum &c.

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Ver: 2.

Dies ad diem eructat sermonem; & nox ad noctem ostendit scientiam.

Muſculus in locum.

'Quod itaq; dicit dies ad diem eructat &c. nihil est aliud meo judicio, 'quam successione illa dierum et noctium *tam certa constanti & commodissima* alternantium inter se vicissitudine ac reciprocatione manifestis- 'simè opificis Dei gloriam celebrari, gloriam, inquam, omnipotentiæ '& scientiæ Dei. Eadem habet Fabritius

Lyra.

'Variatio dierum secundum longitudinem & brevitatem, caliditatem & frigiditatem, & alias variationes quæ per motum cæli causantur, & 'secundum *certas periodos ordinatè* reiterantur, ostendunt sapientiam & 'potentiam motoris primi, scilicet Dei.

Mollerus.

Continua & constans dierum & noctium successio, et *ordinata* temporum 'vices, quas solis, Lunæ, et reliquarum stellarum cursus & revolutiones 'efficiunt, abundè testantur de gloriâ.

Theodoretus.

Ordinata successio noctis et diei, *terminos à conditore positos demonstrat, quos hæc inanimata mundi machina transcendere non potest*, cum enim nox 'atque dies ad hominum utilitatem crescant atque decrescant, cumq; 'à se invicem tempus mutuentur & rursus debitum sibi ultro citroque 'reddant; *providentiam* quæ ipsis inest ostendunt.

Calvinus.

'Neque verò dubito quin David, ex *Ordinatis* dierum et noctium vi- 'cibus, solis & lunæ, stellarumque cursum & revolutionem, mirabili 'Dei consilio temperari doceat. Sive autem diem de die vertamus, sive 'diem ad diem parùm interest; quia tantum notatur *Concinna* temporum 'series, quam dierum et noctium successio efficit. Dies quidem unus si 'satis attenti essemus, ut decebat, nobis idoneus esset gloriæ Dei testis; 'nox etiam una idem officium præstaret. Sed quum videmus solem et 'lunam quotidiè suo ambitu mundum complecti, interdiu solem super 'capita nostra extare, lunam succedere vicibus, gradatim solem ascen- 'dere, et simul propius ad nos accedere, postea iter suum reflectere, 'ut a nobis paulatim recedat, hinc dierum vel noctium longitudinem 'confici, et hanc varietatem *æquabili lege* ita esse dispositam, ut quotan- 'nis recurrat: hæc longe clarior testificatio est. Quare non immeritò David, quamvis Deus nullum verbum faciat, dierum tamen & nocti- 'um tam *bene aptatam seriem* de gloria Dei magnificè concionari 'dicit: nec jam ignorantiæ prætextum reliquum esse hominibus, 'quia quum *doctorum officio tam probè* fungantur dies & noctes: satis 'scientiæ ex eorum magisterio consequi possint.

Iansenius.

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Iansenius.

'Neque ullo unquam tempore ceſſabunt Dei gloriam ſuo modo cœli 'prædicare, nam *perpetua* ſucceſſione præcedens dies effundit in ſe- 'quentem diem verbum prædicationis, & cogitationis gloriæ Dei, 'præcedenſque nox tranſmittit ſcientiam Dei in ſubſecuturam noctem. 'Quaſi enim de die in diem, de nocte in noctem tranſmiſſo verbo ac 'ſcientia Dei, nobis cœli loquuntur, dum ſine *fine* ſingulis diebus ac 'noctibus non ceſſant Dei gloriam declarare.

Bellarminus.

'Atque ita jugiter & ſine ulla intermiſſione dies & nocte quaſi *choreas ducunt* & Deum laudibus celebrant.

Ver. 3°.

Non eſt ſermo, neque verbum ijs & ſine his intelligitur vox eorum.

Theodoretus in locum.

'Vel ſecundum Aquilam: in omnem terram exivit ordo ipſorum. nam 'nec ſermonem, inquit, emittentes, nec verba proferentes, ſed *regulam & proprium ordinem* demonſtrantes; omnem terram atque mare ad di- 'vinas laudes decantandas invitant.

Muſculus.

'Eſt horum operum Dei tam admirabilis machina, tam *conſtans vigor, tam certus ordo*, tamque ineffabilis intelligentia, ut licet muta ſint, quod 'vocem attinet & verba, nihilo tamen minus gloriam Dei quavis ſo- 'noriſſima etiam voce, clarius ſic deprædicent, ut non ſit angulus ali- 'quis orbis, ubi vocaliſſima eorum concio non audiatur.

Ver: 4°.

In totam terram prodeunte delineatione eorum, ſimul prodierunt in extremitatem orbis habitabilis ſermones eorum, ex quo ſoli diſpoſuit tentorium in eis.

Ianſenius in locum.

'In univerſam terram pervenit ſonus eorum, quo nobis Deum annunti- 'ant, et in extremas orbis terræ partes verba eorum. Hic autem eorum 'ſonus et verba ſunt *immutabilis eorum ordo, conſtantia*, motus, pulcheri- 'maque eorum ſtructura, tanquam *ad regulam & lineam* facta, ac ſimilia, 'quibus Deum maximum, ſapientiſſimum ac optimum hominibus 'cunctis oſtendant.

Ver. 5°.

Nam et tanquam ſponſus prodiens è thalamo ſuo lætatur tanquam robuſtus decurſurus viam.

Iunius in locum.

'Id eſt, inde a creatione, ornatiſſimus, *indefeſſus*, velociſsimè percurrit 'demenſum ſuũ; atq; efficaciſſimè calore ſuo afficit omnia Quæ omnia 'duobus ſimilibus hoc verſu exornantur, & apertè prædicãtur ſequẽte.

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Psal: 104. *ver.* 30.

Emittis spiritum tuum, creantur: & renovas faciem terræ.

Mollerus in locum.

'Amplificat doctrinam de Providentia divinâ à *perpetuitate specierum*, à 'propagatione item, & generationis modo. Etsi enim Deus sinit in- 'terire quotannis & quodammodo intermori herbas & arbores: ani- 'mantia item & homines magno numero subinde vel violentiâ vel na- 'turali morte tollit, atque in pulverem redigi sinit: tamen propterea e- 'jus providentia non est neganda. Imò verò illa *specierum perpetuitas & 'propagatio* quæ fit quotannis renascentibus novis herbis, frondibus, 'sobole animantium & hominum terram renovari, & denuò quasi crea- 'ri, atque ita singulas species mirabili Dei sapientia conservari: quod 'certè non fieret, nisi hic mũdus a mente sapiente & potente regeretur. 'Utitur autem verbo creandi, quia illa *perpetuitas specierum, & propaga- tio, est quasi assidua quædam creatio, dum mundus veluti interit & renascitur in suis partibus*. Eadem habet *Fabritius*.

Musculus.

'Observemus autem hic conditionem terræ. Sic illa comparata est, ut 'facies ejus subinde opus habeat renovatione. Est enim vanitati ac cor- 'ruptioni obnoxia, morteq; ac interitu eorum quæ in illa sunt visibilia, 'antiquatur & ad interitum tendit. Est autem hæc antiquatio bifariam 'inspicienda: primùm, ut est annua: deinde ut est quotidiana, cui etiam 'destinata est *gemina & vicaria renovatio*. Annua est, quâ terræ facies sin- 'gulis annis omni ornatu exuitur, & cuncta illius arescere videntur: 'quæ autumni tempore incipit, & per hyemem ad vernum usq; tempus 'durat. Quotidiana est, quâ quotidie ex omnis generis animantibus & 'spirantibus innumera multitudo passim per orbem universum morti & 'interitui traditur. Renovatio annua est, quâ rursus verno tempore 'cuncta virescere, frondescere, ac fructificare incipiunt: quotidiana 'verò, quâ rursus alia quotidie nascuntur, & in locum eorum quæ sub- 'lata sunt, succedunt. *Hæ vices antiquandi & renovandi tantisper durant in facie terræ, donec sublata corruptione, præsentis hujus mundi figura, prorsus aboleatur.*

Calvinus.

'Et certè in nova animalium sobole assiduè cernimus *novam* mundi *Creationem*.

'Summa huc tendit, dum videmus quotidie mundum deficere & *renas- ci*, in hoc speculo lucere nobis *vivificam Dei virtutem*. Quotquot enim 'animalium interitus accidunt, totidem sunt exempla nostræ nullitatis 'ut ita loquar; dum alia suboleſcunt, quædam mundi *renovatio* nobis 'ostenditur. Quando itaque mundus quotidiè interit & *renascitur* in 'suis partibus, hinc colligere promptum est non nisi *arcana Dei virtute* *subsistere*.

Psal:

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Psal: 119. ver. 89.
In æternum Domine verbum tuum perstat in cælis.

Musculus in locum.

'Convenit hoc excercitium homini fideli, ac verbi Dei studioso: ut 'quoties cælum suspicit, terram contuetur, & *constantem omnium ordinē* 'observat, de verbo, fide, ac judicijs Dei admoneatur, & horum con- 'sideratione ad confirmandum fidem suam utatur.

Ambrosius.

'Nunquid ulla in ipso est sole prævaricatio? Nonne quotidianos cur- 'sus suos servat? Nunquid continuos non novit luna defectus & com- 'missi munus deserit ministerij? Iisdem nempe vicibus annus redit. *eodem statu reparantur tempora*, ijsdem obsequijs reformantur. Sol diem 'illuminat, tempora statuta custodiens. Fulget splendoribus luna 'nocturnis, & lux ejus in tenebris micat. stellarum nitentium rutilat 'globus solenniq; statione & conversione ac demutatione funguntur. 'Lex una diversis, constitutorum semel vices cursuum custodire, *nec fines transire præscriptos. Manet ipsa immutabilis demutatio, & conversio vertere ordinem suum nescit.* Una omnium obedientia, discretis muneribus 'indiscretam præscriptæ constitutionis tenere concordiam.

Fabritius.

'Vis verbi tui hoc ipso se perennem docet, quòd cælos etiam ipsos, ne 'pereant conservat. Vel, cælis qnasi insculptum est, ac proinde immu- 'tabile: sicut cælum est *immutabile.*

Hilarius.

'In cælo ait, quia scit in terris propter falsitatē hominum non manere. 'Et quomodo in cælo maneat, ipsa veluti corporalis contemplationis 'fide cernitur. Non est illic *transgressio*, non *demutatio*, non *infirmitas*, 'non otium. Contueamur solis annuum cursum, & menstruum lunæ 'recursum, astrorum quoque aut stationes, aut conversiones, aut demu- 'rationes, *nunquid non finibus suis & constitutis terminis ac decretis vicissitudinibus continentur?* Nihil illic demutatur, nihil differtur, nihil 'negligitur, *sed in constitutionis suæ manet lege, & in indefessis obedientiæ ministerijs perseverat.*

Theodoretus.

'Omnia enim inquit, tibi Domine facilia sunt, atque fieri possunt, 'mandatum enim tuum, *immobiles* cælorum latitudines custodiunt. Hoc 'autem & in centesimo quadragesimo octavo inquit Psalmo, *statuit ea in æternum, & in sæculum sæculi præceptum posuit & non præteribit.* Cæte- 'rum eodem tempore innuit non solum cælos, sed etiam cælites divi- 'nam custodire legem, & ab *omni transgressione immunes esse.*

Ver. 91.
Ad judicia tua stant hucusque quoniam omnia sunt servi tui.

Musculus in locum.

Deinde cogitemus quanta sit ista perversitas, quâ homo ad imaginem

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'Dei conditus, *solus unà cum reprobis Angelis ab obedientia Dei defecit*, ut
'quod de reliquis creaturis Dei prædicatur, de illo prædicari nequeat,
'nisi singulari gratia reparetur.

Mollerus.

'Altera amplificatio sumpta est ab ordine totius naturæ, qui decreto &
'imperio Dei *Manet firmus & immotus*: terra quotannis fit fœcunda &
'mirabili ordine conservantur species in procreatione rerum singula-
'rum, sunt *certissimæ ac perpetuæ leges motuum cælestium*, vices dierum
'ac noctium. si igitur in his rebus omnibus quæ sensibus nostris judica-
'ri possunt *tanta est certitudo*, quanto magis existimandum est illud de-
'cretum de collectione, defensione, liberatione & æternâ gloria eccle-
'siæ esse firmum & perpetuum?

'*Iudicia*] nominat decretum seu ordinationem divinam qua cuique
'rei *certa quasi leges & meta sunt præscripta intra quas tota rerum natura,*
sicut ab initio condita est sese continens, suo creatori obtemperat & servit.
'Ideo subjicit. Omnia sunt servi tui; *manent enim res creatæ in illo ordine,*
quem Deus in primâ creatione constituit & sanxit. Solus homo & Diaboli se à
Deo avulserunt. Sicut igitur, *Ordo ille non mutatur*: ita cogitemus promis-
'sionem ecclesiæ factam esse certam & immutabilem.
'Eadem verbatim ex *Mollero* mutuatus est *Fabritius*, sicut in pluribus a-
'lijs locis,

Jansenius.

'Omnia enim velut servi tui obediunt mandato tuo. Hanc itaque *con-*
stantem creaturarum obedientiam animadvertens, æquissimum esse ju-
'dico & nos tuis mandatis parere semper. Rursum dum in his tuam at-
'tendo æternitatem, potentiam & fidem, non parùm in malis meis con-
'solationis ea res mihi attulit.

Hilarius.

'Ut magnificentiam Dei omnes hujus quoque mundi creationes *inde-*
mutabili officiorum suorum constitutione testentur, cum ita *firmata fun-*
data stataque omnia sint, ut perpetuis quibus manebunt constitutorum ab ex-
ordio temporum cursibus perseverent.

Calvinus.

'Intelligit Prophetа totius naturæ ordinem, solius Dei imperio vel
'decreto niti. Nam judicia nominans ad legem ipsam alludit: acsi di-
'ceret ubique fulgere *rectitudinem illam* quæ in lege Dei patefacta est.
'Unde sequitur nimis perversos esse homines quum infidelitate suâ,
'Dei fidem quantum in se est concutiunt & labefactant, *in quam recum-*
bunt omnes creaturæ: deinde quum suâ contumaciâ violant Dei justitiam,
'& vim præceptis abrogant, in quibus *fundata est tota mundi firmitas.*
'Sit ergo hoc nobis penitus infixum, arcanâ Dei virtute sic omnia
'fovere, *ut in statu* retinendo verbum ejus vel mandatum audiant.

Psal:

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Psal. 148. vers. 6.

Statuit ea in æternum & in sæculum sæculi, præceptum posuit & non præteribit.

Theodoretus in locum.

'Non modo autem condidit, verumetiam de ipsis curam gerit, unde '& perseverantiam habent, donec ipse voluerit: *nulla res enim terminos ab ipso positos transgredi potest.* Igitur ea quæ in anima sunt, atque etiam 'aliorum genera *leges positas verentur, sola* autem hominum natura ratio-'ne prædita leges transgreditur, & mare quidem terminos scit, & are-'nam veretur, & nox atque dies mensuras positas conservant, homines 'verò divinas leges pro nihilo ducunt.

Damascenus de fide ortho: lib 2. cap. 6. de cælo.

'Attamen sive hoc sive illo modo: sic universa divina jussione facta sunt & *firmata*; & per divinam voluntatem & consilium *fundamentum inconcussibile habent.* Ipse enim dixit & facta sunt, ipse mandavit & cre-'ata sunt, *statuit hæc in sæculum, & in sæculum sæculi, præceptum posuit quod non præteribit.*

Mollerus in locum.

'Altera ratio sumpta est à *perpetua* conservatione rerum creatarum, in 'quâ *non minus* quam in ipsa creatione potentia Dei & virtus conspici-'tur. Quod enim hucusque perstant creaturæ, & singulæ manent *intra suas metas ordine immoto*: & servant leges divinitùs præscriptas: id non 'fit temerè aut casu; neque est hæc potentia in ipsis creaturis ut per se 'subsistant, & actiones suas naturales perficiant: sed fiunt ista omnia *Deo conservante & sustentante creaturas & ordinem à se institutum.* Ne-'cesse est igitur mentem esse sapientem & potentem cujus arbitrio tota 'rerum creatura subjecta est, idque agnoscere omnes & celebrare æqu-'um est.

Posuit illis edictum] Id est singulis præscripsit suas quasi leges & me-'tas circundedit, *intra quas sese contineant*, singulis attribuit suos motus, 'suas vires & affectiones. Has leges servant *immobili ordine.*

Non præteribit] Id est non delebitur, non abrogabitur, non cessabit 'illud edictum seu statutum. Quia omnes creaturæ in suo ordine & mi-'litia divinitus tanquam in acie collocatæ consistunt, nec *possunt ex sese aut suis viribus mutare illum ordinem divinitus institutum*; etiamsi Deus 'ut agens liberimum, & qui ad causas secundas alligatus non est, multò 'aliter agere quàm cient causæ secundæ, aut mutare quædam in hoc or-'dine possit; ut cum jubet consistere solem aut regredi: aut, cum facit a-'num effœtam fœcundam. Hæc opera testantur Deum non esse alliga-'tum creaturis. *Ipsæ tamen creaturæ manent in suo ordine, à quo sua vi non possunt discedere. Ideo dicit, hoc statutum, seu has leges quas Deus præscripsit corporibus cœlestibus esse firmas & immotas, ideoque non præterire aut cessare.* 'Hic autem tacitè notat malitiam hominum, qui *soli* exemplo & impul-'su Diabolorum non servant originem suam: sed deficiunt à conditore 'suo, & leges sibi præscriptas audacter violant.

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'Hæc omnia ex Mollero ad verbum repetit Fabritius in ſuis Com-'mentarijs, quibus addit. Tametſi iſta principaliter videntur reſpicere 'creaturas cœleſtes, de quibus Propheta hactenus loquutus eſt, poſſunt 'tamen ad *omnes* alias etiam referri.

'Et in *Doctrinis*, In eo ipſo imitemur Creaturas Dei, quod nimirum 'ſtatutum ſibi datum *non violant nec transgrediuntur*.

Muſculus.

Statutum dedit quod non præteritur. exponunt quidam de termino tem-'poris ac diuturnitatis; ut idem ſit cum eo quod præmittit: conſtituit 'ea ut durent uſque & in ſæculum, vero meo judicio convenientius eſt, 'ut intelligamus de ſtatutis illis quæ præſcripta ſunt ſingulis, quid mini-'ſterij & officij perficiant ſive Angeli ſint, ſive reliqui cæleſtium ſpiritu-'um exercitus, ſive ſol, ſive luna, ſive ſtellæ, ſive cœli & aquæ quæ ſu-'pra illos exiſtunt. Nec rarum eſt in ſcripturis, quod ſingulare pro plu-'rali ponitur; *Nihil horum ab eo quod ſibi conſtitutum eſt, deficit*: ut rectè 'dicat & non præteritur.

Ianſenius.

'Eodem autem juſſu quo ea creavit, *etiam ſtabilivit ea, ut omnibus du-rarent ſæculis*: legemque dedit præſcribentem eis motus rationem *nec abrogabitur ea lex ullo tempore*, ſed uſque in conſummationem ſæculi *conſtanter ſemper divina obtemperabunt voluntati*. Congruum itaque ut 'univerſa hæc Deum laudent, tum quod cùm maxima ſint opera ſolo ta-'men verbo ab eo creata ſint: tum quod *perpetuitatem* illis præſtitit, tum 'quod *inobliquabili eis lege conſtanter dominetur*.

Calvinus.

'Porrò de Creatione loquutus, addit quòd magis obſervatu dignum 'eſt, præceptum illis dediſſe, quod *inviolabile* manet.

Pſal. 89. verſ: 36. 37.

Semen ejus perpetuum erit, & thronus ejus ſicut ſol in conſpectu meo.
Et ſicut luna quæ firmata eſt in ſæculum, ac teſtis in cælo fidelis.

Muſculus in locum.

'Tam erit regnum hoc *Davidis* in conſpectu meo clarum & illuſtre, 'quàm eſt ſol illuſtris ac *perpetuus* coram me, *perpetuo* ſplendore ſuo ter-'ram illuſtrans.

Theodoretus.

'Quoniam ſol eſt in cauſa temporis metiendi, exoriens, occidens, & 'diem noctemque efficiens, meritò *per ſolem voluit ſolij æternitatem* oſten-'dere: promiſit autem ſemen illius in *perpetuum* conſervare.

Bellarminus.

'Thronus tuus erit in conſpectu meo ſicut ſol, & ſicut luna, quæ per-'fecta eſt, quoad ſubſtantiam & *ſtabilis* in æternum.

Lyra.

'Et thronus ejus ſicut ſol, quia ſicut ſol & luna *durabunt in perpetuum*: 'ita Chriſti regnum.

Pſal. 119.

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Psal. 119. vers. 90.

Thy truth is from generation to generation: thou hast laid the foundation of the earth and it abideth.

The Bishop of Galloway.

As he collected the certainety of Gods word, by the indurance of heaven; so now he confirmes it by considering the foundation of the earth. Sith the foundation of the earth, made by the word of God, abides sure, shall wee not thinke that the foundation of our salvation, laid in Christ Jesus, is much more sure? Though the Creatures cannot teach us the way of salvation, (for that wee must learne by the word) yet doe they confirme that which the word saith. *Thus saith the Lord, who gives the Sunne for a light to the day, and the courses of the Moone and starres for a light to the night; If these ordinances depart out of my sight, then shall the seede of Israel cease from being a nation before me for ever.* As there *Ieremie* gathers the stabilitie of the Church; *from the stabilitie of the Creatures*: so heere *David* confirmes the certainty of our salvation, *by the most certaine and unchangeable course of the Creatures.* Jerem. 31. 35.

And it abides.] As the Lord by his word made the worlds, so beares he up all things by his mighty word. Creation is as the mother, and *Providence the nurse and conserver of all the workes of God.* God is not like man, for he, when he hath made a worke cannot maintaine it: he buildeth a ship, and cannot save it from shipwracke; he edifies a house, but cannot keepe it from decay; it is otherwise with God, wee daily see his *conserving power upholding his Creatures*; which should confirme us that he will not cast us off, nor suffer us to perish (sith we are the workes of his hands) if wee doe depend upon him, and give him the glory of our Creator, Conserver and Redeemer.

Vers. 91.

They continue to this day by thine ordinance: for all are thy servants.

Idem.

The same argument by which David *heere proves the truth of Gods word, is used by prophane mockers to improve it.* Where is (say they) the promise of his comming? for since the Fathers dyed, all things continue alike from the Creation. There is so great difference betweene a godly and a godlesse heart, that where the one, of every thing learnes to be more godly; the other learnes to be more prophane: like poysonable waspes, who out of most wholesome hearbs, gather nothing but poyson.

Eccles.

Eccles. cap. 1. ver. 4.

Generatio una abit & altera advenit: quamvis terra in saculum permaneat.

Junius in locum.

Amplificatio vanitatis humanæ per comparationem aliarum rerum, quæ in natura sunt, quarum hæ perstant, *aliæ verò etsi ad tempus disparent, tamen* in statum suum pristinum reverruntur perpetua sua conversatione.

Johannes Ferdinandus.

Si terra secundum essentiam & substantiam elementi, vel (ut alij dicunt) secundum se totam consideretur, æterna est à parte post, *tum quia cepit esse per creationem ex nihilo, tum quia eandem conditionem obtinet quam cætera elementa, qua secundum suam substantiam* incorruptibilia sunt & perpetua.

Lutherus.

Res quidem mundi ut sol, aër, aqua, &c: in quibus versantur homines, consistunt suâ certa lege, *eunt, redeunt, moventur, &c: ita ut* ordinata sunt; *habent* certas vices, non fluctuant neque aberrant, *sed agunt quod debent, sicut sol sua viâ, & certa motu movetur, &c. Homines verò qui in istis quatuor elementis, rebus, inquam, stabilibus versantur, non possunt sic agere, sed fluctuant, mutant, varietate suorum conatuum ac cupiditatum instabilissimi, non contenti suis terminis, negotijs, vocationibus.*

Johannes Sotranus in vers. 4. 5. 6. 7.

Sunt enim in hac naturæ universitate rerum ipsarum certa quædam & quasi constituta officia, *quæ definitè* conservantur: *stat terra in medio mundi universi loco, ut illius nimirum centrum omniumque animalium sedes & domicilium: sol suos habet ortus & occasus, quos* indefesso *tenore conservat. Ventus, licèt variis è cæli regionibus meatus habeat, eos tamen constanter tenet: fluminum quoque è mari in mare varia est & multiplex reciprocatio, sed ea tamen hujusmodi, ut eadem* constansque permaneat. Omnes denique res ex creationis suæ modo ratos habent constantesque terminos, intra quos sese continent.

Vers. 9. 10.

Quid est quod fuit? id ipsum quod erit: & quid est quod factum est? id ipsum quod fiet: & non est quippiam novum sub sole.

Est quippiam de quo dici possit, unde istud novum est? jam fuit in saculis quæ fuerunt ante nos.

Mercerus in vers. 9.

Cum jam inde ab orbe condito idem fuerit astrorum motus, & futurus sit, fuerunt & erunt ijdem affectus in his inferioribus quæ virtute superiorum regantur.

Titlemannus.

Hoc itaq; puto significari præsenti sermone eundem in mundo rerum statum permanere, si totum ipsum spectemus universum, *& pene omnia se habere similiter in saculis posterioribus atque in prioribus sese habuerunt, tametsi quandoque multa judicent homines nova & nunquam visa propter defectum memoriæ quam tempus absumit.*

Victorinus

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Victorinus Strigelius.

Eadem fabula semper in mundo agitur mutatis duntaxat personis, *sicut & Thucidides lib. 3. inquit, similia accidere donec manebit eadem hominum natura, aliàs aliquando mitiùs, aliàs atrocius ut ferunt circumstantiæ.*

Johannes Ferdinandus.

Lyranus & Carthusianus referunt ad esse rerum, existimo tamen non solum cum Cajetano sed cum Thaumaturgo, Vatablo & alijs magis consonum esse textui, ut hanc partem referamus ad operationes rerum naturales, morales & artificiales, *Deus namque initio temporis non tantum Creatoris dedit esse, sed eas produxit cum suis seminibus perfectas ad operationes sibi commodas exercendas, & homines similiter excitavitque & movit naturam suo imperio ad operandum*, ut eadem facies universi perpetuò conservaretur, *ut constat ex Divo Petro loco citato. Et paulo post*; quæ natura ab initio produxit, eadem nunc & similia producit & producet, eædem generationes, productiones & emanationes in omnibus speciebus perseverant.

Hieronymus.

Videtur mihi de his quæ supra enumeravit: generatione & generatione: mole terrarum: ortu solis & occasu: cursu flaminum, magnitudine Oceani, omnibusque quæ aut cogitatione aut visu vel auribus discimus, nunc communiter loqui, quod nihil novum sit in natura rerum, quod non ante jam fuerit.

Antonius Fayus.

Orbis autem universus est velut unum idemque theatrum; *in quo* eædem tragediæ & comœdiæ aguntur: *non tamen ab ijsdem actoribus: mutantur enim homines cum tempore. fuerunt, sunt & erunt bella, cædes, homicidia, adulteria, divortia, lites, oppressiones*; *fuerunt rerum generationes & corruptiones, alterationes, terræ motus, hiatus, chasmata, fulmina, &c. Nam sicut nihil dicitur quod non dictum sit prius: ita nihil fit, quod non factum sit prius.* Hoc autem est intelligendum propriè de ijs quæ generantur & intereunt per successionem. *Nam sol & elementa sunt eadem quæ fuerunt, non tamen per successionem: sed generabilia individua mutationi obnoxia ita sunt & erunt*, ut species sint eædem per individuorum successionem continuatæ; *illa in perpetuo sunt fluxu*, hæ sunt semper eædem à prima creatione.

Carthwright.

Nihil novi esse sub sole confirmat inductione post novi descriptionem hanc, nempe quia nihil extitit, quod deinceps non erit, & nihil factum quod deinceps non futurum sit. Hoc primum in rebus naturalibus liquidissimè constat, ut quæ certam seriem & constantem cursum servant. *In civilibus etiam & voluntarijs si quis attentius consideret, in summa rerum varietate & inconstantia earundem revolutionem tanquam* in orbem conversam *animadvertet.*

Lavaterus.

Quæ ab exordio mundi fuerunt, adhuc sunt & erunt; quæ facta sunt fiunt & fient usque ad mundi consummationem: *sol oritur, sol occidit: facit vices temporum, plantæ velati moriuntur, postea redeunt, homines artificia sua exercent, bella gerunt, vincunt & vincuntur, nascuntur & moriuntur, destruunt & ædificant, Hac illusoris quoque 2. Pet. cap. 3. perpendentes, colligunt nullum fore judicium, semper res ita fore; at seipsos ac alios fallunt*

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lunt: durabunt hæc ad tempus judicij, *quo nova terra & novum cœlum erit.*

Iohannes Ferus.

'Sed vel loquitur generaliter de succeſſionibus & operationibus creaturarum, quæ *eodem modo operantur & ſibi ſuccedunt*, ſicut *ab initio*: vel 'ſpecialiter de hominis affectibus. Nulli enim ſunt novi affectus in homine, *ſed ſemper ijdem manemus.* Majores Dei creaturis abuſi ſunt, ſic & 'nos: Impij fuerunt, ſic & nos: ædificarunt, bella geſſerunt ut nos: *Nihil igitur novum.*

Theodorus Beza.

Enimverò libet hìc mihi compellare diligentiſſimos rerum mundanarum ſcrutatores. Cedò quid hìc novi? quid recens exortum deprehendiſſe 'te vel deprehenſurum exiſtimas? Aio quidem ego, idipſum eſſe & 'fore quod antea fuit, nec fore quidquam, niſi quod factum fuerit prius: ſub ſole denique nihil novum inveniri.

Georgius Rhemus.

Circulatio ſive rotatio eſt perpetua omnium rerum. Eadem ſemper agitur fabula mutatis tantum perſonis, temporibus, locis. Genus idem ſemper ma'net; individua deſinunt. Thucidides dum inquit eadem hominum 'natura manet, ſimilia multa accidunt. Lucretius idem 3. de rerum na'tura. *Non nova vivendo producitur ulla voluptas.*

Hieronymus Oſorius.

'His ignorantiæ tenebris oppleti inania ſectantur, non enim vident 'ex eiſdem cauſis omnia quæ fuerunt & ſunt, in terra gigni, & *à natura certam & ſtabilem quandam in ſui varietate rationem ſervari*: & ideo id 'quod ipſa aliquot ante annos attulit, idem eam eſſe allaturam.

Eccleſ. 3. verſ. 14.

Novi quicquid facit Deus id eſſe ſemper, ad illud nihil poſſe addi, & de illo nihil poſſe detrahi: Deumque ipſum facere ut timeant homines à facie ipſius.

Olympiodorus in locum.

'Rerum aliæ quidem viſui ſunt obnoxiæ, aliæ verò videri non poſ'ſunt; hic autem ſermo habetur de viſibilibus rebus, & harum quidem 'aliæ *ſemper eodem modo perdurant*, ut terra, cœlum, ſol, luna, aliæ verò *per ſucceſſionem ſervantur in ſpecie*, ut homines, plantæ & ſimilia. Novi 'igitur inquit quod non eſt apponere ad ea quæ in mundi conſtitutione 'Deus creavit, *cum ejuſmodi compoſitio perfecta ſit & indeficiens.*

Mercerus.

'Conſilia ſua æterna eſſe voluit, *& certam ac conſtantem legem rerum 'omnium*, ut ſupra in ſole dictum eſt & fluminibus (etſi aliorſum ut ſupra 'dixi ibi diceretur) ut diſceremus inde eum timere, & ejus omnipoten'tem ſapientiam ac majeſtatem admirari, revereri.

Bonaventura.

'Eſt loqui de rebus ſecundum eſſe dupliciter, aut ſecundum eſſe in'dividuale, ſic ſunt corruptibilia, aut ſecundum eſſe commune, ſic ſunt *perpetua.*

Iohannes

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Johannes Ferdinandus.

'Locus hic intelligitur non modò de illis præcipuis operibus quæ in in-
'dividua incorruptibilia sunt, sed etiam de omnibus aliis generibus &
'speciebus quas Deus ab initio produxit, quorum individua & si quo-
'tidie oriantur et intereant, species tamen & genera *incorruptibilia sunt*
& permansura in perpetuum. Et paulo post.
'Tandem licet corpora cælestia & quatuor elementa mutentur secun-
'dum partes, & licet omnia singularia rerum inferiorum oriantur et in-
'tereant, eadem tamen in rebus ipsis compositio, eadem temporum
'successio, & similis *operationes creaturarum perseverant.* Sol oritur,
'sol occidit, terra fructificat, aër volatilibus, mare piscibus redundat,
Cæteraque in suis actionibus permanent. Hæc optimâ similitudine expli-
'cantur desumpta ab Augustino: sicut in musica eadem perseverat me-
'lodia, etsi aliquæ voces interim supprimantur: Sic licet res omnes
'eandem non habeant mensuram durationis et aliquæ intereant, *idem*
concentus, idem rerum ordo permanet semper.

Piscator.

'Id est, *stabiliter* et *immutabiliter* mundum gubernat.

Iohannes Ferus.

'Primò enim perseverant aliquæ creaturæ eodem numero, et corpora
'cœlestia elementaque: aliqua eadem specie, ut homines, animalia,
'plantæ: deinde nedum ipsæ res permanent, *sed et ipsa Dei ordinatio in*
ipsis rebus, permanet successio temporum, *permanet operationes creaturarum,*
'hìc nihil addere vel demere possumus.

Hieronymus.

'Ipsa & sunt et fuerunt et erunt universa quæ cernimus. Sol qui nunc
'oritur et antequam essemus nos in mundo, fuit et postquam mortui
'fuerimus oriturus est. Solem autem nominavimus, ut ex hoc intelli-
'gamus & cætera esse eadem quæ fuerunt. Quæ si videntur per condi-
'tionem mortis perire, *non pereunt quia sursum rediviva succrescunt: &*
'*nihil in perpetuum interit: sed renascitur & quasi cum quodam sanore revi-*
viscit.

Osorius.

'Dei sapientiam in mundi hujus quem cernimus fabrica hominibus in-
'notuisse cognovi, & usu percepi ab eo fuisse omnia tam admirabili ra-
'tione constituta ut non solum tam *multis sæculis permaneant*, sed ut nihil
'eis ad totius *universitatis pulchritudinem* addi, neve oculos offendat, sit
'necesse detrahi. Ea quidem ideò Deus tam eleganter condidit ut ho-
'mines ad religionem excitaret, quâ illum piè colerent, & illius offen-
'sam perhorrescerent. Id autem ut in eorum animis vehementius infi-
'gat hæc omnia varijs successionibus ita temperat. *Vt mundus integer*
perseveret. Dei namque Providentia & virtute, sui quasi consumptio-
'ne mundus alitur, illius enim partes paulatim labuntur, neque prop-
'terea omnia pereunt, procreator namque illarum Deus *abunde suppe-*
ditat ut refici & renovari possint: quod quidem jam ab initio rerum infinita
virtute præstitit, & futuris quoque temporibus præstabit.

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Pineda.

'Ob: Quomodo inquis opera Dei esse fixa & stabilia; Cum si loqua-
'ris de tempore & rebus temporarijs labantur omnes & prætereant.
'Resp: Respondeat verò Ecclesiastes: quod ad tempus & res tempora-
'rias attinet, Deus instaurat repetitque res similes, ut qua fieri possit ra-
'tione, præterita & elapsa *instaurentur & stabilitatem accipiant, atque re-
bus perfequutionem passis, instaurationis alicujus medicina facta perseverent.*

Ver: 15.

*Illud quod fuit jam est: & quod futurum est, jam fuit: et Deus re-
quirit tempus præteritum.*

Iunius in locum.

'Id est, efficit administratione suâ, ut res aliæ alijs succedant, & per vi-
'ces revertantur, *quâsi in orbem agerentur.* Loquutio sumpta à sphæra
'cæleſti, quæ moderatur tempora, quasi dicat, facit ut ita revolvantur
'quæ sunt in tempore, quemadmodum tempus ipsum, quod ea continet
'revolvitur.

Mercerus.

'Hic autem hoc affert ut æterna Dei opera, consilia ac decreta firma &
'stabilia esse ostendat, quæ certam ac irrevocabilem & *statam legem ha-
beant.* Id quòd in orbis partibus quas integrantes appellant verum est:
*Vt solis et syderum status & idem cursus & corporum cælestium idem ab initio
orbis cursus: unde et ijdem effectus in istis inferioribus quæ ab illis regi voluit.*

Carthwright.

'Denique ut-cunque hominum cæcitate fiat, ut hac tam crebrâ rerum
'mutatione omnia sursum deorsum temerè & perturbatè ferri videan-
'tur, *his tamen quibus Deus oculos aperuit omnia ordinatissime et convenien-
tissime administrantur.* Quod enim olim extitit jam recurrit, & quod
'deinceps futurum est pridem extitit: ut ficut in orbium cæli conversi-
'one, singulæ partes mutuo sibi succedunt, ut quod jam propulsum est,
'iterum suo tempore redeat: sic Deus in rerum humanarum admini-
'stratione, quæ exacta & transacta sunt *suo semper repetit revocatque.*

Theodorus Beza.

'Hinc fit ut ipso uno temporum vicissitudines, quantumvis instabiles
'nobis videantur, tamen *Constanter* moderante, repentè redeat quòd
'præterierat & quod futurum est jam extiterit: Dei manu sic rotatio-
'nem istam regente, ut quod illa currente rotâ propulsatum fuerat, in
Orbem suo tempore recurrat.

Eccles: 7. *Ver.* 10.

*Ne dixeris quid est quod dies priores fuerint meliores istis?
nam non ex sapientia rogares super hoc.*

Olympiodorus in locum.

'Quotidiè sic stulti homines loqui solent: Dicunt enim: patrũ nostrorũ
'temporibus illis priscis, loqui Deus hominibus modò per Angelos,
modò

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'modò per prophetas solebat: licebat antiquis Patribus uxores multas 'accipere, multas divitias possidere, quæ tamẽ nobis Evangelica lex co- 'ercuit. Sunt præterea qui dicunt, olim me Deus auxilio suæ gratiæ pro- 'tegebat, nunc verò me penitus solum dereliquit, ideoque bona operari 'non possum; *Hæc autem omnia sunt insipientium verba. Est & alios ita blateramtes audire: tempestate nostra mundus hic malis hominibus est refertus:* 'alij sunt boni dies, alij verò mali. Cæterum qui duce virtute suam 'moderatur vitam, de vita in vitam transit, ac de fide in fidem proficit, 'operibus bonis, *neque apud illum est aliqua dierum differentia: sed congruis rationibus novit evertere quas paulò ante adduximus stultorum hominum quæstiones.*

Melanction.

'Hæc admonitio etiam de patientia concionatur, ut enim Thucidides 'inquit de imperijs, ita fit propemodum in tota vitâ ἀεὶ τὸ παρὸν βαρύ, *semper præsens status molestior est*; propriùs enim sentiuntur præsentia 'incommoda, ideo et aliorum tempora laudamus & alium statum ex- 'petimus.

Arborensis, Doctor Parisiensis.

Videtur haud dubiè injuriam facere creatori utriusque temporis, qui vetus sæculum presenti anteponit. Sua habuerunt sophisticæ nugæ tempora, sua 'nunc habent bonæ literæ, quod debemus Deo optimo, Maximo referre 'acceptum.

Hieronymus.

Ne vetus sæculum præsenti præferas: quia unus utriusque conditor est Deus: Virtutes bonos dies viventi faciunt, vitia malos. Ne dicas ergò meliores 'fuisse dies sub Moyse & sub Christo, quàm modò sunt; nam et illo 'tempore plures fuerunt increduli, & dies eorum mali facti sunt, & 'nunc credentes multi reperiuntur: de quibus ait salvator: Beatiores 'sunt qui me non viderunt & crediderunt.

Zanchey.

'Crediderim hanc sententiam subjecisse Ecclesiæ ad refutandam stul- 'tam quorundam iracundiam, qui molestiâ affecti sui sæculi mores ac- 'cusant, antiquos laudant, quasi sit iracundiæ causa temporum mutatio 'ac revolutio, cum in nobis sit origo impatientiæ, *qui si in illis priscis sæculis nati fuissemus similibus implicaremur malis*: quæramus attentè causas 'molestiæ nostræ et impatientiæ, et nihil accusare posse, nisi nosmetip- 'sos evidenter colligemus: Si meliora vocant tempora hominum mo- 'res, quæ ætas suis non abundavit vitijs, *& fortassis pejoribus quam nunc sint.*

Lutherus.

'Fuit ergo semper mundus malus, sed non semper fuimus in mundo, 'neque sumus, nobis pueris nihil turbatur, nos quidem eramus in paca- 'more vitæ genere, *sed mundus semper fuit sui similis.* Hoc quidem verum 'est, quòd malitia aliquo sæculo magis erumpit quam alio, sed hoc fit 'quia alij subinde casus et majores occasiones quoque existunt; *malitia tamen mundi semper manet eadem.*

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Carthwright.

'In omni verò indignationis et impatientiæ genere illud ſtudioſè de-
'clinandum, ne Dei ſapientiſſimam et oculatiſſimam adminiſtrationem
'accuſes, cujus tamen te reum conſtituis cum dicis: Unde hoc quod
'potior eſt præteritorum temporum conditio, quam inſtantis? *non con-*
'*tentus enim præſentibus liquidò ſtultitiæ ſententiam in teipſum dicis.*

Lavaterus.

'Naturâ ſumus μεμψίμοιροι: paucos invenias ſua ſorte contentos. querimur
'nos in mala tempora incidiſſe, laudamus præteritos annos. Interim
'cogitandum erit de veris cauſis malorum *quæ non temporibus ſed nobis*
ipſis potius aſcribendæ ſunt. Si nos eſſemus meliores, tempora quoque
'meliora eſſent. Quod homines de noſtro tempore falſò querantur, ele-
'gantèr docet vir eruditus, Iohannes Rivius in ſuo libro de ſæculi no-
'ſtri fælicitate, et hominum erga Dei beneficia ingratitudine, quem his
'verbis orditur. Ut fortunatos nimium ſua ſi bona norint Agricolas
'ille optimus atque maximus Poeta cenſet: ita ego multò fæliciſſimos
'hujus ſæculi qui ubiq; ſunt mortales omnes judico, ſi ſua ipſi aliquan-
'dò quæ divinitùs contigêre, bona agnoſcere & grato animo proſequi
'beneficium cæleſte volent. Etenim ſi verum judicium facere, remque
'ut eſt expendere & æſtimare ſtudeas, vix annos intra mille, aut eò am-
'plius, tantum ulli ſæculo boni obtigiſſe quantum huic noſtro, ſine ulla
'dubitatione confiteare neceſſe eſt. Nam ſive linguarum cognitionem
'et humanitatis optimarumq; artium et diſciplinarum ſtudia, ſive religi-
'onis ſacroſanctæ, doctrinæ eccleſiaſticæ, ac veræ germanæque theo-
'logiæ inſtaurationem, ſive rerum omnium et publicarum et privata-
'rum, aut priſtinum in ſtatum reſtitutionem, aut in meliorem formam
'redactionem, abuſum et conſuetudinem vitioſarum et corruptarum
'emendationem, veterumque denique et morum et inſtitutorum cor-
'rectionem ſpectes, omnia meliùs atque præclarius habere comperies,
'quam ſuperioribus ſæculis multis, &c.

Fayus.

Eſt enim innatũ hominibus ut perpetuis querelis ſeſe torqueant, dum præterita
cum præſentibus conferunt, Hæc enim ſemper deteriora, illa autem bea-
tiora eſſe prædicant. Verum enim eſt illud Comici, noſmet noſtri pæ-
'niter. Id eſt, nemo ſuâ contentus eſt ſorte, nemo in conditione ſuâ ac-
'quieſcit. Ita præteritos annos deſiderant et laudant ſenes.

O mihi prateritos referat ſi Iupiter annos!
Qualis eram cum primam aciem, &c.

'Ait ille apud Virgilium, & ſenibus hoc adſcribitur, quod ſint laudato-
'res temporis acti, ſe pueris, ſtultè autem id fieri oſtendit Solomon
'neque verum eſt ſæcula priora fuiſſe meliora.

Ferus.

Mundus enim ſemper fuit malus; quod autem hoc nunc primum ſen-
tis, ratio eſt, quia creſcentibus nobis creſcunt experientia rerum & offa-
ſiones iraſcendi. Puer non curat quod alius alium fraudat, occi-
'dit &c. ſed ſuis nugis occupatur, quandò verò ſit paterfamilias,
'ſentit moleſtiam et infidelitatem familiæ, ibi iraſcitur &c. *ſic malitia*

mundi

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mundi ſemper manet eadem, tameiſi aliquo ſæculo magis erumpit quàm alio, ſed hoc fit quia aliæ ſubinde occaſiones & caſus majores exiſtunt.

Verum hi ſimiles ſunt ijs, qui infirmi cum ſint, infirmitatis culpam lecto in quo jacent adſcribunt, non autem vitioſæ complexioni. *Non igitur tempori ſed tibi ipſi imputa mala tua.* Non eſt abbreviata manus Domini &c. ſed peccata noſtra prohibent bonum à nobis. Hinc Paulus pulchrè indicat, cur tempora ſint et dicantur mala. In noviſſimis (inquit) diebus inſtabunt tempora periculoſa, quia erunt homines ſemetipſos amantes &c. vides non tempori ſed nobis aſcribenda mala.

Brentius.

Propheta Amos cap. 5. ait, prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum eſt. Et Paulus Ephel: 5 ait; Redimite tempus quoniam dies mali ſunt. Hinc colligat fortaſſe quiſpiam tempus eſſe cauſam improbitatis hominum. Nam plærique de præſenti tempore queruntur: et quiſque putat melius ſibi fuiſſe ſi tempore majorum vixiſſet. Deinde etiam hoc frequenter in ore omnium fertur, patres non fuiſſe ſtultos; et ſemper quæ olim fuerunt, plurimum commendantur, quaſi præteritum tempus multò nobilius ac prudentius, quàm præſens fuerit. Sed Solomon ſtultum eum eſſe affirmat qui interrogat, cur nam ſuperiora tempora preſenti præſtent. Nam neque bonum neque malum tempori eſt aſſignandum: quòd tempus neque bonum per ſe ſit, neque malum, neque quenquam bonum vel malum efficiat. Et cum Amos ac Paulus tempus malum eſſe pronuntiant, non propter ejus naturam hoc faciunt: ſed quòd tot mala, ærummæ, ſcandala, eo tempore graſſata ſint. Ideo quod malum eſt, hominibus imputandum eſt. Nec fas eſt ut quiſquam de tempore non potius de ſeipſo conqueratur. *Si quis enim ſui mali culpam in tempus conferre vellet* (ut plæroſque facere videmus) *is non minus ſtultè faceret, quam ſi ægrotus quiſpiam morbi cauſam, non ſuæ infirmiori naturæ ſed lecto in quo decumbit aſcriberet.*

Oſorius.

Cum autem hæc & alia in communi vita contra officij rationem videris, *cave ne in eam venias opinionem & eorum qui ante nos vixerunt conditionem putes huic in qua ſumus nos eſſe præferendam*, & hujus rei cauſam diligenter exquiras, imprudenter enim id & ſtultè facies. Eædem enim ſunt cauſæ externæ, & eodem quo antea modo ad rerum noſtrarum conſervationem feruntur. *E nobis ipſis fluit noſtrarum rerum perturbatio*, quæ priſcos illos homines etiam in diverſa contorſit. Nam ut recte temperati mores immutantur, ſic et tempora mutantur & fiunt acerbiora: ab initio verò noſtri generis peccati tyrannis extitit, quæ illud pravis opinionibus imbuit, & illius mores corrupit.

Rhemni.

Ut nihil ſimpliciter ad pietatem tempus facere rectè dicam, fatendum omnibus eundem eſſe Deum qui ante tria millia annorum, & à conditu orbis fuit, eum poſſe adhuc excitare Davidas, Samueles, Iobos; et ne immemores ſimus beneficiorum divinorum æſtimatores;

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dico etiam verbi Dei κήρυγας, quantòs & quales viros, & quam magno numero? Ecclesia in Germaniâ, Gallia, Britannia, Sarmatia, Cimbria, Chersoneso, Pannonia, Bohemia, *Horum qui oblitus est, nalnihil meminit. Renatæ sunt his saculis literæ & artes omnes quæ fuerunt sepultæ barbaro Antichristianismi ævo in cœnobijs & bibliotaphijs. Sacra princeps illa theologia cui omnes disciplinæ submittunt fasces velaque ac regnum deferunt, cultissima nunc est, & norunt pueruli quæ vera sit ad salutem semita per assiduam verbi prædicationem. O felicia sæcula præmajorum ævo! & væ, væ, væ quod non gratis ea osculamur animis, tantum certè immensum Dei beneficium.*

Chartusianus.

Virtutes faciunt dies bonos, vitia malos, Seneca ait, quòd discipulus est prioris diei, dies posterior. Triplex ponitur tempus, scilicet tempus legis naturalis àb Adam usq; ad Mosen, exinde tempus legis scriptæ usque ad duration em legis evangelicæ à Christo sub quo est tempus evangelicæ legis usq; ad finem mundi. In quolibet etiam horum trium temporum potest intelligi prius et posterius. Dicunt igitur aliqui, quod tempus evangelicæ legis fuit melius præcedentibus duobus temporibus, quia in eo est data lex perfectissima, & abundantia gratiarum præcipua, propter quod tempus gratiæ nuncupatur, & plures quàm antè crediderunt in Deum. Similiter tempus legis scriptæ dicunt melius fuisse tempore legis naturæ, quia in tempore legis scriptæ multa & magna gratiarum charismata hominibus sunt collata, magis quam antè. Sicque affirmant posteriora tempora fuisse prioribus meliora. Alij dicunt quod prima pars temporis legis naturæ fuit melior quam pars ejus posterior, quoniam tempore Adam & diu postea ipse & ejus posteritas pro magnâ parte coluerunt unum verum Deum, postea verò circa tempora Noe cæperunt communiter ad carnis vitia declinare, prout in Genes. 6. narratur: et post diluvium ad Idolatriam corruerunt. Idem dicunt de tempore legis scriptæ, quòd scil: tempora meliora fuerunt sub Mose *&* Aarõ *& senioribus sub quibus facta sunt mirabilia multa & magna: Similiter in exordio primitivæ Ecclesiæ &c. Sicque affirmant tempora priora fuisse meliora cõparando partem unius temporis ad aliam partem ejusdem tẽporis. Hinc videtur dicendum & respondendum sub 3ci distinctione (viz) quod dies dicuntur meliores & deteriores non solum propter malum culpæ, sed etiam pœnæ. 2da est quòd dies dicuntur meliores & deteriores intensivè vel extensivè; intensivè propter gratiarum seu prosperitatum exuberantiam: extensivè propter multitudinem suppositorum servientium Deo. 3o. quòd uno eodemque tempore dies apud quosdam sunt meliores, apud alios verò deteriores. Ex quâ distinctione multæ sumi possunt considerationes ad dissolvendam propositam quæstionem. Siquidem tempore Apostolorum intensivè erant tempora meliora, evangelio nondum undique divulgato. Rursus tempore primitivæ ecclesiæ durante persecutorum tyrannide, tempora erant peiora tum malitiæ culpæ tum pœnæ, postremo tempore evangelicæ legis Christus in Ecclesia sua magnam frequenter fecit reformationem, nunc in unâ Christianitatis parte, nunc in alia: sic quibusdam tempora posteriora facta sunt aurea & prioribus meliora.*

Lyranus.

Stulta est huiusmodi interrogatio, dicendum quod hoc est, quia illi sic querentes propriam malitiam & sua inconstantiæ defectum volebant retorquere in Deum, qui est actor temporum: quod erat blasphemia contra ipsum.

Serranus.

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Serranus.

Monet moroſitatem illam eſſe fugiendam, quum homines præſentium calamitatum ſenſu impatientes de Deo conquerentur, in quem iniquiorum difficiliorumque temporum culpam derivant. *Eſt verum illud et in imperiis, ita in univerſa vita non nimis longe, molliorem quidem eſſe præſentem ſtatum; propius enim ſentiuntur ea quæ ſentiri incommoda. Hæc tamen patienter ſunt a nobis ferenda, ut eam videlicet fortunam ſubeamus, quam Deus nobis impoſuerit.* Habet unumquodque tempus ſuam incommoda.

Ierem. 31. verſ. 35. 36.

Hæc dicit Dominus qui dat ſolem in lumine diei: ordinem lunæ & ſtellarum in lumine noctis: qui turbat mare & ſonant fluctus ejus: Dominus exercituum nomen illi. Si defecerint leges iſtæ coram me, dicit Dominus, tunc & ſemen Iſraelis deficiet ut non ſit gens coram me cunctis diebus.

Oecolampadius in locum.

'Perpetuum fore regnum Chriſti in Eccleſia docet. Etenim ſicut fa'cit ſolem et lunam *ſuum ordinem perpetuo ſervare*: ita etiam non aſper'nabitur ſemen Iſrael. Comparationem mutuatur *à rebus firmiſſimis* certitudinem fidei declaraturus.

Lyra in verſ. 36.

'Si defecerint leges iſtæ rebus naturalibus à me impoſitæ. quaſi di'ceret, *ſicut ſunt ſtabiles, ita fideles ſtabunt coram me*: quod perfectè im'pletur in eccleſia triumphante.

Cornelius à lapide.

'Si defecerint leges iſtæ] ſcilicet naturæ, puta ſtata ſolis, lunæ & ma'ris agitatio, fluctus & fluxus, quaſi diceret, *ſi ordinem in naturalibus conſtantem ſervo*, multò magis in ſupernaturalibus: & citius iſta pereant, 'quàm ſemen Iſrael, id eſt populus fidelis & Eccleſia Chriſtiana de'ficiat.

Iohannis cap. 5. verſ. 17.

Pater meus hucuſque operatur, & ego operor.

Hemingius in locum.

'Ut Deus poſt creatum hominem & quietem ſabbati ſemper adeſt 'ſuo opificio, *ipſamque ſua providentia regit, fovet, tuetur*: ita Chriſtus 'poſt redemptionis opus completum, & quietem ſabbati in ſepulchro 'adeſt perpetuò ſuæ Eccleſiæ, eam regit, tuetur, fovet ſpiritu & verbo.

Theophylactus.

'Vis diſcere quomodo operetur adhuc Deus? vide diſpenſationem 'rerum, & diſce opera Providentiæ, ſolem orientem, mare, fontes, flu'mina, & animalia, & ſimpliciter omnes facturas: *& videbis creaturam opera ſua operari, imò operationem recipere & moveri ineffabili providentia verbo.*

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Calvinus.

'Interea non definit mundum à se conditum *sua virtute sustinere, regere suo consilio, bonitate fovere*, & cuncta suo arbitrio in cœlo & in terra 'statuere. Ergo sex diebus absoluta fuit mundi creatio: regimen verò 'ejus perpetuum est, *& assiduè intuendo & conservando ejus ordine Deus o-* 'peratur: quemadmodum Paulus docet, in eo nos vivere, moveri & 'esse *Act.* 17. 28. & David *Psal.* 104. 29. stare omnia docet, quate- 'nus ea spiritus Dei vegetat, deficere autem simul ac ejus vigore destitu- 'ta fuerint.

Ferus.

'Cum illius sabbatum adhuc duret, non cessat tamen ab opere quo 'gubernat omnia quæ condidit, quo subinde *res alias ex alijs progenerat,* 'quo collapsa *restituit.*

Iansenius.

'Præter hanc Dei operationem qua ab initio novas creaturarum spe- 'cies condidit, est alia ejus operatio, gubernatio scilicet & providentia 'creaturarum, & conservatio earum, ob quam *alia ex alijs progenerat, col- lapsa restaurat, cælestia in continuo suo motu & influentia continet*, atque hæc 'est operatio quam dicit Patrem usque modò operari.

Lyra.

'Deus non sic producit res sicut artifex domum: quia domum factam 'dimittit & non conservat: & ideo domo facta cessat ejus operatio. De- 'us autem sic producit res *quod eas conservat in esse*; & ideo licet septima 'die quieverit à novis operibus condendis; non tamen quievit à creatu- 'ris productis conservandis.

Chrysostomus in cap. 2. Genes. ver. 2.

'Christus dicens Pater meus usque hodie operatur, & ego operor: 'continentem suam providentiam nobis declarat, & operationem vocat *conservationem factorum quibus largitur ut permaneant*, dum totum guber- 'nat mundum.

Mercerus in eundem locum Genes.

'At vide quid dicat, Deum cessasse ab omni opere suo quod fecerat 'sex diebus scilicet, quia post sex dierum opera, jam nihil novi deinceps 'ex creationis primæ operibus creat aut creavit. At non definit condi- 'ta servare; & omni tempore, admirabili sua providentiâ in res omnes 'uti, *qui res non creavit ut creatas relinqueret, sed bonitate sua assidua & po- tentia contineret, stabiliret & tueretur.*

Paræus in eundem locum Genes.

'Operatur igitur Pater hucusque. 1 quia totum universum hucusque 'conservat, *omnia sustentans* verbo suo potente. 2 quia vi omnipotentis 'verbi sui: *Crescite & multiplicamini*, individua singula, *etiam hodie mul- tiplicat*, non quidem immediata creatione, sed naturali propagatione.

Calvinus in eundem locum Genes.

'Non immeritò quæri solet qualis ista cessatio fuerit. Certum enim 'est, quatenus mundum *sua virtute sustinet Deus*, & providentia guber- 'nat, *fovet creaturas omnes*, atque etiam *propagat* esse in opere assiduum. 'Verum est ergò illud Christi, *Patrem & ipsum ab initio hucusque fuisse operatos*: quia si paululum retrahat manum suam Deus, interibunt pro-

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'tinus omnia, & in nihilum diffluent: ut habetur *Psal.* 104. 29. *Nec verò probè Deum agnoscitur cœli & terræ creator, nisi dum perpetua illa vegetatio ei tribuitur.*

'Hæc nobis *assidua vegetatio* probè meditanda est, ut singulis momen-'tis veniat Deus nobis in mentem.

Actorum Apost. cap. 17. *ver.* 28.

In ipso vivimus, movemur & sumus.

Calvinus in locum.

'Per omnes mundi partes diffusa est vis spiritus, *quæ tueatur eas in suo statu*: cœlo & terræ *vigorem* quem cernimus, animantibus etiam mo-'tum suppeditat.

Ad Coloss. cap. 1. *vers.* 17.

Estque ipse ante omnia, & omnia per eum consistunt.

Iohannes Davenantius Episcopus Sarisburiensis in locum.

'Est hoc novum & excellens Christi privilegium, quod non modò 'omnia condiderit, sed quod omnia *divina sua virtute vita sustineat & ful-'ciat*, ut si illam subtraxerit in nihilum relaberentur.

Eadem est actio si Deum spectemus in creatione & conservatione Creaturarum; in hoc tantùm differunt, quòd creatio designat actionem Dei, 'quatenus de novo producit creaturam: conservatio designat eandem 'actionem quatenus *productam Creaturam non derelinquit. Creatura ut sit ens habet id à Deo influente, ut maneat ens à Deo eandem influentiam non abrumpente.* Durandus itaque non dubitavit affirmare de qualibet crea-'tura, quòd quamdiu est, tam diu creatur à Deo, quia quoad Deum est 'eadem actio creationis & conservationis creaturarum. Hinc sequitur 'quòd à quo omnia sunt condita, *ab eodem etiam sunt conservanda*: nam 'conservatio non est per aliquam novam actionem, sed per continua-'tionem actionis quæ dat esse: Durand. lib. 2. distinct. 1. quæst. 2.

'Ad hæc confirmanda duo tantum loca afferemus. Primus *Ioh.* 5. 17. *Pater meus usque adhuc operatur, & ego operor.* Quem locum Interpre-'tes accommodant ad hanc *perennem* Dei & Christi operationem in *con-'servatione*, & gubernatione creaturarum. Quievit enim Deus die sep-'timo, à creandis novis creaturis; sed nunquam cessat à *conservatione* & 'administratione rerum conditarum.

'Alter habetur 1. *ad Hebræos*, *ver.* 3. ubi Christus dicitur φέρων τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. innuitur, Christi divinam virtutem esse *fulcrum & quasi basin* omnium creaturarum, quæ mox in nihilum corruerent, 'nisi ab illo sustentarentur.

Hemingius.

'Unde ipsius æterna providentia quâ omnes res *in suo statu conservat*, 'commendatur.

Bullingerus.

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Bullingerus.

'Exerit enim vim ſuam per res conditas omnes quas gubernat *ve-*
'*getat*, moderatur, agitat & *conſervat*, id quod propriè Dei munus eſt.

Aquinas.

'Id eſt *conſervantur, ſic enim ſe habet Deus ad res ſicut ſol ad lunam*, quo
'recedente deficit lumen lunæ, & ſic ſi Deus ſubtraheret ſuam virtutem
'à nobis, in momento deficerent omnia. *Heb.* 1. Portans omnia verbo
'virtutis ſuæ.

Theodoretus.

'Non ſolum enim eſt omnium opifex, ſed etiam curam gerit eorum
'quæ fecit: & gubernat creaturam quæ *ſtat per ejus ſapientiam & poten-*
tiam.

Aretius.

'Hoc eſt, Chriſtus ut conditus omnia, ſic *conſervat* omnia. Quod er-
'go res *durant in hodiernum uſque diem Chriſto debetur*: & quod noſtra
'ſalus firma eſt, Chriſti beneficium eſt.

Calvinus.

'Quatuor rationibus Angelos Chriſto ſubjicit: ne ejus gloriam ob-
'ſcurent: primò, quia per ipſum ſunt creati; ſecundò, quia ad ipſum
'tanquam ad legitimum finem referri debet eorum creatio: tertiò, quod
'ipſe ſemper fuerit antequam crearentur: quartò, quòd eos *ſuſtineat*
ſua virtute & in ſtatu conſervet. Quanquam non de ſolis Angelis hoc affir-
mat, ſed de toto quoque mundo.

Anſelmus.

'Omnia in ipſo conſtant, quia ſecundum immenſitatem incircum-
'ſcriptæ & incomprehenſæ divinitatis ejus, omnia ſunt intra ipſum, &
'ne in nihilum redeant *per eum conſiſtunt.*

Ad Hebræos cap. 1. *vér.* 3.

Portatque omnia verbo potentiæ ſuæ.

Paræus in locum.

'Portare omnia & omnes creaturas cœli & terræ ſuſtentare, tueri,
'conſervare generali & ſpeciali influxu: *ut cuncta creata in ſuo ſtatu con-*
ſiſtant.

Hemingius.

'Hinc diſcamus ſtatum creaturarum *incolumem* conſiſtere per filium.

Chryſoſtomus.

'Hoc eſt gubernans ſiquidem cadentia & ad nihilum tendentia con-
'*tinet*; non enim minus eſt continere mundum, quam feciſſe; ſed ſi o-
'portet aliquid audacius dicere, adhuc amplius eſt: nam in faciendo
'quidem ex nullis extantibus rerum eſſentiæ productæ ſunt; in conti-
'nendo verò ea quæ facta ſunt ne ad nihilum redeant *continentur. Hic*
ergo dum reguntur & ad invicem ſibi repugnantia coaptantur magnam &
valdè mirabile plurimæque virtutis indicium declaratur.

'Eadem ad verbum ex Chryſoſtomo Haymo mutuatus eſt.

Aquinas.

'Portat ergo omnia quantum ad ſuum *eſſe*: portat etiam omnia quan-
'tum ad *operari.*

Theodoretus.

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Theodoretus.

'Non ſolum enim fecit omnia, ſed ea etiam dirigit & gubernat. In-'ſignem autem ejus oſtendit potentiam cum dixit verbum ei ſufficere ad 'omnium fabricationem & eorum curam & providentiam.

Aretius.

'Chriſtus res conditas *tuetur & in ordine conſervat*: nam illud eſt 'ferre, *ab interitu & ruina vindicare*: id Chriſtus facit verbo ſuo, hoc 'eſt, nutu ſuo potenti, voluntate ſic omnia gubernante: verum id ſo-'lius eſt Dei, quemadmodum & condere Dei eſt ſolius: Eſt igitur 'Chriſtus Deus.

Calvinus.

'Portare hic pro *tueri* accipitur, *facereque ut in ſuo ſtatu maneant crea-'tura*: intelligit enim omnia mox caſura niſi ejus virtute ſuſtinerentur.

Lyra.

'Portans omnia, id eſt ſuſtentans & *conſervans in eſſe.*

Beza.

'Heb: *Melchalchel*, quod valdè eſt expreſſum; ſignificat enim, *ſuſten-'tare, tueri, alere.*

Salmeron.

'Portatque omnia verbo virtutis ſuæ; id eſt, agat ſive moveat & mo-'deretur omnia: per eum enim per quem mundum condidit, conditum 'regit & adminiſtrat: idque abſque labore ut Chryſoſtomus explicat, 'expendens vim illius verbi Græci φέρειν quod de his qui digito aliquid 'movent vel efficiunt (inquit) dici ſolet.

Hyperius.

'Chriſtus omnia ſuſtentat, conſervat, retinet, *in ſua dignitate* ne con-'cidant & diſſolvantur.

Anſelmus.

'Qui & portat omnia, id eſt, *ſurſum tenet ne decidant* & in nihilum re-'vertantur, unde creata ab ipſo fuerant; *& ſuſtentat* ea non labore nec 'difficultate, ſed verbo virtutis ſuæ, id eſt, imperio ſuæ potentiæ, hoc 'eſt, ſola voluntate ſua, quæ in eo virtus eſt & omnipotentia; per quod 'patet, quia patri compotentialis eſt.

Ad Romanos cap. 1 verſ. 20.

Ipſius enim inviſibilia jam inde à mundo ex rebus factis intellecta condito pervidentur, æterna videlicet ejus eſſe potentia, tum divinitas: ad hoc ut ſint inexcuſabiles.

Oſorius in locum.

'Vis divinam vim cernere? reſpice cœlum aſtris longe lateque collu-'centibus diſtinctum & ornatum, definitos cœleſtium orbium motus & *æquabiles in omni tempore converſiones, univerſæ naturæ conſtantiam* pulchri-'tudinem & utilitatem conſidera, rem eam clarè perſpicies.

Anſelmus.

'Si vigilanter exteriora conſpicimus, per ipſa eadem ad interiora re-'vocamur: veſtigia quippe Creatoris ſunt mira opera viſibilis creaturæ, 'quoniam

'quoniam per hæc quæ ab ipso sunt, imus ad ipsum: menti enim nostræ 'peccato suo exterius sparsæ, necdum Deus sic interius innotescit: sed 'dum facturæ suæ decus foràs proponit, quasi quibusdam nutibus in- 'nuit, & quæ intùs sequamur ostendit, ac miro modo ipsis formis exte- 'rioribus nos ad interiora perducit: viæ quippe ad Creatorem sunt o- 'pera considerata creaturæ, quæ dum facta cernimus, potentiam fa- 'ctoris miramur. Nam quocunque se verterit anima, si vigilanter in- 'tendit in ijsdem ipsis Dominum invenit, per quæ reliquit: ejusque po- 'tentiam eorum rursum consideratione cognoscit, quorum amore de- 'seruit: & per quæ aversa cecidit, per hæc conversa revocatur. Ubi 'enim lapsi sumus, ibi incumbimus ut surgamus; & quasi ibi surgen- 'do manum considerationis figimus, ubi pede amoris lubrici corru- 'entes, negligendo jacebamus. Quia enim ab invisibilibus per visibi- 'lia cecidimus, dignum est, ut ad invisibilia ipsis rursum visibilibus in- 'nitentes redeamus: & quo casu anima venit ad infima, eo gradu re- 'vertatur ad summa.

Ambrosius.

'Ea quæ humanis usibus evoluto anno gignuntur, ipsum decrevisse 'nulli in dubium venit. Æterna ergo virtus Dei Christus est, per quem 'instituit quæ non erant, & *in eo manent*. Cujus si dudum persona agni- 'ta non est, opera tamen manifesta sunt. Divinitas verò *qua in opere sibi decreto perseverant elementa rerum*, ut sint inexcusabiles.

Beza.

'Libet hìc subjicere quasi pro hujus loci commentario quæ scripsit 'Galenus homo alioquin suspectæ in religione fidei. Sacrum hunc ser- 'monem ut verum hymnum conditori nostro compono, & hunc verum 'esse ipsius cultum statuo, non si taurorũ hecatombas multas ei sacrifica- 'verim, aut unguenta multa vel cassias adoleverim: sed si tum ipse cog- 'noverim, tum etiam alijs exposuerim, quanta sit ejus sapientia, quanta 'vis, quanta denique bonitas. Quod enim omnia utrò voluit, *quanta fieri potuit ornatu concinnare*, & nulli horum bonorum invidet, statuo esse 'perfectæ bonitatis demonstrationem. Et hactenus quidem à nobis ut 'bonus celebratur. Rationem autem inveniisse quâ universa *quàm op- 'timè* exornarentur, summæ sapientiæ: & quæcunque prius decreverat, 'ea quoque confeciisse, ejus demum vis est ac potestas quæ nullo modo 'superari possit.

Calvinus.

'Sensus est, ideo conditum esse hominem, ut spectator sit fabricæ 'mundi: ideo datos ei oculos ut intuitu *tam pulchrè imaginis* ad autorem 'ipsum feratur. Deus per se invisibilis est; sed quia elucet ejus majestas 'in operibus & creaturis universis debuerunt illinc homines agnosce- 're: nam artificem suum *perspicuè* declarant. Quâ ratione Aposto- 'lus ad Hebræos, *sæcula dicit esse specula*, seu spectacula rerum invisibi- 'lium.

Aretius.

'Hic primus est modus cognoscendi Deum, per res naturales ex libro 'Dei physico, qui Archetypum sapientissimum declarat esse, quia ma- 'china ista sapientissimè, *ornatissimè, utilissimè* composita est.

Pererius.

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Pererius.

'Participium præsentis temporis, ideoque reddens hanc sententiam.

'Licet invisibilia Dei nec per seipsa, nec in seipsis videri à nobis queant, ea tamen quodammodo cerni & conspici à nobis, dum opera Dei aspicimus, & contemplamur; in ipso enim eorum intellectu & contemplatione lucet quædam notitia illorum invisibilium Dei, æternitatem dico Dei, & omnipotentiam & bonitatem & sapientiam, & id genus alia: Quemadmodum per ipsum contuitum speculi cernitur, quæ in eo repræsentatur imago; & contemplantibus pulchrum aliquod opificium seu artificium, simul etiam ejus qui fecit ars cognoscitur.

Salmeron.

'Totus hic mundus speculum divinitatis divinæque gloriæ & magnificentiæ theatrum: ut invisibile sapientis ingenium in aliquo libro docto, & eleganter composito à se edito apparet. Et ut Apellis excellentis pictoris ars & sapientia in tabulis à se depictis resplendebat: ad eum modum sapientia & perfectiones divinæ in his visibilibus elucent.

Paraus.

'Sicut ex opificio præstanti, opificis cognoscitur præstantia & sapientia, ut ex *Architæ* machina artificis noscitur ingenium: sic Dei æterna sapientia, bonitas, potentia, ex operibus mundi *pervidetur*, hoc est perspicuè cognoscitur: sive enim cœlorum naturam, sydera, motus admirabiles, sive meteora in aëre terribilia & varia, sive creaturas in aëre, terra & mare illustres, vastas & innumeras, maximè genus humanum intueamur: nulla est omnium quæ de Creatoris sapientia atque potentia non sit pro evidenti commentario.

Theodoretus.

'Creatio rerum & horarum mutationes, & temporum vicissitudines, noctis & diei successiones, & nubium velut quædam parturitiones imbrium, & auræ ventorum & herbarum, arborumque & fructuum ex seminibus productiones, & alia hujusmodi permulta, quæ in hoc mundo cernuntur, aperte nos docent, & Deum esse omnium effectorem & gubernationis eorum quæ fecit clavum scitè ac sapienter tenere. Qui enim sola bonitate sua & benignitate adductus omnia fabricatus est, *nunquam eorum quæ fecit curam abjecerit*, & absque administratione reliquerit. Et ideo non dixit divinus Apostolus: *Invisibile ipsius*, sed plurali numero, *invisibilia ipsius*. Id autem est creatio rerum & providentia eorum, & justa Dei in unumquemque sententia, rerumque administrandarum multiplices ac variæ rationes; Quamobrem veniam non merentur, qui cum ejusmodi præceptores habuerint, ex tot eorum doctrinis nullam utilitatem percepêre; quare meritò subjunxit Apostolus, *Ita ut sint inexcusabiles.*

Huc etiam alludit Augustinus sermone 50. de verbis Domini, secundum Evangelium Iohannis.

'Interroga mundum, ornatum, cœli fulgorem, dispositionemque syderum, solem diei sufficientem, lunam noctis solatium, interroga

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'terram herbis & arboribus fructificantem, & animalibus plenam, & 'hominibus exornatam, interroga mare tot tantisque natatilibus ple- 'num; interroga aëra innumeris refertum volatilibus; interroga om- 'nia, & vide si non illa sensu suo tanquam tibi respondeant: Deus nos 'fecit. Hæc & Philosophi nobiles quæsierunt, & ex artificio atque o- 'pificio mundi, Deum ejus opificem effectoremque cognoverunt. Hac 'itaque ratione illi veritatem Dei agnoverunt, & Deus sui cognitionem 'impertivit eis, qua tamen illi per summam injustitiam abusi sunt, post- 'habito vero Deo, adorantes & colentes idola.

Lib. Sapientiæ cap. 1. vers. 7.

Cum spiritus Domini impleat orbem terrarum, & idem continens omnia cognitionem habeat vocis.

Iansenius in locum.

'Continet omnia spiritus: *quia omnia in suo esse conservat.*

Holkot.

'Idem spiritus qui omnia continet: id est, *gubernat & servat omnia*, sci- 'entiam habet vocis.

Lorinus.

'Continere præterea idem *potest esse quod conservare.*

Lyra.

'Et hoc quod continet omnia, id est, spiritus sanctus *omnia conservans in* 'esse, sic pater & filius: nam indivisa sunt opera trinitatis.

Carthusianus.

'Continet, id est, spiritus sanctus continet omnem in se perfectionem, 'in quo omnia causaliter exemplariterque consistunt, relucent & conti- 'nentur tanquam in Creatore, *& quod cuncta conservet in esse*, sine cujus 'manutenentia nec ad momentum possunt durare.

Vers. 13. 14.

Quia Deus mortem non fecit, neque delectatur perditione viventium. Nam omnia creavit ut sint, & salutares sunt ortus hujus mundi, in quibus non est pharmacum exitiale neque inferorum regnum super terram.

Lorinus in locum.

'Non lætatur Deus in perditione vivorum, quia non homines tantum, 'sed & alias res omnes condidit, *ut suam naturam ac statum tuerentur & conservarent, nec ullum in ulla natura venenum insevit, quod eam posset evertere:* sed neque orci in terra regnum collocavit, hoc est, *corruptionis interitusve, dominatum.*

Iansenius.

'Sensus est, non est in generationibus mundi creatum à Deo venenum 'aliquod exterminans & perdens.

'Non est inter Creaturas à Deo creatas, creata perditio corrumpens aut 'corruptio vel malum perditionis.

Cap. 8.

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Cap. 8. *vers.* 1.

Pertingit autem à fine uno ad alterum fortiter, & disponit omnia utiliter.

Lorinus in locum.

'Infinita potentia sua, universæ principium naturæ finemque com-'plectitur, nec aptius quidlibet in quolibet genere, meliùs, elegan-'tiùs, *firmiùs* constitui potest, quàm quo modo sapientia illud consti-'tuit.

Osorius.

'Summa potentia principium & finem naturæ universæ complecti-'tur, & summo consilio rerum omnium statum & salutem constituit, ita 'ut nihil sit in quolibet genere, quantum rei uniuscujusque postulat con-'ditio, quod melius ad utilitatem, aut elegantius ad pulchritudinem, *aut valentius ad stabilitatem* excogitari possit.

Lyra.

'Ad hoc creavit res ut *permaneant in esse incorruptibiles, per seipsas*, ut 'angelos, animas humanas, corpora cœlestia, & etiam elementa, quan-'tum ad totalitatem; licet in aliquibus eorum partibus sit generatio & 'corruptio. res verò corruptibiles *conservat in esse, secundum earum species per continuam generationem.*

Cap. 11. *vers.* 21.

Omnia mensura, numeroque & pondere disposuisti.

Carthusianus in locum.

'Verba per se sumpta profundius possunt exponi. Imprimis quòd 'universum constitutum & factum est in mensura &c. Insuper quælibet 'res subsistens facta est in mensura, &c: sed de hac re introduci possunt 'multa subtilia quæ in libro de *venustate mundi*, & pulchritudine Dei 'induxi.

Holkot.

'Generalius sic potest exponi. Imaginemur quòd à Deo cuncta pro-'cedant, sicut numeri ab unitate, & unaquæque species universi cer-'tum gradum teneat secundum distantiam à prima causâ rerum. Et sic 'videtur loqui *Aristoteles* 8°. *Metaph*: ubi dicit quod formæ rerum 'se habent sicut numeri, & sic inveniemus quòd omnis res est in nume-'ro, id est, in distantia certa à Deo: modò quilibet numerus certam 'habet distantiam ad unitatem. Item omnis res est in mensura, quia 'omnis res creata est finitæ & limitatæ perfectionis, tam in essentia, 'quàm in potentia agendi. Tertiò, omnis res creata habet suum pon-'dus, id est, naturalem appetitum ad aliquid in quo sua natura salvatur '& perficitur: sicut creatura rationalis naturaliter appetit beatitudinem, '& creatura corporalis locum sibi convenientem.

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Ianſenius.

'Significatur, Deum omnia diſponere & ordinare debito ordine & 'modo & quadam proportione: ſicut omnes creaturæ ſuum acceperunt 'à Deo numerum, pondus & menſuram.

Lorinus.

'Auguſtinus generalem propoſitionem ſumit de conditione rerum 'omnium: & docet non eſſe quidem Deum ex genere eorum quæ men-'ſurantur, numerantur, appenduntur: neque menſuram, numerum, pon-'dus ut concipiuntur in rebus, prius fuiſſe quàm crearentur res, tamen 'prout menſura eſt id, quod omni rei modum præfigit, numerus inquit 'ſpeciem præbet, pondus ad quietem ac ſtabilitatem trahit. Deum dicit 'iſta omnia eſſe, utpote qui terminet, formet, ordinet omnia & in ſeipſo 'diſponat, menſura ſine menſura, numerus ſine numero, pondus ſine 'pondere. Itaque vel ait omnia diſpoſita in menſura, numero, pondere, 'quia Deus in ſeipſo, ſeu per ſeipſum illa diſpoſuit; vel quoniam ſic ea-'dem diſpoſuit ut haberent menſuram, numerum, pondus.

'Bernardus docet pondus in rebus creatis deſignare dignitatem: 'menſuram eſſe locum & tempus, aut definitionem, ſeu limitationem 'eſſentiæ: numerum ſpectari vel in compoſitione partium, vel in varie-'tate & mutabilitate.

Cap. 12. verſ. 1.

Spiritus incorruptus tuus ineſt omnibus.

Lorinus in locum.

'Triplicem habere poteſt locus explicationem, de ſpiritus divini be-'nignitate in puniendo præcipuè: *de eodem res incorrupte gubernando,* hoc 'eſt, *conſervando & præſervando ne corrumpantur, aut etiam corruptas re-ſtaurando:* de ſpiritu conſcientiæ noſtræ quem dedit Deus, quæ con-'ſcientia non ſinit nos de Deo vindice benigno peccatorum noſtro-'rum ſiniſterius ſentire, ſed facit ut noſmetipſos tanquam reos damne-'mus.

Eccleſiaſtici cap. 16. ver. 27.

Ornavit in ſæculum opera ſua, prout in manu ejus ſunt principia illius in gene-rationem quamque: neque eſurierunt, neque fatigata ſunt in opificiis ejus, neque defecerunt ab operibus ejus.

Ianſenius in locum.

'Significatur, Deum cum primas illas mundi partes cœleſtes conſti-'tuiſſet & diſtinxiſſet, ornaſſe *perpetuo* ornatu earum operationes: eas & *ſtabiles eſſe fecit & indefatigabiles & pulcherrimo ordine inter ſe conſentientes.* 'Et paulo poſt.

'De orbibus ergo cœleſtibus aut ſole, luna, & aſtris tanquam mi-'litibus Dei opus ſibi injunctum aſſidue perficientibus dicit: quod 'nec patiantur aliquam egeſtatem nec fatigationem, ut vel præ *fame*

vel

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vel fatigatione unquam desistant ab operibus suis ex Dei tanquam summi 'imperatoris jussu peragendis. Quo nihil aliud significatur quam illa *nunquam vel defectum pati vel defatigari.*

Hugo de Vienna.

'Disposuit opera sua, ita ut in æternum sine fine stare possint.

Vatablus.

'Significatur, in operibus & Creaturis Dei constantiam cum bonita-'te conjunctam esse, quod sine cujusquam incommodo singulæ officium 'suum faciunt.

Octavianus de Tufo.

'Significatur, summo ordine, summa concordia Angelos cœlorum 'motum regere atque hunc tenorem ad extremum usque servaturos.

Vers. 28. 29.

Alterum non fuit alteri angustia.
Et in seculum usque non sunt immorigera sermoni ejus.

Iansenius in locum.

'Sensus ergo est, quòd cum sint in orbibus cœlestibus & stellis tanta 'multitudo, tantaque motuum & officiorum varietas: talium tamen mi-'litum Dei nullus alij unquam molestus fuit, nullus alium attrivit aut 'pressit: quemadmodum in magno militum excercitu fieri solet, *sed unumquodque eorum constanter suum facit officium sine cujusquam perturba-'tione:* nec unquam ea corpora prætergredientur ordinationem à Deo 'ijs factam: juxta illud *Psal.* 148. *præceptum posuit & non præteribit.*

Cap. 18. *ver.* 5.

Non possint minuere aut addere, neque pervestigare possunt homines mirabilia opera Domini.

Iansenius in locum.

'Significat opera Dei & esse perfectissima, & inscrutabilia: per hoc 'enim quod dicit; non est minuere neq; adjicere: significat ea adeo esse *perfecta ut nemo possit ostendere aliquid in eis esse superfluum quod auferendum esset (id enim est ea minuere) aut aliquid in eis desiderari, quod addendum est, id enim est ad ea adjicere.*

Lyra.

'Non est minuere nec adjicere: *nam in ejus operibus nihil est superfluum nec diminutum.*

Cap. 39. *ver.* 25.

Non est unde dicas quid istud est? omnia enim ad ministerium suum creata sunt.

Jansenius in locum.

Non licet dicere de operibus Dei per contemptum: Quid est hoc aut istud?

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hoc est, ad quid hæc sunt facta, quemve usum aut fructum habent, etsi enim multarum rerum usus ignoretur, tamen omnia suo tempore quærentur, tanquam alicui usui aut convenientia aut necessaria, nihilque est quod non sit aliquo tempore desiderandum & optandum propter utilitatem quam habet: nihil item est quod non ad universi decorem & ornatum suo tempore requiratur ut sit.

Lyra.

Quid est hoc, aut quid est illud? id est, ad quid valet hoc vel illud: quasi diceret ad nihil. Sic dicunt homines fatui de animalibus venenosis, & consimilibus: eò quod aliquando nocent homini. Simile nam est ac si aliquis offendat ad securim artificis, & ex sua plagatione dicat eam non solum esse inutilem, sed etiam malam, cum tum sit ad bonum ordinata, & sic utitur eâ carpentator: Deus autem omnia bona instituit, & ad bonum utitur omnibus creaturis.

Omnia enim in tempore suo quærentur: sicut serpens aliquando quæritur à medico, ut ejus carnibus utatur ad curationem leprosi: & bufo ut habeatur lapis pretiosus in eo nutritus.

Vers. 38. 39.

Opera Domini sunt omnia quæ bona sunt, & omne ministerium suppeditat suo tempore.

Nec est unde dicas, hoc illo pejus est; nam omnia tempore suo probata erunt.

Hugo de Vienna in locum.

Hoc est non potest dicerè dici hoc tempus illo pejus est, nihil enim malum, vel nequius est à Domino. Et tangit hic author errorem quorundam qui putant à Deo esse, & non ex meritis hominum, quòd tempus unum nequius est alio; unde glossa in hæc verba: Ne dicas priora tempora fuisse meliora quàm nunc sunt, virtutes enim faciunt dies bonos, vitia malos.

Jansenius.

Etsi enim sint quædam Dei opera, quorum rationes & utilitates latent tamen omnia suo tempore declarabuntur & cognoscentur esse bona, laudemque invenient cùm eorum rationes & fructus innotescent: sive hìc in hoc mundo, sive perfectissimè in novissimo die, quando nihil occultum erit quod non sciatur.

Lyra.

Non est dicere in operibus divinis: Hoc illo nequius est, quia nullum est nequam in quantum à Deo est.

Cap. 42. vers. 18.

Non indidit sanctis, Domini ut enarrent omnia mirabilia ipsius, quæ firmavit Dominus omnipotens statuminando gloriâ suâ universitatem.

Iansenius in locum.

Quæ Dominus omnipotens ita firmiter constituit, ut stabilia sint, semperque perdurent per gloriam potentiæ & majestatis ipsius.

Vers. 25.

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Ver: 25.

Hæc omnia vivunt manentque in sæculum omnibus in ministerijs, omniaque obediunt.

Iansenius in locum.

'Varijs modis celebrat Dei opera, quæ sicut commendavit ab eorum 'pulchritudine, ita nunc ab eorum *duratione & obedientia* tribuit eis 'vivere: *quia in suo esse & vigore persistunt.* Manere dicit in sæculum, 'quia *perdurant vel in seipsis vel in sua saltem specie.* Obediunt Deo 'in omni necessitate, quia per illa quicquid Deus vult præstatur 'ad omnem necessarium usum. Nam ut dicit Psalmista: Omnia serviunt 'tibi.

Cap: 43. ver: 12.

In verbis sancti, stabunt ad judicium, & non deficient in vigilijs suis.

Iansenius in locum.

'Quoniam juxta scripturæ motem astrorum multitudinem vocavit ap- 'paratum militarem, pulchrè de eis hoc versu loquitur tanquam de 'militibus qui ad iussum sui imperatoris semper stant parati, custodias '& vigilias sibi deputatas *accuratè servantes*, gravitèr puniendi & repre- 'hendendi si ab ordine sibi constituto deficiant quales Græcis dicun- 'tur λειποτάκται hoc est, ordinis desertores. Dicit ergo in verbis sancti, 'hoc est, juxta præceptum Domini stabunt ad judicium eius, hoc est, 'ad exequendum ejus sententiam & voluntatem mox aderunt stellæ 'singulæ suo tempore & ordine præcedentes, *& munus sibi a Deo attri- butum tuentes: & non deficient in vigilijs, hoc est, non fatigabuntur in officijs sibi veluti vigilijs delegatis:*

Ver: 29.

Propter ipsum confirmatus est itineris finis; & in sermone ejus compo- sita sunt omnia. Vel ut alij; Sermone ipsius consistunt omnia.

Iansenius in locum.

'Omnia Dei voluntate in destinatum sibi finem immobiliter perducun- 'tur, & per sermonem ejus, atque jussum & voluntatem *omnia sunt con- stituta & recte disposita.*

Lyra.

'Et in sermone ejus scilicet Dei, composita sunt omnia, id est, *disposita in pondere, numero et mensura. Vt dicitur Sapientiæ.* 11°.

CHAP. 5. Ob. 4.

That little use can bee made of my booke; but the profitable and manifold use thereof I truſt I ſhall make to appeare ſo fully and cleerely, as thereby to wipe off that aſperſion in the opinion of all indifferent judges.

I Shall heere crave leave a little to inlarge my ſelfe, which I hope will not bee thought unſeaſonable or unſuteable; conſidering the controverſie is betweene Divines, and the life of all *Theologicall* diſcourſe is application. The opinion then of the preſervation of the world frō decay (beſides thoſe uſes I have already made of it in mine *Apology*) doth not onely ſerve as a good evidence againſt chance & fortune, & the more conſpicuous illuſtration of the divine attributes, but for the exerciſe of our thankefulnes, for the inflaming our deſires towards the life to come, for the contemning of all humane workes in compariſon of thoſe of almighty God, for the breeding in us of a greater and ſtronger aſſurance of his care over us, for the making of us more conſtant in his ſervice, for the ſtraiter uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie and freindſhip among our ſelves, for the inducing of us in all our actions to preferre the publiqne good before our private, for the arming of us to undergoe & indure with patience and contentment whatſoever croſſes do or can befal us, for the obſerving of order, and the yeelding of due obedience to ſuperiours, for the kindling of our love towards God; and laſtly for the ſtopping of the mouthes of all ingratefull and repining murmurers: and becauſe it may appeare that theſe uſes are not contrived by mee, to ſerve mine owne turne I ſhall (by Gods helpe) vouch a good part of them out of the ſcriptures themſelves, or out of the writings of auncient, learned, & reverend Divines.

First uſe for the exerciſe of our thankfulnes.

I will beginne with *thanksgiuing* and the ſetting fourth of the praiſes of the Creator; to the practiſe whereof the conſideration of the Creatures perſeverance in its being, order, and vigour, by his infinite goodneſſe, wiſedome and power, hath ſtirred up not onely devoute men on earth, but the bleſſed Angels and glorious Saints in heaven. It is the ſacred Antheme which the Quire of *Seraphins* rebound each to other; *Eſa.6.3. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hoſts, the whole earth is full of his glory.* Or as the originall will well enough beare it. *His glory is the fulnes of the whole earth.* And it is the acclamation of the foure and twenty elders. Rev. 4. 11. Thou art worthy O Lord to receive, glory, and honour and power, for thou haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they *are*, and were created. The Prophet *David* likewiſe to ſhew the correſpondence herein betwixt the Church militant and triumphant in his holy hymnes makes this the ditty of many of them. Pſal. 33. v. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous: for praiſe is comely for the upright. Praiſe the Lord with harpe: ſing unto him with the Pſalterie, and an inſtrument of ten ſtrings. Sing unto him a new ſong; play skilfully with a loude noiſe. For the word of the Lord is right, and

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and all his workes are done in truth. Hee loveth righteouſneſſe and judgement: *the earth is full of the goodneſſe of the Lord.* By the word of the Lord were the heavens made: and all the hoſt of them, by the breath of his mouth. He gathereth the waters of the ſea together as an heape: hee layeth up the depth in ſtorehouſes. Let all the earth feare the Lord: Let all the inhabitants of the world ſtande in awe of him: for hee ſpake and it was done, hee commanded *and it ſtood faſt.* Pſal: 92.v.1.2.3.4.5.6. It is a good thing to give thankes unto the Lord, and to ſing praiſe unto thy name O moſt high: To ſhew forth thy loving kindeneſſe in the morning: and thy faithfulnes every night: Vpon an inſtrument of ten ſtrings, and upon the Pſalterie: upon the harpe with a ſolemne ſound: for thou Lord haſt made mee glad through thy worke: *I will triumph* in the workes of thy hands. O Lord how great are thy workes! and thy thoughts are very deepe. A brutiſh man knoweth not; neither doth a foole underſtand this. Pſal. 104. v. 1. 13. 14. 15. 16. 19. 24. 25. 27. 28. 30. Bleſſe the Lord O my ſoule, O Lord my God thou art very great: thou are clothed with honour and majeſty. Hee watereth the hils from his chambers: *the earth is ſatisfyed with the fruite of thy workes.* He cauſeth the graſſe to grow for the cattell, and herbe for the ſervice of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth: and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oile to make his face to ſhine: and bread which ſtrengthneth mans heart. The trees of the Lord are *full of ſappe*, the cedars of Libanon which he hath planted. *Hee appointed the moone for ſeaſons; the ſunne knoweth his going downe.* O Lord how manifold are they workes! in wiſedome haſt thou made them all: *the earth is full of thy riches. So is the great and wide ſea*, wherein are things creeping innnmerable: both ſmall and great beaſts. Theſe waite all upon thee: that thou maiſt give them their meate in due ſeaſon. That thou giveſt them they gather: thou openeſt thy hand they are filled with good. Thou ſendeſt forth thy ſpirit, they are created: *and thou reneweſt the face of the earth.*

Pſal. 8.v.1.3.9. O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! When I conſider the heavens the worke of thy fingers, the moone and the ſtars which thou haſt *ordained.* O Lord our Lord how excellent is thy name in all the earth. Pſalm. 111.v.1.2.3.4.7.8. Praiſe yee the Lord. I will praiſe the Lord with my whole heart: in the aſſembly of the upright and in the congregation. The workes of the Lord are great: ſought out of all them that have pleaſure therein. His worke is *honourable and glorious*: and his righteouſnes endureth for ever. He hath made his wonderfull workes to bee remembred: the Lord is gracious and full of compaſſion. *The workes of his hands are verity and judgement: all his commandements are ſure. They ſtand faſt for ever and ever: and are done in truth and vprightneſſe.* Pſalm. 119. v. 89. 90. 91. *For ever O Lord thy word is ſetled in heaven. Thy faithfulneſſe is unto all generations: thou haſt eſtabliſhed the earth, & it abideth. They continue this day according to thy ordinances: for all are thy ſervants.* Pſalm. 148.v.1.2.3.4.5.6. Praiſe yee the Lord; praiſe yee the Lord from the heavens. Praiſe him in the heights. Praiſe yee him all his Angels. Praiſe yee him all his hoſts.

Praiſe

praiſe yee him ſunne and moone: praiſe him all yee ſtarrs of light. praiſe him ye heavens of heavens: and ye waters that bee above the heavens. Let them praiſe the name of the Lord: for hee commanded and they were created. *He hath alſo ſtabliſhed them for ever and ever hee; hath made a decree which ſhall not paſſe.* Pſal. 19.v.1.2.3.4.5.6. The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament ſheweth his handy worke. Day unto day uttereth ſpeech, and night unto night ſheweth knowledge. Their is no ſpeech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world: in them hath he ſet a *tabernacle* for the ſunne, which is as a bridegroome comming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a ſtrong man to runne a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the end of it: *and there is nothing hid from the heate thereof.* Pſal. 136.v.1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9. O give thanks unto the Lord for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. O give thanks unto the God of Gods, for his mercy endureth for ever. To him who alone doth great wonders: for his mercy endureth for ever. To him that by wiſedome made the heavens: for his mercy endureth for ever. To him that ſtretched out the earth above the waters: for his mercy endureth for ever. To him that made great lights: for his mercy endureth for ever. The ſunne to rule by day: for his mercy endureth for ever; the moone and ſtarrs to rule by night: for his mercy endureth for ever.

And in imitation belike of this Royall Pſalmiſt, this ſweet ſinger of *Iſrael*, *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sirach* hath alſo to the ſame purpoſe many divine ejaculations, and heavenly raptures. And though the booke bee *Apocryphall*, yet commeth it neareth to the *Canonicall*, and by diverſe of the ancients was ſo uſed. Chap. 16.v.24.25.26.27.28.29.30. My ſonne hearken unto mee, and learne my knowledge, and marke my wordes with thy heart. I will ſhew forth doctrine in waight, and declare his knowledge exactly. The workes of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning, and from the time hee made them, hee diſpoſed the parts thereof. *Hee garniſhed his works for ever*, and in his hand are the cheife of them *unto all generations*: they neither labour, *nor are weary; nor ceaſe from their workes. None of them hindereth another, and they ſhall never diſobey his worde.* After this the Lord looked upon the earth, *and filled it with his bleſſings. With all manner of living things hath he covered the face thereof, and they ſhall returne into it againe.* Cap. 39.v.13.14.15.16.17.21.22.33.34.35. Hearken unto me yee holy children, and budde forth as a roſe growing by the brooke of the feild: And give yee a ſweet ſavour as frankincenſe, and flouriſh as a lillie, ſend forth a ſmell, and ſinge a ſonge of praiſe, bleſſe the Lord in all his workes, Magnifie his name and ſhew forth his praiſe, with the ſongs of your lips, & with harpes, and in praiſing him you ſhall ſay after this manner. *All the works of the Lord are exceeding good*, and whatſoever hee commandeth, ſhall be accompliſhed in due ſeaſon. And none may ſay what is this? wherefore is that? *for at time convenient they ſhall all bee ſought out*: at his commandement the waters ſtoode as an heape, and at the words of his mouth, the receptacles of water. A man need not to ſay what is this? where-

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wherefore is that? *for hee hath made all things for their uses. His blessing covered the dry land as a river, and watered it as a flood. All the workes of the Lord are good: and hee will give every needfull thing in due season. So that a man cannot say this is worse then that: for in time they shall be well approved.* And therefore praise yee the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, & blesse the name of the Lord. Cap. 42. v. 15. 16. 17. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. I will now remember the workes of the Lord, and declare the things that I have seene: in the words of the Lord, are his workes. The sunne that giveth light looketh upon all things: *and the worke thereof is full of the glory of the Lord.* The Lord hath not given power to the Saints to declare all his marvailous workes, *which the almighty Lord firmely setled, that whatsoever is might bee established for his glory. Hee hath garnished the excellent workes of his wisedome,* and he is from everlasting to everlasting, *Vnto him may nothing bee added, neither can hee bee diminished:* and he hath no need of any counsellour. *O how desireable are all his workes!* and that a man may see even to a sparke. *All these things live and remaine for ever, for all uses, and they are all obedient.* All things are double one against another: *and he hath made nothing unperfect. One thing establisheth the good of another: and who shall bee filled with beholding his glory.* Chap. 43. v. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. The pride of the height, the cleere firmament, *the beauty of heaven with his glorious shew;* The sunne when it appeareth, declaring at his rising, *a marvailous instrument,* the worke of the most high. At noone it parcheth the countrey, and who can abide the burning heate thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in workes of heate, but the sunne burneth the mountaines three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, & sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. *Great is the Lord that made it, and at his commandement it runneth hastily. Hee made the moone also to serve in her season,* for a declaration of times, and a signe of the world. From the moone is the signe of feasts, a light that decreaseth in her perfection. The moneth is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing, being an instrument of the armies above, shining in the firmament of heaven, *The beauty of heaven, the glory of the starrs,* an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord. *At the commandement of the holy one, they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches. By him the end of them hath prosperous successe, and by his word all things consist.* Wee may speake much and yet come short: wherefore in summe, *hee is all.* How shall wee bee able to magnifie him? for hee is great above all his works. The Lord is terrible & very great, and marvailous is his power. When you glorifie the Lord exalt him as much as you can: for even yet will he farre exceed, & when you exalt him, put forth all your strenght, and bee not weary: for you can never goe farre enough. Who hath seene him that hee might tell us? and who can magnifie him as hee is? *There are yet hid greater things then these bee, for wee have seene but a few of his workes:* for the Lord hath made all things, and to the godly hath he given wisedome.

S. *Augustin* in his fourth booke de Genesi ad literam. cap. 6. having discoursed at large of the perfection of Gods workes in measure, number

number and waight, at last concludes; *Gratias itaque Creatori semper agat animus humanus, à quo ita creatus est, ut hoc possit videre, quod avium nulla, nulla bestiarum, quæ tamen nobiscum vident & cælum, & terram & luminaria, & mare, & aridam, & omnia quæ in ijs sunt.* The like Conclusion inferred upon the like discourse hath *Eusebius* in his fourth booke and fourth cap. *De Demonstratione Evangelica. Diei noctisque vicissitudines quæ terminatis motibus constant, horarumq; ac tempestatum nunc quidem augmenta, nunc autem diminutiones, orbes item annuos, ac circuitus temporum, astrorumque in orbem motus, tum solis cursus lunæque conversiones, tum consensus inter se omnium ac repugnantias, unumque ex ijs omnibus mundum quum intueris, nunquid tibi esse fas putas, imprudentiam sive temeritatem, sive fortuitam aliquam causam, autorem universi enunciare? an Dei verbum revera, & Dei sapientiam & Dei virtutem efferre laudibus?*

By which it appeares, that we are bound to give thanks for the continuance of the goodnesse of almightie God not only to our selves, but to the other Creatures made for our use, in as much as beeing not made for themselves but for us, neither can they give thankes for themselves but by us. Yet can it not bee denyed, but that in their kinds they praise their Creator, for the continuance of their well being, aswell as man. *Proclus* in his booke *de sacrificijs* affirmeth of all Gods Creatures; *Omnia precantur, hymnosque concinunt ad ordinis sui ducem, alia intellectuali modo, alia rationali, alia sensitivo, alia naturali.* And that in this opinion of his, he is not mistaken it may evidently be seene in the 148. Psal; where even the Psalmist exciteth all the forenamed sorts of Creatures to offer vnto God their prayers and invocations. Praise him all yee Angels: his intellectuall Creatures. Praise him all yee people: his reasonable Creatures. Praise him beasts and cattell, creeping things & flying foules: his sensible Creatures. Praise him heavens and starrs, mountains and hils, fruitfull trees and cedars: his naturall and insensible Creatures. And thus as *Tertullian* in his booke against *Hermogenes* truly observeth: *Deo etiam inanimalia & incorporalia laudes canunt.*

Lastly, Theodoret as he is of all other of the ancients the most cleere in proving the Divine Providence by the perpetuation of the vigorous operation, or constant vigour of the Creature; soe is hee likewise the most solemne and serious, in returning praises and thanks on that behalfe, and most earnest in stirring up others to doe the like. *De materia & mundo versus finem: Quotiescunque igitur omnia hæc videmus, quoties solem modo ad Boreales tractus, modo ad australes, modo ad æquatas cæli partes excurrere, quoties & lunam modo auctam lumine, modo imminutam, nec minus & stellas, certis orientes temporibus & occidentes, messis præterea & sementis tempus significantes, tum & nautis ostendentes hyemem ac tranquillitatem, ne quæso amici homines hæc ipsa nobis Deos faciamus, sed horum potius autorem, opificem, gubernatoremque laudemus, ac per ea quæ contuemur oculis, pergamus ad eum, qui videri non potest. Ad hoc autem non est opus peregrinatione sed fide, per hanc enim solam videre illum nobis licebit. Cum itaque stationes anni videmus suis quamq; pertransire temporibus, cum terræ pluviam dispensari, cum terram germinare, cum virentibus herbis obduci, undare segetes, prata floribus revidere, comare sylvas, ramos arborum fructibus*

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fructibus prægravari, linguam moveamus in ejus laudem, qui hac terræ dona contribuit. Ne verò montium nymphas, neve fontium ac fluviorum, neve filias Nerei referamus in Deos. Ne cantemus Julum Cereri, neve ipsi Rheæ Latiersan. ne Baccho dithyrambum, ne pæana Pithio Apolloni, neve Dianæ concinamus hypoepum. Sed rerum omnium conditori Deo hymnos Davidicas proferamus, cumque eo pariter exclamemus: Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine? omnia in sapientia fecisti. Quotiescunque canoras aves audiemus varios cantus emodulari, cicadasque tremulos evibrare concentus, Musis Sirenibusque dimissis, sapientissimum Deum, eundemque potentissimum adoremus, qui & ejusmodi aviculis tantam tribuit Musicæ harmoniam, & humanum genus undecunque nutrit, fovet, & mulcet. And in the upshot of his first Sermon de Providentia, hee breaks out into this patheticall exclamation. *O amorem erga homines ineffabilem! o sapientiam inenarrabilem! quis utique divinæ providentiæ bonitatem, potentiam, in dubijs copiam, in difficilibus facilitatem, operum magnitudinem, divitias, pro dignitate admiretur? Revera mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me, confortata est, non potero ad eam: Idem & ego clamo. Quod si verò mihi parueris, eandem mecum vocem edes, & benefactorem pro virili laudabis, & infinitis beneficijs affectus, gratas sermones illi referes, tandemque cum Propheta exclames. Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine? Omnia in sapientia fecisti: tibi sit gloria in æternum Amen.*

That the world of eternity which is to come, infinitely exceeds this present world, every Christian will and must acknowledge; but the excessive excellency of the one may (as I should thinke) be much better gathered from the glorious beauty of the other, (which notwithstanding is to have an end) then from the corruptibility thereof. To exceed a thing *base* and *contemptible* is no great masterie, but by infinite degrees to excell that which wee admire and have great reason to admire, as being the admirable workemanship of the Creatour, this is it (as I conceive) that much rather purchaseth both honour and love. This I am sure was the course which S. *Basil* tooke to bring men in love with the next life, by the contemplation of the Creatures, as may appeare in his *Hexam. hom. 6. Qui porro per eas divitias, quas à se profluxas, paratasque nobis jam præstitit, & ea bona quæ nobis pollicetur fore, omnino certiores nos facit, & præsentium experientia rerum qualia sunt ea quæ expectantur, ostendit. Nam si ea quæ non nisi perexiguo tempore persistunt talia sunt, quales esse res illas perpetuas existimare oportet? Et si ea quæ conspiciuntur adeo bella sunt, adeò pulchra, qualia putanda sunt ea quæ non cernuntur? si Magnitudo cæli, mentis humanæ metiendi facultatem exuperat; quænam mens, qua ratio, quæso, rerum investigare sempiternarum naturam posset? Si sol iste corruptioni subjectus, adeo pulcher est, adeò magnus, velocissimus quidem motu, suas autem peragens ordine miro periodos, moderata quidem ad universum præditus magnitudine, ut haudquaquam proportionem toti reliquæ machinæ admensuratam transgrediatur: pulchritudine verò naturæ quasi quidam oculus splendidus creaturam ipsam decorans, cujus si aspectus insatiabilis est, qualem nam ipsum esse justitiæ solem arbitrari nos debemus? Si solem*

Second use for the inflaming of our desires towards the life to come.

nunc haud conſpicere, detrimentum eſt homini cæco: quod damnum, quod detrimentum eſt peccatori veriſsima illa & perpetua luce carere? To which very purpoſe a late meditationiſt well amplifies the eternall joyes and happineſſe of the world to come, by the magnificence of this world though made to be deſtroyed. In creating this tranſitory world (which is but a baſe cottage in regard of his owne eternall habitation) Conſider (ſaith he) what power, what magnificence, what majeſty almighty God hath ſhewed? what heavens and how wonderfull hath hee created? what infinite ſtarrs and other lights hath hee deviſed? what elements hath he framed? & how marvailouſly hath he compacted them togeather? the ſeas toſſing and tumbling without reſt, and repleniſhed with infinite ſorts of fiſh: the rivers running inceſſantly through the earth like veines in mans body, and yet never emptie, nor overflowing the ſame: the earth it ſelfe ſo furniſhed with all variety of creatures, as the hundreth part thereof, is not uſed nor imploied by man, but only remaineth to ſhew the full hand, and ſtrong arme of the Creator. And all this (as I ſaid) was done in an inſtant, with one word only, & that for the uſe of a ſmall time, in reſpect of the other future life, which is to endure for all eternity. What then may we imagine that the habitation prepared for that eternity ſhall bee? If the cottage of his ſervant, and that made only for a time to beare of (as it were) a ſhower of raine, bee ſo princely, ſo gorgeous, ſo magnificent, ſo majeſticall as wee ſee this world is: what muſt we thinke that the Kings palace it ſelfe is, appointed for all eternity, for himſelfe & his freinds to raigne together? We muſt needes thinke it to bee as great as the power and wiſedome of the maker could reach to performe; and that is incomparable & above all meaſure infinite. And then going on in the ſame ſtraine hee bringeth in S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking in the ſame manner. This was a moſt forcible conſideration with good S. *Auguſtine*, who in the ſecret ſpeech of his ſoule with God, ſaid thus: O my Lord, if thou for this vile body of ours haſt given us ſo great and innumerable benefits, from the firmament, from the aire, from the earth, from the ſea: by light, by darkeneſſe, by heat, by ſhadow: by dewes, by ſhowers, by windes, by raines: by birds, by fiſhes, by beaſts, by trees: by multitude of herbes, and variety of plants, and by the miniſterie of all thy Creatures: O ſweet Lord what manner of things, how great, how good, & how innumerable are thoſe which thou haſt prepared for us in our heavenly Countrie, where wee ſhall ſee thee face to face? if thou do ſo great things for us in our priſon: what wilt thou give us in our pallace? if thou giveſt ſo many things in this world to good and evill men together: what haſt thou laid up for only good men in the world to come? If thine enemies and friends together are ſo well provided for in this life: what ſhall thy onely friends receive in the life to come? if there be ſo great ſolaces in thoſe dayes of teares: what joy ſhall there be in that day of marriage? if our jayle and priſon containe ſo great matters: what ſhall our Countrey and Kingdome do? O my Lord & God thou art a great God, & great is the multitude of thy magnificence and ſweetneſſe; & as there is no end of thy greatnes, nor number of thy mercies, nor depth of thy wiſedome, nor meaſure of thy benignity: ſo is there, neither end, number, depth, length, greatnes or meaſure of thy rewards to them that love thee, and do fight for thee.

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The third use of this doctrine is for *the contemning of all humane works in comparison of those of Almighty God.* As the workes of God himselfe are as nothing in comparison of himselfe, there being no proportion betwixt a finite being and an infinite: so the faireſt and ſtrongeſt workes of man are as nothing in comparison of those of almighty God. And though there bee not the like disproportion betwixt his workes and ours, as betwixt him and us, or betwixt himselfe and his workes, yet is the difference wide enough to shew the infinite distance of the causes they spring from; and from this difference it is, that comparing the one with the other, wee looke upon all humane workes, as upon molehills compared with mountains, or upon the bables and rattles of children compared with the royall pompe and state of the greateſt potentates. *Eſt animorum ingeniorumque naturale quaſi pabulum, conſideratio contemplatioque naturæ. Erigimur, latiores fieri videmur, humana deſpicimus, cogitantesq; ſupera atque cæleſtia, hac noſtra ut exigua & minima contemnimus.* The contemplation of nature is as it were the naturall food of the mind, we are lifted up & seeme to bee inlarged, we deſpiſe humaine affaires, and by meditating upon the cæleſtiall, wee contemne theſe things of ours as small and of little account, saith *Tully* in his fourth booke of *Academicall quaſtions*: and in another place, *nihil ei magnum videri poteſt in rebus humanis, cui univerſus orbis, totiuſque mundi cognita eſt magnitudo.* Now the speciall point of difference, betwixt the workes of God and man is this, that the workes of man, bee they never ſo glorious to looke unto, never ſo well fenced and fortified, are all of them (together with man himselfe) ruinous and ſubject to decay; but the workes of God like their maker, lasting and permanent. Houſes, Caſtles, obelisks, Pyramids, townes, cities, Kingdomes, Empires have their times of riſing and falling, either by conflagrations, or inundations, or devaſtations, or mouldring away by degrees, they fall and conſume of themselves; *Creet* in formes ages being renowned for one hundred cities (from whence it carried the name of *Hecatompolis*) hath at this day scarce two to shew. Seneca in one of his Epiſtles, speaking of *Lyons* in *France*, tells us that by reason of fier, there paſſed but one night betweene a great City and none at all. And the like may bee obſerved of divers other mighty Cities heretofore the imperiall ſeats of great and potent Monarchs, which seemed in a manner to bee founded and rooted in Adamant, that now they are ſo utterly demoliſhed and defaced, as that even their very places can noe more bee found, nor a man say that heere they ſtood; *As Niniveh, Suſis, Ecbatane* and diverſe others reckoned up by *Pauſanias* in *Arcadicis*. *Mycenæ* (saith hee) *quæ in bello Trojano imperarunt Græcis, Ninus deinde in quâ Aſſyriorum regia fuit; tertiò Thebæ Beotiæ, quæ principem olim locum in Græcia obtinuerunt: hæ omnes ad internecionem uſque ſunt deſolatæ.* Upon which occaſion he entereth into a notable meditation of the frailety of all humane glory, concluding with this *Epiphonema*:

The 3d uſe for the contemning of all humane works in comparſon of thoſe of almighty God.

Sic res mortalium sunt momentaneæ, & nulla ex parte firmæ. And it should seeme that this meditation had made a deepe impression into diverse other of the heathen, in so much that *Ovid* in the fifteeneth of his *Metamorphosis* lighting upon it, addeth diverse other instances unto those of *Pausanias*.

Nunc humilis veteres tantummodo Troia ruinas,
Et pro divitijs tumulos ostendit avorum.
Clara fuit Sparte, magnæ viguere Mycenæ:
Nec non & Cecropis, nec non Amphionis arces.
Vile solum Sparteræ: altæ cecidere Mycenæ.
Oedipodioniæ quid sunt nisi nomina Thebæ?
Quid Pandionie restant nisi nomen Athenæ?

So that as the *Prophet Obadiah* speaketh. v. 16. *they are now become as if they had never beene.* But of the works of God it can not so bee said; whereupon *Solomon* in the booke of the Preacher, looking upon the works of man, in his first chapter pronounceth of them all that they are *vanity*, but in his third taking a veiwe of the works of God, that *he hath made every thing beautifull in his time*: v. 11. and againe. v. 14. *I know that whatsoever God doth it shall bee for ever.*

Yet such is the folly and brutish stupidity of the greatest part of men, that they more admire a goodly citty, or the faire Pallace of a Prince, or a strong and well fenced Castle, then the magnificent and marvailous frame of the world; which neither can bee surprised by treacherie, nor battered by violence, nor eaten out by the teeth of time.

Let us heare if you please S. *Cyprian*, elegantly expressing and powerfully inforcing this profitable use, from the view of the world and the parts thereof.

Cyprianus de spectaculis.

Habet Christianus spectacula meliora, si velit; habet veras & profuturas voluptates, si se recollegerit; & ut omittam illa quæ non contemplari potest, habet istam mundi pulchritudinẽ quam videat atque miretur. Solis ortum aspiciat, rursus occasum mutuis vicibus dies noctesque revocantem, globum lunæ, temporum cursus incrementis suis decrementisque signantem, astrorum micantium choros, & à summa de summa mobilitate fulgentes, annui totius per membra divisa, & dies ipsos cum noctibus per horarum spatia digestos, & terræ molem librata cum montibus, & profluvia fluminum cum suis fontibus, extensa maria cum suis fluctibus atque litteribus: interim constantem patiter summa consspiratione tenibusque concordiæ, *extensum aerem medium temperitate sua cuncta vegetantem, nunc imbres contractis nubibus profundentem, nunc serenitatem refectæ raritate revocantem, & in omnibus istis incolas proprios, in aere avem, in aquis piscem, in terra hominem; Hæc inquam, & alia opera divina, sunt Christianis fidelibus spectacula. Quod theatrum humanis manibus extructum istis operibus poterit comparari? magnis licèt lapidum molibus extruatur, cruста sunt mentitum; & aurea licèt tecta lacunaria relucent, astrorum fulgure vincentur.* Nunquam humana opera mirabitur, quisquis se cognoverit filium Dei; Deijcit se de culmine generositatis suæ qui admirari aliquid post Deum potest.

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The fourth use of this doctrine may be, for the breeding in us a greater, & stronger assurance, of the speciall care of almighty God over mankinde, his Church, and all the particular meinbers thereof. As the world was made for mankind, so was mankind for the Churches sake; and therefore as the world shall have an end when the generation of mankind ceaseth; so when the number of the elect (the onely members of the Church properly so called) is fully accomplished, then shall the generation of mankind likewise cease and not before. Now then if his Providence extend to the perpetuation of the heavens, the elements, the foules, the fishes, the beasts, the wormes, the plants, the stones, the mettals all made for the use of mankind, much more to the preseruation of mankind it selfe, and againe much rather to the safety & protection of his Church the eye and iewell of mankind. The Church triumphant like the sunne remaines unchangeable in the highest perfection of glory & happinesse, but the Church militant like the moone sometimes waxing & sometimes waning, sometimes full of brightnesse, and sometimes againe hardly to bee discerned, yet so as to them who know her conditions there is no feare of a totall & finall loosing of her light, but an assurance rather of her recouering it againe and that in the fulnesse thereof; so as the fiery darts of Satan and the gates of hell shall never be able wholy to prevaile against her. Stormes may arise and indager this ship, but as long as Christ is in it (who both can by his word, and in his good time will rebuke these stormes and command a calme) there is no feare of an utter miscarrying, hee limiteth the rage of the enimies thereof, as hee doth the waves of the sea. *Hitherto shall yee goe and no farther.* Let us not bee so foolish then as to conceive almighty God to be like the Ostrich, which having laid her eggs in the sand forsaketh them, and forgetteth that the foote may crush them, or that the wilde beast may breake them *Iob.* 39. 14. 15. Noe no his fatherly care reacheth to the upholding and maintaining of all things even the lowest, and baest creatures that hee hath made. Who provideth for the raven his foode, when his young ones cry unto God? saith *Iob.* 38. 41. and the Prophet David answers him. *Psal.* 147. Hee that telleth the number of the starrs, and calleth them all by their names. Hee who covereth the heaven with cloudes, who prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh grasse to grow upon the mountaines, hee it is even he who giveth to the beast his foode, and to the young ravens which cry. He it is who by his strenght setteth fast the mountaines being girded with power, who maketh the outegoings of the morning & evening to praise him, who visiteth the earth, and enricheth it with the river of God, who watereth the ridges, setleth and softneth the furrowes, and plentifully increaseth the springing thereof, who crowneth the yeare with his goodnesse, and his paths drop fatnesse, so that the little hils rejoyce on every side, who cloatheth the pastures with flocks, and covereth the vallies with corne, so that they shoute and singe for joy Psal. 65. Doth God take care for *Oxen?* saith the Apostle. 1. Cor. 9. 9. Yes sure he takes care for *oxen*, that their race faile not, but in a more especiall manner for men, for his servants, whom *Oxen* are made to serve. And this is

The fourth use for the breeding in us a greater & stronger assurance of the speciall care of almighty God over mankind, his church and the particular members thereof.

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the very use which our Saviour himselfe makes of this very doctrine. *Math.6.v.26.* Behold the foules of the heaven for they sow not, neither reape, nor carry into the barnes: yet your heavenly father feedeth them. Are yee not much better then they? And againe v. 28, 29. 30. And why care yee for rayment? learne how the lillies of the feild doe grow, they are not wearied, neither Spinne; And yet I say unto you, that even *Solomon* in all his glory was not arraied like one of these. Wherefore, if God so cloath the grasse of the feild, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven: shall hee not much more cloath you, O yee of little faith? which Prudentius hath thus elegantly expressed:

Nonne vides vt nulla avium crás cogitet unquam?
Et se pascendam Domino nov anxia credat?
Confidunt volucres victum non defore viles,
Passeribusque subest modico venalibus asse
Indubitata fides, Dominum curare potentem
Ne pereant: Tu cura Dei, facies quoque Christi
An dubites, ne te tuus unquam deserat author?
Ne trepidate animis, vitá dator est dator escæ.

It is a singular peece of the Providence which Almighty God hath expressed in the composition and disposition of the parts of flies & fleas, and gnats for the preservation of their nature, as S. *Augustin* in sundry passages of his workes hath accurately observed, and lively described *Enar*: in *Psal.* 148. *Quis disposuit membra pulicis & tulicis, ut habeant ordinem suum, habeant vitam suam, habeant motum suum? Vnam bestiolam brevem, minutissimam, considera quam volueris: si consideres ordinem membrorum ipsius, & animationem vitæ quâ movetur, ut pro se fugiat mortem, amat vitam, appetit voluptates, devitat molestias, exerit sensus diversos, viget in motu congruo sibi. Quis dedit aculeum culici quo sanguinem sugat? quàm tenuis fistula est quâ sorbet? quis disposuit ista? quis fecit ista? Expavescis in minimis, lauda magnum. Hoc itaque tenete fratres mei, nemo vos de fide excutiat, & de sanâ doctrinâ. Qui fecit in cælo Angelum, ipse fecit in terra vermiculum: sed Angelum in cælo pro habitatione cælesti, vermiculum in terrâ pro habitudine terrestri. Nunquid Angelum fecit repere in cœno, & vermiculum in cælo? distribuit sedibus habitatores, incorruptionem incorruptis sedibus dedit, corruptibilia corruptibilibus locis. Totum attende, totum lauda.*

And againe *de Gen: ad literam lib. 3. cap. 14. Creat minima corpore, acuta sensu animantia: ut majore attentione stupeamus agilitatem muscæ voluntis, quàm magnitudinem jumenti gradientis, ampliusque miremur opera formicarum quàm onera camelorum.* And againe *de verâ religione cap. 41. Vermiculi laudem sine ullo mendacio copiosè possum dicere: considerans nitorem coloris, figurâ teretrè corporis, priora cum mediis, media cum posterioribus congruentia, & unitatis appetentiâ pro suæ naturæ humilitate servantia, nihil ex una parte formatum, quod non ex alterâ pari dimensione respondeat.* Now the application hereof to our present purpose wee shall likewise find to be made by himselfe, *De civitate Dei lib. 5. cap. 11. Deus itaq; summus & verus cum verbo suo, & spiritu sancto quæ tria unum sunt, Deus unus omnipotens, creator & factor omnis animæ atque omnis corporis: cujus sunt partici-*

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participatione felicis, quicunq; sunt vestigia non vanitate felices: qui fecit hominem rationale animal ex anima & corpore: qui eum peccante nec exponi unum esse permisit, nec sive misericordia dereliquit: qui bonis & malis esse tribuit sicut lapidibus, vitam seminalem etiam cum arboribus, vitam sensualem etiam cum pecoribus, vitam intellectualem cum solis Angelis dedit: a quo est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo: à quo est mensura, numerus, pondus: à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunque generis est, cujuscunque æstimationis est: à quo sunt semina formarum, forma seminum, motus seminum atque formarum. Qui dedit & carni originem, pulchritudinem, valetudinem, propagationis fecunditatem, membrorum dispositionem, salutem, obsequium: qui & animæ irrationali dedit memoriam, sensum, appetitum: rationali insuper mentem, intelligentiam, voluntatem: qui non solum cœlum & terram, nec solum angelum & hominem, sed nec exigui & contemptibilis animantis viscera, nec avis pennulam, nec herbæ flosculum, nec arboris folium, sine suarum partium convenientia, & quadam veluti pace dereliquit, nullo modo est credendus regna hominum, eorumq; dominationes & servitutes, à suæ providentiæ legibus alienas esse voluisse.

The fifth use of this doctrine is, for the stirring of us up to bee the more constant in the service of God, and diligent in the performance of our duties. As the other creatures were all made to serve man, so man alone to serve his maker in a religious manner, and to that end was the world set in his heart *Eccles.* 3. 11. that it might there stand both as a mirrour of the Creators glory, and either as a patterne of regularitie, or as a monument to upbraide his disobedience. How constant is the Sunne in his setting and rising? the Moone in her waxing and waning? the Sea in its ebbing and flowing? the Planets in their Eclipses, conjunctions and oppositions? onely man for whom all these were made, is most debauched & inordinate in the course of his life, most uncertaine and unconstant in the service of his maker? Whereas *Plato* in *Timæo* seemes to be of opinion that we had eyes given us chiefly to this end, *ut circuitus quæ in cœlo peraguntur intuiti, ipsorum notationem traduceremus ad corrigendam vitæ disciplinam, ad eorumque ordinem & stabilitatem, nostræ mentis vagos & erraticos motus componeremus.* Nay the Prophet *Ieremie* descends lower even to the fowles of the aire, to bee schooled by them. The Storke knoweth her appointed times, & the Turtle, & the Crane, & the Swallow observe the time of their comming, but my people know not the judgement of the Lord. And the Prophet *Esay* steps yet one degree lower. The oxe knoweth his owner, & the asse his masters crib (they are constant in their service and obedience) but *Israel* doth not know, my people doth not consider; & in the verse immediately going before, he calleth heaven & earth to record, as being the most sufficient & competent witnesses in regard of their untainted conformitie to his law. Heare ô heavens, & give eare ô earth, for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. *Solomon* in the fixth of the *Proverbs*, sendeth the sluggard a greeting to goe heare a Lecture read unto him by the Pismire, to whom Almighty God hath given a wonderfull instinct of providing for her owne

The fifth use for the stirring of us up to bee more constant in the service of God, and diligent in the performance of our duties.

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preſervation. Goe to the Ant thou ſluggard, conſider her wayes and be wiſe, which having no guide, overſeer or ruler, provideth her meate in ſummer, and gathereth her foode in harveſt. It is alſo a world of wonder duly to conſider the ſtupendious workes, of the Bee & of the Spider for the continuance of their kindes; of the one in the admirable building of their combs, & treaſuring up their pretious nectar with indefatigable induſtry, & of the other by the moſt curious & artificiall weaving of their webs, for the intangling of ſilly flies by which they are nouriſhed. And for mine own part I cannot be perſwaded, but all theſe are ſtill in their ſeverall wayes of working as expert and diligent, as at their very firſt Creation they were. Onely man hath ſwarved and is ſtarted aſide from that originall perfection with which hee was inveſted; ſo as he who was made to bee the commander of all theſe, is now in that regard become a ſcholler to the meaneſt of them, they all carrying this inſcription in capitall letters graven on their foreheads; as a good leſſon to be taken forth and learned by him; *Qui fecit me propter te, fecit te propter ſe*: and withall proclaiming aloud in his eares; *Accipe, Redde, Cave*: Receive the benefit which God by mee reacheth forth to thee, but then remember to returne that thankefulnes and ſervice which for the uſe of me he expecteth from thee, or elſe take heed leaſt hee puniſh thee for abuſing both thy ſelfe and me.

The Ancient Fathers and other grave Divines are in this point no leſſe frequent and copious, then delightſome and eloquent, I will make choiſe of ſome few.

Tertullian in his booke de Trinitate cap. 1. *if that booke bee his which is found amongſt his workes.*

Regula exigit veritatis, ut primò omnium credamus in Deum patrem & Dominum omnipotentem, id eſt rerum omnium perfectiſſimum conditorem qui cœlum alta ſublimitate ſuſpenderit, terram dejectâ mole ſolidaverit, maria ſoluto liquore diffuderit, & hæc omnia proprijs & condignis inſtrumentis & ornata & plena digeſſerit. Nam & in ſolidamento cœli luciferos ſolis ortus excitavit, lunæ candentem globum, ad ſolatium noctis menſurnis incrementis orbem implevit, aſtrorum etiam radios varijs fulgoribus micantis lucis accendit: & hæc omnia legitimis meatibus circumire totum mundi ambitum voluit, *humano generi dies, menſes, annos, ſigna, tempora, utilitateſque factura. In terris quoque altiſſimos montes in verticem ſuſtulit, valles in ima dejecit, campos æqualiter ſtravit, animalium greges ad varias hominum ſervitutes utiliter inſtituit. Sylvarum quoque robora humanis uſibus profuture ſolidavit, fruges in cibum elicuit, fontium ora reſeravit, & lapſuris fluminibus infudit. Poſt quæ ne non etiam ipſis quoque delicijs procuraſſet oculorum, varijs florum coloribus ad voluptatem ſpectantium cuncta veſtivit. In ipſo quoque mari quamvis eſſet & magnitudine & utilitate mirabile, multimoda animalia, nunc mediocris, nunc vaſti corporis finxit, ingenium artificis de inſtitutionis varietate teſtantia. Quibus non contentus ne fortè fremitus & curſus aquarum cum diſpendio poſſeſſoris humani alienum occuparet elementum, fines litoribus incluſit: quo cum fremens fluctus, & ex alto ſinu ſpumans unda veniſſet, rurſum in ſe rediret, nec* terminos conceſſos exceder**et**, ſervans

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servans jura præscripta: ut divinas leges tanto magis homo custodiret, quanto illas etiam elementa servassent.

Eusebius de præparatione Evangelica. lib. 7. cap. 4.

Si universus mundus, cœlum, sol, luna, stellæ omnes, terra & quæcunque in ipsa sunt, cuncta naturæ opera, naturaque ipsa Creatori Dei servit, quanto magis homines ratione ac libero decoratos arbitrio obtemperare Creatori decet? Germinet terra virentem herbam (inquit Deus) & lignum pomiferum faciens fructum, & habens unumquodque sementem secundum speciem suam, & statim non modo tunc, sed usque ad hunc diem *paruit terra, parebitque semper in posterum; Producant aquæ reptilia animæ viventis, & volatilia sub firmamento cœli, & una cum verbo, mutaque divino opus effectum est: & eo instituto*, semper ita factitatur. *Sint sol & luna, cæteræque stellæ in signa & tempora, in dies & annos, neque unquam hoc præceptum stellæ neglexerunt, sed incessabili mirabilique suo cursu dies & noctes, tempora & annos conficiunt. Quam igitur veniam homines consequentur, divina negligentes mandata?*

Ambrosius Comment. in Psal. 118. in illa verba: *In æternum Domine permanet verbum tuum in cœlo.*

Si verbum Dei in cœlo permanet imitemur cœlum ubi permanet verbum: permanet ordo solennis cœlestium statutorum, & beneficiorum Domini crebræ vices solennibus muneribus perseverant.

Idem Hexam. lib. 3. cap. 17.

Germinet, inquit, terra herbam virentem] *& statim omni surgente germine terra completa est. Et homini dicitur: Dilige Dominum Deum tuum: & non est charitas Dei omnium infusa visceribus. Surdiora corda hominum sunt quam dura saxorum.* Terra indebitos fructus nobis ministrat, dum obsecundat authori: nos debitum munus negamus, dum non veneramur authorem. *Vide in parvis quæ providentia sit Dei: & quia comprehendere non potes, mirare quomodo alia semper florentia reservaverit, alia mutationes habere voluerit expoliationis & amictus. Inter cana nivium, pruinas frigorum viriditatem suam arva conservant: & cum ipsa tecta sint gelu, partus suo tamen haud exiguam speciem viriditatis obtexunt. In ipsis quoque generibus arborum quæ diuturnis frondibus vestiuntur, non mediocris distantia est: servat indumentum suum semper olea vel pinus, sed tamen folia sua sæpe commutant: nec ea quasi diuturna, sed quasi succedanea prætendunt sua arboris pulchritudini, perpetui integritate vestitus vice muneris obumbrantes. Palma autem vivens semper manet conservatione & diuturnitate non immutatione foliorum: nam quæ primo germinaverit folia, ea sine ulla substitutionis successione conservat.* Imitare ergo eam ô homo, ut dicatur & tibi: statura tua similis facta est palmæ. Serva viriditatem pueritiæ tuæ & illius innocentiæ naturalis quam à primordio recepisti, ut plantatus secus decursus aquarum fructum tuum in tempore tuo habeas præparatum, & folium tuum non defluat.

Hieronymus in Comment. in Psal. 148. if those Commentaries be his which goe under his name.

Quo modo sol, luna, & stellæ laudant Deum? in eo quod à sub officio & servitio non recedunt, *servitium ipsorum laus Dei est.* Præceptum posuit & non præteribit. *Præceptum soli posuit*, Ecce per tantos annos, præceptum

præceptum Dei nunquam præterijt, in tantum non præterijt, ut cursus ejus ex humana observatione comprehensus sit. Præceptum posuit & non præteribit. *Lunæ præceptum posuit ut per 30 dies crescat atque decrescat.* Numquid cursus suos aliquando mutat? In cœlo præceptum Dei servatur, & in terra non servatur. *Mari præceptum posuit, ut littora sua non egrediatur: venit Oceanus tumens fluctibus, & in se redit, & præceptum Dei meminit.* Totus mundus ei servit, & præceptum ejus meminit, & homo solus non meminit.

Philippus Mornæus Plessiaci Dominus, De veritate religionis Christianæ. cap. 16.

'Rursum quàm turpiter inversa est, in homine, in microcosmo nostro, 'lex illa & politia, *quæ in universo inq; singulis refulget* quâ corpus animæ 'parêre jubetur? In herbis, in arboribus, in brutis, anima certa qua-'dam analogia alimentum distribuit: corpus ejus jussa capessit, nec re-'nuit unquam: facultas unaquæque etiam suas partes ordine exequitur: 'vegetativa suos appetitus exequitur, non excedit: sensitiva naturales 'voluptates captat, non violat. In homine quid? quòd corpus imperat 'animæ, aratrum bobus? & voluntatem appetitus ducit & abducit, ra-'tionem sensus? quin & natura sæpe vim patitur, & vim sibi ipsi moli-'tur? nisi certè conturbatam in eo naturam fateamur, cujus gratiâ ipsa 'rerum natura comparata erat? *Nempe hominem à recto itinere deflexisse, cum & cæteræ mundi partes suum insistant, & natura recti admoneat satis?*

Denique uno excepto homine, nunquid toto mundo occurrat, quod gradum suum, quod dignitatem non accuratè tueatur & retineat?

Ludovicus Vives de veritate fidei Christianæ, lib. 1. cap. 17.

'Bestiæ omnes statim ut natæ sunt, vel brevissimo pòst tempore præ-'stantissimum illud suæ naturæ usurpant, & opera edunt illi præstantiæ 'conformia, & ut quædam paulo diutius tardent, usurpant certè tan-'dem & re ipsa demonstrant se hujus esse naturæ ac ingenij. Quod si 'non faciunt, certe indubitatum facimus judicium, corrupta ea esse ac 'depravata ex causâ aliqua vel interna vel externa. Homo autem quam-'diu bona mente non utitur? quàm pauci aliquando, quàm multi nun-'quam? ut appareat à rectitudine naturæ suæ declinasse; Quid, quòd 'animantes omnes statim vergunt quasi nutu quodam ad inclinationem 'perfectionis suæ, *soli homines à sua sunt aversi & abhorrent*, nempe à 'cultu mentis & sapientia. Bestiæ naturæ ductu nollent vivere vitam 'plantarum, & ne illuc relabantur exercent semetipsas. At quam multi 'hominum cupiunt vitam brutorum agere, immersi delicijs & corporeis 'voluptatibus, sine ulla cura aut respectu mentis, ac ne cogitatione qui-'dem, sitne mens aliqua, an nihil homo distet à bestia.

Spinæus de tranquillitate animi, lib. 2.

'Debet is qui humilitatem discere cupit, sese cum omnibus creatis re-'bus comparare: quas omnes à maximis ad minimas, ut formicas & a-pes, *ordinem suæ creationis servare advertet, seque in hoc rerum immenso choro, in quo reliquæ omnes una voce laudes creatoris concinunt, solum esse qui dissonet & concentum violet.*

Where

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Where by the way wee may obſerve that they prove the fall of man by the corruption of his owne nature, not by that of the other Creatures; or rather becauſe he alone hath degenerated from his primitive ſtate, and not the other Creatures.

The ſixth uſe of this doctrine is, for the ſtrainer uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie and friendſhip. It is the common voyce and generall conſent of the whole world, that nothing in the world is more uſefull then friendſhip, without which all our riches, our honours, our pleaſures either ſoone vaniſh, or relliſh little; neither indeed can humane ſociety bee otherwiſe maintained but by it. Now this leſſon as we may learne it from the booke of God, and the writings of learned men, aſwell Heathen as Chriſtian, ſo may the moſt ignorant, who can not reade in theſe bookes, from the ſight of their and our owne bodies, the little world, and the wonderfull connexion of all the parts thereof, and mutuall dependance of each member upon other; yet this little world carrying in it foure humours, anſwering in proportion to the foure elements, whereof one alwayes is ſo predominant, as it finally conquers all the reſt, findes the ſame ſeedes to be the inſtruments of its diſſolution, which were the principles of its conſtitution. But in the great world it is not ſo, if we looke up to the heavenly bodies, we ſhall never there behold hanging out any flagge of defiance; no bloudie colours diſplayed, no armies ranged; wee ſhall heare no drumme, no trumpet ſound an alarme to the battle; the matter and forme like man and wife, are there married by ſuch a ſacred and inviolable knot, as they never jarre, and are never wearie of each other, but everlaſtingly imbrace each other in a moſt lovely & amiable manner; nor can poſſibly bee divorced but by the hand of that eternall Prieſt who joyned them. And for the glorious lights of heaven, they never ſo much as tilt or breake their ſtaves each upon other in diſport, much leſſe brandiſh their ſwords, or charge their pikes, or diſcharge their gunnes in earneſt; they are ſo farre from fighting, as they never ſo much as muſter their forces, or skirmiſh for paſtime: *pacem ſumma tenent.* They all paſſe their time, and paſſe all their time in dauncing the meaſures, having ſolemnly ſworne not a temporarie truce for certaine dayes, or weekes, or moneths, but a perpetuall peace each to other; neither doth the greateſt of them diſdaine the leſſe, nor the leaſt envy the greateſt; the one gives and never ceaſes giving though he receive nothing backe againe, which is the true embleme of divine and heroicall bountie; and the other receives and never ceaſes receiving, though it have nothing but thankes in his kinde to returne againe, which is the character of contentedneſſe and humilitie. If from the heavens we deſcend to the elements, how lovingly are they imbraced and cheriſhed by the heavens, and their warmth? and mutually imbrace and cheriſh each other by their ſymbolizing qualities? and of the mixt bodies as they are the parents, ſo likewiſe the nurſes. Whiles they confuſedly tumbled together in the Chaos,

---Nulli ſua forma manebat.
Obſtabatque aliis aliud.

The ſixth uſe for the ſtrainer uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie and friendſhip.

But

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But afterwards

Hanc Deus & litem melior natura diremit,
Diſſociata locis concordi pace ligavit.

So as, though they continually skirmiſh, and ſometimes blowes and wounds paſſe betweene them, yet never was any of them ſeene to part out of the field either as an abſolute conquerour, or as wholly vanquiſhed, nay they never part but upon termes of reconciliation, and though to their owne proper loſſe and diſadvantage, they helpe to cure the wounds & repaire the breaches which formerly themſelves had made, thereby teaching us that the end of all warre ſhould be peace; and not onely ſo, but to preferre the weale publique before our owne particular intereſt, as we plainly ſee they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinarie naturall woont, that which is heavie mounting ſometimes upwards of its owne accord, and forſaking the center of the earth, which to it ſelfe is moſt naturall, even as if it did heare it ſelfe commanded to let goe the good it privately wiſheth, and to releive the preſent diſtreſſe of nature in common. This admirable agreement of all the parts of the world joyntly conſpiring for the ſupporting each of other, and conſequently the upholding of the whole frame, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* hath well obſerved, *lib. 7. didaſc. erudit. cap. 4. Si univerſitatis hujus machinam intuitus fueris; invenies quàm mirabili ratione, & ſapientia compoſitio rerum omnium perfecta ſit, quàm apta, quàm congrua, quàm decora. In qua* non ſolum concordiam ſervant ſimilia, *ſed etiam quæ (creante potentia) diverſa & repugnantia, ad eſſe prodierunt, dictante ſapientiâ,* ad unam quodammodo amicitiam & fœderationem conveniunt. And a little after: *Omnium membrorum junctura* tantam invicem ſervant concordiam, *ut nullum omnino poſſit inveniri membrum, cujus officium alteri non videatur afferre adminiculum.* And thereupon at laſt concludes: *Sic omnis natura ſe diligit, & miro quodam modo plurium diſſimilium in unum redactorum* concordia, *unam in omnibus harmoniam facit.*

And *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his tenth Oration *de Reconciliatione Monachorum*, hath aſwell applyed this agreement of the Creatures to the entertaining and nouriſhing of friendſhip among men. Deinde reſpiciamus in cœlum ſurſum, & in terram deorſum, divinas voces audientes; & diſcamus leges creaturæ, *quod cœlum & terra, & mare, & univerſus hic mundus, magnum Dei elementum, & perquam celebre: quæ cuncta Deus tacitè prædicans nobis oſtendit. Donec enim quietem & pacem inter ſe habent, ac in proprijs naturæ permanent terminis, & nullum contra aliud inſurgit, neque benevolentiæ diſſolvit vincula, quibus opifex verbum univerſa colligavit, decor eſt, quod dicitur, & pulchritudo ineffabilis, nemoque his unquam ſplendidius quid, aut magnificentius novit: quamprimum autem pax ceſſat, etiam mundus eſſe deſinit. Nunquid enim cœlum benè ordinatum tibi eſſe videtur? cum aëre & terra communicans, cum huic quidem lumen, illi autem plaviam, benevolentiæ impartitur lege. Terra autem & aër, hæc quidem alimenta, ille verò reſpirationem cunctis præſtat animantibus, quæ propter hæc, vitam obtinent, dum elementa hæc paternum imitantur amorem. Anni autem tempora nonne placidè temperantur? ac paulatim ſibi invicem ſuccedunt? caloriſque*

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que ac frigoris auſteritatem nimiam, immutatione ſua reddunt mitiorem, & ad voluptatem pariter & utilitatem perquam commodè paci ſubminiſtrant. quid autem nox & dies? nonne aquas inter ſe portiones ſortiuntur? & hic quidem ad opus nos excitat, illa vero quietem reddit. Quid verò ſol & luna, ſtellarumque pulchritudo ac multitudo? quæ omnia ſuo ordine oriuntur & occidunt. Mare autem & terra nonne placidè inter ſe commiſcentur? & utiliter ac humaniter ſe hominibus exhibent, illiſque affluenter & liberaliter opes ſuas impertiunt: flumina autem per montes & planiciem currentia, nonne in eo utilitatem ſuam oſtendunt, quod terminos ſuos non tranſgrediuntur, & retro converſa terram abſcondunt? Elementorum autem permixtio & temperatura, necnon membrorum commenſuratio & conſonantia, animalium quoque cibus, genitura et habitatio, nonne omnia inter ſe ſunt diſcriminata? & hæc quidem prævalent, alia autem ſubjacent, quædam verò nobis obtemperant, nonnulla ſunt libera: quum igitur hæc omnia ita ſe habeant, & propter primas harmoniæ cauſas, ſive confluentias, & conſpirationes directa ac educta, quidnam aliud ex his intelligere oportet? quam quod per ea, amicitia prædicetur ac concordia, & quòd hominibus legem ferant, ut & ipſi inter ſe probè conveniant.

The ſeventh uſe of this doctine is, for the obſerving of order (the ſinew of duration) and the yeelding of due obedience to ſuperiours, the very life and ſoule of order. The Schoolemen out of S. *Auguſtine* define order to be *parium impariumque ſua cuique tribuens loca, diſpoſitio.*

The ſeventh uſe for the obſerving of order and the yeelding of due obedience to ſuperiours.

That there is ſuch an order among the Angells in heaven, the very word *Archangell* uſed in holy Scripture ſufficiently teſtifieth; and that the like is found among the viſible Creatures the Apoſtle witneſſeth, where hee tells us that there are celeſtiall bodies, and bodies terreſtriall, but the glory of the celeſtiall is one, and the glory of the terreſtriall is another. There is one glory of the Sunne, another of the Moone, and another glory of the ſtarres: and one ſtarre differeth from another in glory. And looke how much the heavenly bodies exceed the ſublunarie in glory and efficacie; ſo much doe they likewiſe in height and ſcituation; as they are to governe the lower world by their light and warmth and influence, ſo are they placed in a more eminent roome for the due performance of that great worke; and as it is ſaid that the ſtarres in their courſes or paths fought againſt *Siſera*, *Iudges* the 5. 20. So in their courſes alſo and juſt order, they labour day and night for the good of thoſe who are committed to their charge, whoſe welfare they are ordained to procure: they ſtep not aſide, neither doe they quit their paths or rankes (as ſome have fondly imagined of the Sunne by his drawing nearer to the center then in former ages) but preciſely keepe their ſtations without any trenching or intruding each upon others juriſdiction. The ſame order is likewiſe obſerved among the elements, alwell in relation to the heavens, as in regard of themſelves; the fire the pureſt of them being ſeated next the celeſtiall bodies, and in the higheſt place, and being the moſt noble and active of them all; then the aire as beeing the moſt neceſſarie for the breathing of all ſenſitive creatures every moment; then the water though not ſo diaphanous and moveable as the aire, yet of a tranſparent and fleeting nature; then

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the earth the groſſeſt and dulleſt of them all, and in that reſpect hath a ſituation aſſigned as from the heavens moſt remote, ſo moſt fixed and ſtedfaſt in it ſelfe, and loweſt in reference to the other elements. The ſame order is alſo preſcribed unto, and inviolably kept by the ſeverall inhabitants of theſe regions, according to that of *Nazianzen* in his Oration *de modeſtia in diſceptationibus obſervanda. Ordo præterea cunctis animantibus generationem & cibum, nec non unicuique regiones ſuas proprias lege aſſignavit. Nemo enim Delphinum videt terram ſulcantem, neque bovem in unda laborantem; quemadmodum nec ſolem in nocte creſcentem & decreſcentem, ſive lunam interdiu ignis flammam emittentem.* The fowles of the aire ſpring not out of the earth as doe the plants, nor the plants walke upon it as doe the beaſts, nor the beaſts talke and diſcourſe as doth man, nor any of theſe live and dwell under the water as doe the fiſhes: the conſtant obſervation of which order, *exiſtentium parens eſt ac ſecuritas*, ſaith the ſame *Nazianzen*: *Siquidem ordo colligavit, ordinis verò inverſio diſſolvet, quum placuerit colligranti, ut diſſolvantur univerſa.* And then going on makes application thereof to the Church: *Caterum quam ob rem hæc cuncta enumeravi? aut quonam noſter dirigitur ſermo? ordo etiam in Eccleſiis ita ſtatuit, ut alij ſint oves, alij verò paſtores: ita ut hi imperent, illi verò obediant; ſitque hoc tanquam caput, iſtud manus, hoc oculi illud verò aliud corporis membrum, quo omnia rectè inter ſe conveniant, commodumque tam ad præfectos, quàm ſubditos redundet.* God is not the authour of confuſion but of peace, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1. *Cor.* 14. 33. he is the author firſt of order, then of peace which is the effect of order, as diſcord is of confuſion and diſorder. Whereupon hee concludes that chapter, *Let all things be done decently and in order*: which cannot be except ſome command and ſome obey according to that charge of his in another place. Obey them that have the rule over you and ſubmit your ſelves. *Heb.* 13. 17. If ſuch then that ſhould obey, either thruſt themſelves into the place of commanders, or refuſe to ſubmit, the order, and conſequently the peace of the Church is thereby broken, and then what elſe can bee expected but diſſolution and deſolation? for looke what a leake is in the ſhippe, a cracke in the wall, a wound in the bodie, a rent in the garment, the ſame is diviſion in the Church. Wee ſee that a Kingdome, a Province, a Citie, a Towne, a corporation, an houſhold, an armie, a fleete, a ſhippe cannot bee governed or ſubſiſt without order: and ſhall wee by experience finde it, and readily acknowledge it to bee requiſite in all theſe, and bee ſo ſottiſh as to conceive that onely the Church of God needes no order? or that order can poſſibly bee obſerved where all would command, none obey? Can the little world ſtand if the lungs ſhould put themſelves into the place of the liver? or the liver of the heart? or the heart of the braine? Can the great world ſtand if the Moone ſhould uſurpe the place and office of the Sunne? the fire of the Moone? the aire of the fire? the water of the aire? the earth of the water? there is no man ſo unreaſonable but will preſently anſwere mee, that upon ſuch an inverſion of the order of the parts, muſt needes inſtantly enſue the ſubverſion of the whole. And what other can we expect in the Church where

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where the ſubordinate Biſhop uſurpes the office of the Metropolitan? the inferiour Miniſter of the Biſhop? the People of the Miniſter? the hearer of the teacher? the ſheepe of the ſhepheard? Doubtleſſe it was not ſo in that Church whereof the Apoſtle profeſſeth. Though I bee abſent in the fleſh, yet I am with you in the ſpirit, rejoycing and beholding your order and your ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt. *Order* and *Stedfaſtneſſe*, diſorder and unſtedfaſtneſſe goe together both in the world, and in the Church and in the ſtate. 2. Coloſſ. 5.

The eighth uſe of this doctrine may bee for the kindling of our love towards God, not onely in regard of his love towards us manifeſted in the continuance of the comfortable uſe of the Creatures, but alſo, and that more ſpecially, in regard of his owne lovelineſſe, gathered from the continuance of the perfection and excellencie of the Creatures. As the Loadſtone drawes iron unto it, and the Amber ſtrawes: ſo two things there are which ſpecially draw our affection, *Bountie* and *Beautie*, bountie towards us, beautie in the thing it ſelfe we affect; the one of theſe flowing from God, wee daily ſee, and taſte, and feele; the other remaining in him, and hee inviſible in himſelfe, we can no otherwiſe diſcerne or judge of but by his workes, which the more glorious and beautifull they are if wee ſticke not in the Creatures themſelves, but by them as by a ladder mount up to the Creatour, it cannot be but that wee ſhould bee the more inamored of, and raviſhed with that fountaine of beautie from whence they flow, and which as farre ſurpaſſeth them all, as a bright ſparkling ſtarre doth the glimmering of a worme in the night, or rather as the cleare ſhining of the ſunne in his full ſtrength at high noone doth the light of a dimme burning taper. Were it not that wee daily looke upon the light, there is nothing which would more cheere and delight the eye then that, it being as the firſt ſo the moſt beautifull of all the Creatures of God, in compariſon of which, all other created beauties are but deformities, and without it nothing: yet the light it ſelfe is but as a ſhadow to the father of lights, to him who cloatheth himſelfe with light as with a garment, and dwelleth in light unacceſſable. And if the Sunne the headſpring of all viſible light bee ſo glorious that it dazels the eye which beholds it, what ſhall wee conceive is the tranſcendent light and glorie of the authour thereof, to whom the Sunne it ſelfe is not ſo much as the leaſt ſparke of fire to it. What a flame of love then ſhould this exceſſive beautie kindle in our ſoules, and ſo divert them from doting upon that tranſitorie beautie which (bee it never ſo pleaſing) the ſcratch of a pinne, or the fitte of an ague marres it: and then death having a while ſeized upon it, and triumphed over it, it becomes more loathſome, then before it was lovelie. If wee muſt needes fall in love, let it bee with him in whom are united (and that in an eminent and unlimited manner) all the rare and choiſeſt flowers of perfection, which are ſeverally to bee found in all things, ſo that it may truely bee ſaid of him, The eighth uſe for the kindling of our love towards God.

Quæ diverſa beatos
Efficiunt, conjuncta tenet.

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This meditation *Aquinas* in his ſecond booke & ſecond chapter *contra Gentiles* hath well expreſſed. *Hæc conſideratio animos hominum in amorem divinæ bonitatis accendit: quicquid enim bonitatis & perfectionis in diverſis creaturis particulariter diſtributũ eſt, totum in ipſo univerſaliter eſt adunatũ, ſicut in fonte totius bonitatis, ut in primo libro oſtenſum eſt. Si igitur Creaturarum bonitas, pulchritudo & ſuavitas, ſic animos hominum allicit; ipſius Dei fons bonitatis, rivulis bonitatum, in ſingulis creaturis repertis diligenter comparata, animos hominum inflammatos totaliter ad ſe trahet. Vnde in Pſal. 91. dicitur. Delectaſti me Domine in factura tua, & in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo: & alibi de filijs hominum dicitur Pſalm. 35. Inebriantur ab ubertate domus tuæ, (quaſi totius creaturæ) & ſic torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos, quoniam apud te eſt fons vitæ.* Neither is there any meditation which doth more effectually transforme us into the Image of God then this, according to that of the Apoſtle. 2. Cor. 3. 18. *Wee all with open face beholding as in a glaſſe the glory of the Lord, are changed into the ſame image from glory to glory.*

The eighth uſe. The eighth uſe of this doctrine is, for the arming of us to undergoe and endure with patience and contentment, whatſoever croſſes doe or can befall us, as alſo for the ſtopping of the mouthes of all ingratefull and repining murmurers. As there is nothing which makes us more thankefull, then an opinion that the bleſſings we receive, exceed thoſe which are beſtowed upon others: ſo there is hardly any thing that makes us more impatient then a conceit, that the afflictions which befall us are without example; but on the other ſide, when comparing the hiſtorie of former ages, with the experience of our owne times, wee find that the great and publique ſcourges of the world, exceſſive colds, droughts, windes, raines, ſnowes, thunders, lightnings, earthquakes, inundations, conflagrations, warres, famines, peſtilences, contagious diſeaſes and the like, have beene more grievous in ancient times then now they are, & withall that many great bleſſings we now enjoy, which to them were denied, this makes us with comfort and patience, cheerefully to imbrace the croſſe that lies upon us, and to kiſſe the rodde that ſtrikes us;

Ferre quam ſortem patiuntur omnes,
Nemo recuſat.

And withall the hope and expectation of better ſucceſſe for the future, according to the Revolutiõ of that wheele which never leaves turning, aſwell in the workes of nature, as humane affaires; which *Maginus* in his preface to his *Geography*, hath in part deſcribed, though to another purpoſe: *Certum eſt inſignes variationes in terræ partibus continuò evenire, propter bellorum incurſiones; aquarum inundationes; marium præruptiones ac receſſus; imperiorum, regnorum, et dominiorum inſtabilitates. Etenim non ſolum regiones, urbes, oppida, flumina & alia hujuſmodi ſua nomina pro tempore mutant, amiſſis prorſus prioribus, verum etiam & fines ipſarũ regionũ variantur, et urbes oppidaq; ſenectute delentur, bellorum calamitate evertantur*, aliaque de novo conduntur, *et mare uno in loco continentem terræ dilatat, in alio coarctat, & flumina quandoq; angeſcunt, quandoq; minuuntur, quandoq; curſus variant, quandoq; etiam prorſus deficiunt. Sic quoque fontes, ſtagna, paludes alibi*

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alibi exiccantur, alibi verò procreantur, ut nihil certè humanâ conditione labilius judicati possit. Finally this doctrine of the gracious continuance of Gods blessings in the use of his good Creatures, serves to stoppe the mouthes of such ingratefull murmurers as are ever repining against the state of the present times, and complaining of the decay and distemper of nature, as if the Divine Providence did not as favourably extend it selfe to us as to our predecessours. It was the blasphemous speech of *Alphonsus* the tenth, King of *Spaine*, (as witnesseth *Robertus Toletanus* lib. 4. cap. 5.) *Si creationi affuissem mundum melius ordinassem*, for which hee escaped not unpunished, and I wish that many of us did not draw too neare to him, by accusing and depraving the works of God (which we understand not) through the sides of decayed nature. These doth *Theodoret* sharpely taxe in his first Sermon *de Providentia*: *Sed exurgens fortasse ingratus quispiam quia quoque quæ bene & pulchrè facta sunt, simulque sapienter et commodè administrantur, reprehendere vel culpare volens dicet: Cur sodes ista anni conversiones fiunt? & quænam ex hisce anni partium successionibus ad nos utilitas redit? sed ohe sapientissime forsissimeque Providentiæ accusator, tu potius dicito, quænam bona non harum beneficia nobis contingant? Initium enim sumente hyeme, semina terris mandamus: qui vero eam nobis artem tradidit, pluvijs è nubibus demissis illa nutrit, ac fovet; & marinas aquas verbo in alium subvehens atque sublime ferens, salsas illas & amaras dulcedine conditas transmutat, et in guttas discernit, quas nunc quidem parvulas dimittit, nunc verò majores & torrentis instar ruentes, perinde ac si cribro aliquo hosce nubium fœtus discernat. In hunc ergo usum hybernum tempus conditum est, ut te hominem ingratissimum alat, ut tibi, inquam, iniquissimo beneficiorum cœlestium censori necessarium victum suppeditet. Desine igitur ingratus esse: desine per ipsius providentiæ munera, illi calumnias struere: desine, inquam, bona quæ tibi data sunt, contra datorem & largitorem eam tela ejaculari. Quin potius in omnibus quæ hactenus dicta sunt, Dei Providentiam agnoscere discito, quæ omnia regit et gubernat, simulque omnium bonorum copiam tibi liberaliter parat.* And againe in his second Sermon *de Providentiâ*. *Et cum Providentiæ munera quotidie percipiant, illa ipsa tamen quæ percipiunt, convitijs lacerant, & per ea quibus fruuntur, rectorem & gubernatorem suum oppugnant.* These unhappie murmurers S. *Bernard* also happily meets with, *Serm. 3. in festo Pentecostes*, *Tria in magno hujus mundi opere cogitare debemus, videlicet quid sit, quomodo sit, ad quid sit constitutus; Et in esse quidem rerum ineſtimabilis potentia commendatur quod tam multa, tam magna, tam multipliciter, tam magnificè sunt creata: sanè in modo ipsa sapientia singularis elucet; quod hæc quidem sursum, hæc verò deorsum, hæc in medio ordinatissimè sint locata. Si verò ad quid factus sit mediteris, occurrit tam utilis benignitas, tam benigna utilitas*, quæ etiam ingratissimos quosque multitudine, & magnitudine beneficiorum possit obruere: *potentissimè siquidem ex nihilo omnia, sapientissimè pulchra, benignissimè utilia sunt creata.*

The last use.

These be some of the uses which I have thought on, drawne from the doctrine of the divine Providence, in the worlds preservation, neither improper I trust nor unprofitable; whereunto might bee added many more, as also the inconveniences which follow from the oppo-

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site opinion, by rebating the edge of mens vertuous endeavours, in the imitation of their noble and worthy predeceſſours, and likewiſe by making them more careleſſe in regard of their preſent fortunes, and in providing for poſterity; but becauſe I have handled theſe points at full in the third and fourth Section of the firſt booke of mine *Apologie*, I forbeare the repetition of them here againe.

Theſe two following teſtimonies out of *Clemens* and *Philoponus*, being by overſight omitted in their proper places, I thought it not amiſſe heere to inſert them.

Clemens ad Corinth. epiſt. priori. pag. 28.

Cœli per ejus gubernationem inconcuſſi, *in pace illi ſubjiciantur, dies etiam & nox, nullam alijs remoram facientes, conſtitutum ab eo curſum abſolvunt. Sol & luna & ſyderum chori, ſecundum ejus mandatum* ſine ulla tranſgreſſione, in concordia ſtatutos ſibi terminos explicant & evolvunt: *gravida & fertilis terra, ſuo tempore, ſecundum ejus voluntatem, hominibus, feris, & omnibus, quæ in ea ſunt animantibus, alimentum in abundantia profert,* non hæſitans, neque mutans quicquam eorum, quæ ab eo decreta ſunt. *Abyſſorum inveſtigabiles & inferorum inenarrabiles fluctus* eiſdem mandatis continentur. *Immenſi maris profunditas in cumulos coacervata, clauſtra & repagula quibus vallatur, non tranſgreditur,* ſed prout ei præcepit, ita facit. *Dixit enim,* Huc uſque venies & in te ipſo comminuentur fluctus tui. *Oceanus hominibus impermeabilis, et qui trans ipſum ſunt mundi, eiſdem Domini mandatis gubernantur. Verna, æſtiva, autumnales, & hyemales tempeſtates, in pace alia, aliis ſuccedunt. Ventorum ſtationes peculiari ſuo tempore, munus ſuum ſine offendiculo obeunt. Fontes etiam perennes, ad uſum & ſanitatem facti, Vbera ſine defectu, ad vitam hominum ſuſtentandam præbent; & animalia minima in pace & concordia congreſſus ſuos gregatim faciunt. Hac omnia magnus opifex & omnium Dominus,* in pace & concordia *fieri juſſit, benignum ſe omnibus præbens, nobis vero ſuperabundanter, qui per Dominum Ieſum Chriſtum ad miſerationes ejus confugimus; Cui gloria omnis et magnificentia in ſecula ſeculorum, Amen.*

Patr. Junius in Annotat.

Pag. 28.] De lucis et tenebrarum, diei et noctis, mutua et perpetua ſucceſſione, de conſtanti & irremiſſo à prima creatione utriuſque curſu, ſine ulla confuſione, aut impedimento quocunque, legatur Chryſoſt. homil. 3. in Gen. & Iuſtinus Martyr ad Diognetum. Et Eucherius de contemptu mundi; Cernis ut etiam dies atque anni, et cuncta hæc ornamenta cœli, Dei verbum mandatumque infatigabili *obſervatione conſervent, præceptorumque ejus cuſtodiant* irremiſſa lege *famulatum.*

Philoponus lib. 7. de mundi creatione cap. 8.

Omne enim quod ex partibus conſtat, habet etiam ſecundum quamlibet ſui partem, propriam perfectionem, necnon pulchritudinem inde pullulantem, ut v. g. in manu hominis quando nihil deeſt magnitudini, vel figuræ, digitorumque adinvicem proportioni, cæteriſque quæ ipſam ornant. Similiter in capite quando habet oculorum ſitum, & figuram, & magnitudinum convenientem, coloremque ac motum, & actionem, & in quolibet cæterorum ſimiliter. Verumtamen licet qualibet pars per ſe pulchra ſit, omnium tamen in compoſito concinnitas

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nitas, atq; cum toto congruentia consensioque, nec non animalis ex his omnibus perfectio, tantum superas pulchritudines quæ sunt in partibus, quanto totum suis partibus præstantius est. Siquidem hæc sunt ipsius causa, ipsum verò est id, cujus causa sunt omnia. Idem etiam in arte factis videre licet. Dum v. g. lyricen unamquamque chordam ad futurum concentum intendit, ejusque sonum explorat, peritus quidem musicæ statim percipiet ejus concinnitatem. At ubi cæterum concentus ex omnibus cujusque chordæ vim prius ignorantibus, perceptus fuerit, tunc utique præ concentu unius omnium simul chordarum excellentiam quis admirabitur?

Hoc igitur etiam in universo mundo considerandum est; siquidem pulchra quidem quælibet pars ejus secundum se considerata, sive elementum sive animal dixeris. Cælum quoque pulchrum, uti & splendor qui singulis inest luminaribus: verum si ex his omnibus compositionem & ordinem & ad invicem consentionem *perspexeris, & quantus sit motus cælestium ordo, quantaque fit ex illis quæ in ipso sunt utilitas ac contemperatio, quæque sit elementorum similiter ad invicem constitutio & ordo, & ut nulla pars ipsorum etiam vi in alteram se transferri patiatur, sed illico ad proprium locum tendat,* & ut nullum cætera superare valeat, *sed dum in se mutuo transmutantur, in contrarijs ejus quod redundat* exæquatio *fiat; & quæcumque pro cujusque natura unicoque omnium salutis universi scopo faciunt, meritò illud acclamatum cernet, Et vidit Deus omnia quæcunque fecit, & ecce bona valde, seu pulchra vehementer. Vel ut Aquila referens hoc ad universum, dixit, Et vidit Deus simul omne quæcunq; fecit, & ecce bonum valde; Voce quidem plurali partes designans, singulari verò, illam ex omnibus in unum mundum conspirationem.*

CHAP. 6. Ob. 5.

The opinion of the worlds Abolition when there shall bee no further use of it, is farther inlarged and confirmed, because what hitherto hath beene written in that point, seemes not to have given satisfaction unto all.

SECT. 1.

Suarez his disputation containing his reasons for the worlds Renovation, together with his arguments against the Abolition thereof.

THis ensuing disputation of *Suarez* the Iesuite, being sent mee some years past, by a learned Divine, and a deare freind of mine, (now with God) with desire to satisfie him by making an answere thereunto, at his motion I did it, and as himselfe professed hee received good satisfaction, save onely in one Scruple arising from the 8th to the *Rom*: which I likewise afterward Cleered to his full Contentment. An *English* answere I know is not suteable to *Latin* arguments, yet because after my resolution to publish them, I wanted time to translate either of them, I was perswaded to expose them as they are to the publique veiw, the rather for that *Suarez* is generally accounted, for the greatnes of his wit, as a giant among the Schoolemen of this latter age; from whence a just estimate may bee made of the weakenes of the cause hee hath in hand.

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Suares de Renovatione Mundi in 3 partem Thomæ. tom. 2. q. 59. art. 6. dif. 58. sect. 1. &c.

1°. In fine mundi & tempore ultimi judicij singularem fore mundi renovationem & quasi recreationem asserit. Id probat. 1° Scripturæ testimonio. Esa 65. Ecce ego creo cælos novos &c. Et; 66. Sicut cæli
a novi &c. Apoc. 21. Vidi cælum novum &c. 2. Pet. 3. Novos verò cælos &c. Et sic ait omnes Sanctos hæc loca intelligere 2°. Ratione eâ-
b que duplici. 1°. Mundus est propter homines præsertim electos. 1. Cor. 3. Omnia Vestra &c. At Electi innovandi. Decet ergo consentaneo modo & mundum innovari. 2°. Mundus nunc habet statum generationibus & corruptionibus accommodatum: at post judicium
c cessabit generationum & corruptionum successio: Ergò oportet ut status mundi innovetur, & statum recipiat immortali vitæ proportionatum, juxta illud *Rom.* 8. Expectatio Creaturæ &c.
d 2°. Hanc innovationem fore non ante sed post peractum judicium, Christique reditum in cælos. Quod probat. 1° Scripturâ. 1. Cor. 15. Deinde finis cum tradiderit &c. 2°. Testimonio Aug. de Civ. l. 20. c. 4. Peracto judicio tunc esse desinet hoc cælum & hæc terra, quando incipiet esse cælum novum & nova terra &c. 3°. Ratione duplici. 1°. Reprobi suâ præsentiâ contaminarunt novum mundum: ergò ante eos expulsos non erat commodum tempus renovandi. 2°. Non expediebat reprobos vel ad modicum tempus frui luce & gloriâ novi mundi.

3° Qualisnam hæc Mundi renovatio futura sit inquirit. Docetq;

1° Quosdam opinari fore Substantialem. 1. Simplicia omnia corpora tam cælestia quàm terrestria substantialiter annihilatum, vel saltem corruptum iri, aliaque nova alterius substantiæ ac naturæ creanda vel generanda esse. Sic Ambr. Catharinus, Hieron. Magius, Fr. Vallesius, Et è Patribus Hilar. Chrysost. Theodoret. Oecumen. Iustin. Martyr, Ambros. Basil. Nyssen. Clemens, Euseb. Fundamentum hujus sententiæ Esa. 34. Tabescet omnis militia cælorum. &c. & 51. Cæli sicut fumus &c. quod Aquila & Symmachus sicvertunt testante Hieron, Cæli
e comminuentur in nihil, & in salis modum conterentur & evanescent. Et 65. Ego creo cælos novos &c. Apoc. 21. vidi cælum novum &c. Iob. 14. Homo cum dormierit &c. Eccl. 17. Quid lucidius Sole &c. Ps. 101. Opera manuum tuarum &c. Mat. 24. Heb. 1. Cælum & terra transibunt &c. 2. Pet. 3. Accedit ratio. 1°. Cum cessatura sint munera, propterquæ creatasunt cæli & sidera Deut. 4. quid mirum si ipsorum substantia mutetur. 2°. Cessabit motus cælestium, Ergo & natura. Nam ex motu venamur naturam: & cur perpetuò manerent præter naturam ac violentè illæ Substantiæ. 3°. Cælierunt lucidiores Esa. 3°. & aliæ proprietates aliam substant jam requirunt.

Denique

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Denique Plato in Timæo, & alii aiunt cœlos esse corruptibiles. Vide Sixtum Senensem Biblioth. l. 3. c. de Ethnicorum Rhapsodiâ.

2° Alios existimare hanc innovationem Substantialem quidem fore, sed tantùm in Elementis. Aquam ri. & ignem penitus esse consumenda, terram & aërem in meliorem statum restituenda, ut Beda & Glossa ordinaria, 2. Pet. 3. Saltem aquam, ut Aug. de Civit. l. 20. cap. 16. Ambros. in Apoc. 21. ubi dicitur mare non amplius futurum. f

3° Se autem sic dicere atque statuere.

1° Elementa & corpora cœlestia non annihilanda esse, ita ut neque substantia maneat, neque proportionale loco ipsius producatur. Et hoc quidem quoad cœlum & terram certum videri de fide, quia in Scripturâ cœlum novum & terra nova perpetuo dicantur permansura: quoad reliqua vero probabile. Hoc probat. g

1° Quia Scriptura sub nomine cœli & terræ omnia simplicia comprehendit. Sic Gen. 1. 1. sub terrâ Aqua, sub cœlo Diaphana omnia continentur. h

2° Quia non legimus mundum annihilandum sed innovandum & à servitute corruptionis liberandum. Rom. 8. 1. Cor. 7. Præterit figura &c. non substantia, ut Hieron. & Aug. Et per *omnem creaturam saltem* simplicia ex quibus mundus constat, Paulus intelligit. Eccles. 3. Cognovi quod omnia quæ Deus fecit, &c. i k l

3° De cœlesti corpore & terrâ constat, ut suprà. De aëre probatur, quia aliter esset vacuum, nec est accommodatius corpus ad replendum, de igne nulla ratio est (cum sit ejusdem naturæ cum igne conflagrationis) cur corrumperetur: & est elementorum maxime incorruptibilis. De aquâ, Scriptura non negat. Nam illud Apoc. 21. Et mare jam non est. Aug. de Civit. 20. c. 16. exponit de turbulento sæculo hoc. Anselm. & Thom. de mari quoad proprias qualitates & motum. Denique si manet unum contrariorum cur non & reliquum, cum spectet ad mundi perfectionem. m

2° Cœlum Empyrium (nam supponitur esse) permansurum. 1° Si reliqui cœli ut suprà, multò magis hoc. 2° Utcunque de alijs cælis intelligantur Scripturæ peritura esse, de hoc non est verisimile. Finis enim ejus non inservire inferiori huic mundo, sed ut sit beatorum sedes, tum Angelorũ qui nunquam peccarunt, tum hominum redemptorum. Ergò regnum paratum. Et 2. Cor. 5. Scimus si terrena &c. Addit, nec purgandum aut innovandum fore hoc cælum. 1° Quia status beatitudinis dicatur. 2° Motum nullum habet, & puriſſimum creatum fuit, nec aliquid inquinatum ipsum intravit. Ob. Angeli in eo peccarunt. Resp. Incertum an adhuc viatores ibi fuerint. 2° Peccatum fuit mere spirituale, & independens à loco, ideòque non contaminavit illud. n

3° Reliqua cælestia immutanda quoad Accidentia quædam, non Substantiam. Hoc probabile non certum. Aug. in Psal. 101. ad illud; Ipsi peribunt. De Civit. lib. 2. c. 14. 16. 18. 24. Hieron. Greg. Bed. Gennad. Primas. Ambros. Anselm. Epiphan. Iren. Oecumen. Lombard. Thom. Rationes. o

1° Scriptura. Psal. 148. Ipse dixit & facta sunt &c. Job. 37. Tu forsitan p

sitan cum eo fabricatus es &c. Et, omnia opera quæ fecit Deus perseverant in perpetuum.

q 2° Illud Esa. 30. *Erit lux lunæ* &c. Hieron. exponit de tempore post Christi adventum. Ergò duratura sunt. Nam si de alio Sole aut Luna quam communi loqueretur Propheta, manifesta æquivocatio esset.

r 3° Ex Rom. 8. idem colligunt Hieron. & Epiphan. Nam si Substantialis innovatio sit, destructio erit, non perfectio, & timerent, non expectarent.

s 4° Si cœli substantialiter corrumpendi sunt, id igne conflagrationis fiet. At ille corpora cælestia non attinget. Nam illud 2. Pet. 3. *Cæli erant prius, & terra de aqua*, &c. de aëre intelligendum est. 1° Sic in hunc locum Hieron. & Aug. 2° Loquitur de mundo inferiore qui aquis mundatus. 3° Quia hi cæli facti ex aqua, at non sic ætherei. Ergo non hi, sed aërei igni reservati. Et eò tantum pertinget ignis quò aqua diluvij: non quia non possit naturâ sua altiùs ascendere, cum aqua gravis sit, ignis levis, sed quia utraque inundatio tum aquæ tum ignis, non in naturis suis sed in divinâ ordinatione fundetur. Ob. Petrus distinguit inter cœlum & Elementa.

t Resp. 1° dicit *transitura*, quod localiter fieri potest, unde & dicit, *magno impetu*. 2° Cœli nomine significatur tota hæc expansio, de quâ aliquid interdum dicitur ratione inferioris partis, aliquid ratione superioris, idque sine æquivocatione. 3° Et aeris fortasse regio rapietur, sed ex raptu superiorum cœlorum. 4° Si cœlum distinguitur ab elementis, ergò & terra, quæ tamen est elementũ. 5° Aër ut cœlum rapietur, ut elementum accendetur. 6° Probabile est elementorum nomine Aquam & terram tantùm intendi, tum quia sunt quasi primordialia fundamenta respectu totius universi, tum quia suprà distinxerat Petrus cœlos ab Aquâ & terrâ.

u 5° Cœlum est vel incorruptibile, juxta magis receptam opinionem Philosophorum, Theologorum, & multorum Patrum, & sic non potest igne corrumpi: vel corruptibile, & sic ab igne non potest in meliorem naturam transformari. Ob. At ignis divinæ vindictæ in

w peccata instrumentum erit, unde & poterit. Resp. Poterit si Deus voluerit fortasse, at sine fundamento dicitur facturum Deum.

Summa.

x 1° Cœli non sunt igne corrumpendi.

2° Cœli non sunt igne purgandi. Ratio

1° Scriptura non docet ascensurum ultra secundum aëris regionem.

2° Non potest naturâ agere in cœlum: ut instrumentum Dei caret fundamento.

3° Cælum cum sit purissimum sordes non habet expurgandas.

Ob. Job. 15. Cæli non sunt mundi &c.

Resp. Sensus est, vel Angeli, vel corpora cœlestia ad Deum comparata, quo respectu non opus est ea purgari. Nam peccato nec Substantia, nec qualitates immutatæ sunt.

Ob. Propter præviśum peccatum minùs perfectum creatum fuit quàm alioqui fuisset. Theodoret. Resp.

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Resp. Figmentum, sine fundamento in Scripturâ, nec consenta ratione. 1° quia statuit Deus creare cælum, antequam prævidit peccatum. 2° quia non solet propter peccatum mutare naturas, præsertim in causis universalibus ad mundi perfectionẽ spectantibus. 3° Cæli non dantur homini ut domicilium pro hoc statu, sed terra quæ est corruptibilis. Dati autem sunt ad juvandam conservationem per generationum successionem, & inde debuit esse incorruptibilis.

Quæst. An hi cæli sint innovandi?

Affirmatur. 1° quia cessabit motus eorum, unde & quiescent: quod significat Esa & Ioh. Libro complicato, & quia tempus non erit. 2° Quia accipient maius incrementum lucis & claritatis: idq; non emanans e corporibus beatorum, ut Richardus, sed per modum proprietatis intrinsecæ & permanentis, ad eum modum quo glorificatis beatorum corporibus tribuitur.

4° Probabile esse nec Elementa quoad substantiam corrumpenda, sed innovanda ac perficienda. Hoc probat. 1° Ex patribus qui æquè loquuntur de toto universo, & Elementis ac cælis. 2° Scriptura Eccl. 1. Terra in æternum &c. & 3. omnia opera quæ fecit &c. Rom. 8. Omnis creatura &c. 3° Inductione. 1°. Non ignem. Nam ignis conflagrationis est ejusdem naturæ, unde ergo corrumpat? Ignis in suâ sphærâ est purissimus, nec eget purgatione, nec eò pertinget ille purgans ignis 2°. Non aerem secundum superiorem partem, quia vapores eò non pertingunt ut opus sit purgatione, nec etiam ignis conflagrationis. 3°. Non aquã nam non legitur in Scriptura igne exsiccandam. Aug. de. Civ. l. 20. c. 16. nec fore novam aquam ut novam terram: 4° Non terram totam, nam non internum, ergò nec terram circa centrum, nec verisimile est ignem tam citò posse penetrare ad intimas partes, & tam densam substantiam consumere. Elementa ergò manebunt: nec veri simile est in aliâ specie, ergo in suâ. Quid opus ergò primùm corrumpi, deinde reproduci?

Ob. 2. Pet. 3°. Elementa solventur, tabescent.

Resp. Accidentali mutatione, non substantiali.

Ob. Ibid. Terra exuretur.

Resp. Quoad superficiem & quod purgandum est.

4° In quo consistat hæc futura innovatio inquirit, docetq; duplicem esse 1° Privativam, ablatione sordium quæ sunt præter naturam Elementorum, quæ fiet per ignem. Sed quarum sordium? Illustrat.

1° Similitudine templi violati & peccatis non apti ad res sacras peragendas donec cæremonijs quibusdam purificetur, quibus nulla res Physica tollitur a templo, sed tantum moralis quædam mutatio fit.

2° Physicâ ratione. Nam mixta omnia corruptibilia & generabilia quæ generationum successione conservantur per ignem tollentur. Affectiones etiam omnes extraneæ & substantiæ admistæ consumentur, Veluti salsedo maris &c. Et sic de excrementis terræ.

2°. Positivam, additione perfectionis. Addetur in Elementis lux & claritas. Nam ut Thom. Terra erit sicut vitrum in superficie, aqua ut Crystallum, aer ut nunc cælum, ignis ut cæli luminaria. Rom. 8. Paulus

Paulus ait gloriæ participes fore. Et cum cælorum quies perpetua
k futura sit, illuminatio illa semper eadem erit. Esa. 60. Non occidet Sol &c. Apoc. 21. & 22. Et hoc de reliquis elementis facile creditu est, quia diaphana sunt: de terra cum densa sit difficile videtur, facile tamen est quoad extimam superficiem. Nam si lux ad centrum penetraret, fruerentur illa luce damnati. Et cum terra natura sua densa est, non est capax luminis in profunditate absq; miraculo, quod non
l videtur necessarium ponere. Excepto tamen inferno loco tenebrarum videtur reliquum terræ perspicuum fore & pervium Beatorum oculis: idque insinuant Apoc. 21. *Platea civitatis* &c & Esa. 60. *Non erit tibi amplius Sol* &c. Paludanus ait illuminandam esse terram usque ad limbum puerorum inclusive.

m Quæ contrà has opiniones afferuntur Scripturæ exponi possunt.

1° Vel de aerio cælo intelligi, ut suprà ostensum est.

2° Si de superioribus cælis, non de vero interitu sed variatione status & ministerij loqui.

3° Loquutiones interdum hyperbolicas & comparativas esse, ut illud, *Cælum & terra transibunt* &c. 1. prius illa deficient quam verba mea.

n 5° Quo ordine, & a quibus causis mundi purgatio & innovatio perficienda sit.

1° Post judicium, Christiq; cum Sanctis reditum in cælos, Cæli magno impetu transibunt, i, cælestes orbes velocius agitabuntur, secumq; rapient cælos aerios & ad universi conflagrationem, motu, influentiâ & actione concurrent.

2° Post hanc Commotionem ignis conflagrationis sequetur, ut qui
o sit aptissimum ad purgationem instrumentum propter puritatem & activitatem. Hic,

p 1° Ignis iste non est alterius naturæ a nostro ut Lact. l. 7. c. 21. sed ejusdem, loquitur n. Scriptura de eo ut re nobis notâ; nec ulla necessitas est fingendi alium ignem, cum noster aptus sit ad prædictum effectum.

2° Hic ignis non est ille qui in suâ sphærâ est. Descendere n. ad
q terram est contra naturam, & vacuus locus esset, & nimis rarus est, ideoque minus aptus ad agendum. Nec est novus creatus: nil n. opus. Probabile ergò est generatum iri in mediâ aeris regione, divino imperio, ex vaporibus & exhalationibus ibi existentibus aut eò ascendentibus. Et primò præire judicem ad locum judicij: deinde ibi quiescere durante judicio: deniq; finito judicio & reprobis in infernum detrusis mundum inflammare, juvante cælorum motu, Sole, astris: forte & Angelis igni fomitem applicantibus.

r 3° Quantus hic ignis futurus est, incertum, An tantus ut universum terræ & aquæ corpus undique simul circundet, & ascendat altissimos montes quantum aquæ diluvij: an satis sit, ut successive feratur, & sic totum mundum circumeat atque purificet. Hoc tamen probabilius.

s 3° Post hunc ignem fiet totius terræ exustio & Elementorum purgatio,

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gatio, ut suprà ostensum. Sed hic sola difficultas est de mixtis, comburenda n. Sequitur. Sed.

1° Videtur inconveniens. Nam vel futura sunt in mundo innovato, vel non. Si futura sunt, frustrà exurentur ut denuò producantur: Si non, contrà mundi perfectionem est. Nam cùm perfectiora sint quã Elementa, mixtis pereuntibus & Elementis solum remanentibus imperfectus erit mundus. 2° *Rom.* 8. Omnis creatura ingemiscit &c. Ergò & mixta. 3° Mixta ministrarunt Sanctis, Ergo & participes erunt gloriæ. 4° Ornant mundum, quare & possunt oblectare Beatos. 5° Anselmus, Guilielmus Paris. affirmant. Et Ps. 103. Emittes spiritum tuum &c. 6° Si Sulfur & vermes in inferno, cur non animalia, aves, flores in mundo innovato ad accidentalem Sanctorum beatitudinem?

2° Sed non recedendum est à communi Theologorum sententiâ, mixta non permansura. 2° Corruptibilia sunt, & ideò solum manebunt ea corpora quæ ordinem habent ad incorruptionem. 3° Mixta fere omnia referuntur ad usum hominis ratione corporis corruptibilis, qui usus cessabit.

4° Finitâ mundi exustione, excrementa si qua manent, & ignis ipse deferentur in infernum. 1° Sic Thom. & reliqui Theologi. 2° Purgatio mundi in hunc finem ordinatur, & excrementa solent in infimum locum rejici. 3° Universa hæc pœna damnatis debetur. Ergò verisimile est hiatum terræ duraturum donec omnia excrementa detrudantur & tum esse occludendum.

5° Finita purgatione quiescet cælum, Sole, luna, astris in eo situ manentibus, qui maximè ad pulchritudinem mundi conferre videbitur. 1° Esa. 60. Sol non occidet. &c. *Rom.* 8. Creatura subjecta est vanitati &c. 1. mutationi, vicissitudini. ut. Eccl. 1. Oritur Sol &c.

Ob. Quies cæli violenta est, cui motus naturalis.

Resp. Motus non magis naturalis est quàm quies. Quod autem jam moveri sit propter conservationem universi per generationum & corruptionum vices.

6° Finito motu cæli, fiet innovatio & illustratio mundi 1° Nulla n. est ratio ut ultrà differatur. 2° Actio innovandi non requirit successionem ex parte agentis, quia est infinitæ Virtutis: neque ex parte actionis & termini, cum sit quædam illuminatio & perfectio sine resistentiâ contrarij, Ergò & in instanti fiet.

7° Et ultimo. Quod situm Elementorum attinet, ignem & terram in suis locis suprema & infima futura nulla controversia est. Quæritur solum de aquis: an totam terram complexuræ sint, an pars aliqua terræ sit apparitura. Sed hæc quæstio ex alterâ pendit, an infantes qui in solo originali peccato decedunt, habituri sint vel in superficie terræ, an in subterraneo aliquo loco. Si illud dicitur, non sunt complexuræ universam terram: si hoc, fortasse sunt complexuræ. Sed hujus quæstionis determinationem, ad locum de Originali peccato rejicio.

SECT. II.

An examination of the precedent arguments brought against the worlds Abolition.

THough it bee true that many of the ancients understood these passages of the worlds renewing; yet later divines upon better Consideration doe not, and I thinke any man if hee doe but advisedly reade them, will easily find, that no such thing can bee inforced from them; as in mine Apology I have made it appeare; and for the Ancients themselves (as may appeare by *Suarez* himselfe a little after in this very disputation) from the very passages by him alleaged, they inferred not a Renovation of this world, but the Substitution of a new in stead of this, being evidently Convinced, and thereupon freely acknowledging that this present world was to be utterly abolished, to which opinion neither *Suarez*, nor the schoolemen will subscribe.

To his first reason I answere as *Peter Martyr* doth in like case to S. *Augustin*. *Verum hic ego libenter ex Augustino scisciterer, utrum constituat corpora sanctorum post judicium victura in hoc mundo: quod si affirmabit, videbitur facere cum millenariis; sin vero id neget & asserat (quod nos credimus) corpora nostra esse in Cœlum rapienda, quæ erit ista accommodatio qualitatum elementorum, ad nostra corpora immortalia? Classe. 3ª loco: Com: Cap. 17.*

To his passage alleaged out of 1. Cor. 3. I answere that *all are yours*, that is, for your use, but what use the elect shall have of the innovated world I have long sought, but as yet can not find, and in truth for mine owne part I conceive that this opinion of the innovation of world, first sprange from the millenaries, holding that the Saints after their resurrection, were for a thousand years to live heere in this world, and to make use of it: which seems to bee more agreeable to reason then to maintaine a restauration of the world, and yet to assigne no convenient end or use thereof, yet they who came after, forsaking the errour of the millenaries in the one, seeme to have followed them in the other.

To his second reason I answere that both the proposition and assumption I allow, but from those premises the Cõclusion rather should be, *ergo status mundi cessabit*, then *immutabitur*. And as the present state of the world shall cease, because then man shall have no further use of it, so meethinkes the inference should be as strong the other way, man after his resurrection shall have no use of the renewed world, therefore renewed it shall not bee.

To this passage alleaged out of *Rom.* 8. I say the Creatures expecting of the manifestation of the sonnes of God, doth not sufficiently inferre the future innovation of the Creature it selfe, in as much as that may bee, either in reference to the glory of the elect, or to there owne deliverance from the bondage of Corruption.

And besides what is there meant by the *Creature* is very uncertaine. St *Augustin* tels us, that by it some there were who understood the angels

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gels, of which opinion Theodoret seems to have beene and before him *Origen*, but *Augustin* himselfe by the Creature understands the *naturall man*, as may be seene at large in two severall treatises of his: lib. 1. question. 83. Cap. 67. and againe *in expositione quarundam propositionum ex epistola* ad *Rom*: Cap. 53. the one being to bee found in the first, and the other in the second part of his fourth tome; in both hee considers the words exactly, and in the former tels us that the referring of the word *Creature* to trees *and herbs* and stones and the like, savours strongely of the *Manichean* heresie; and in the other that vaine heretiques out of that chapter misunderstood, have spred many impious & foolish positions, therein alluding againe as it seemes to the *Manichæans*. And *Augustin* is herein followed both by *Anselme* and *Lyra*. St *Gregorie* takes another way and understands it of the *man regenerate* living heere in this state of mortality *lib. 4. Mor:* in *Cap. 3. Iobi in illa verba; requieverunt fessi robore & quondam vincti pariter sine molestia* &c. where hee copiously and eloquently expresseth his opinion, and therein is he followed not only by *Cajetan* and *Catharin*, but by *Salmeron* in his 3. booke & 17th disputation upon the epistle to the *Romans*. His words are these. *Sed ut verum fatear, mihi præstantior videtur prior sensus, non solum, quia non apparet qua sit illa expectatio in impijs, vel in Creaturis Sensu destitutis, nisi naturalis Cujusque rei appetitus, qui de re supra naturam posita (qualis est illa mundi renovatio) esse non potest, sed & quia sine schemate Prosopopœia, si potest exponi, scriptura est interpretanda, & denique sensus primus multis scriptura testimonijs corroborari potest, Heb. 11. Luc. 12. 1. Cor. 15. Iob. 14.* And *Aquinas* in his Commentaries on the 8th to the Romans, allowes of all three expositions, both St *Augustins* and St *Gregories* and that which is now commonly received; so as doubtlesse in all there opinions, hee who vpon those wordes shall build the renovation of the world, shall build upon a very uncertaine foundation, and for my selfe I must professe I can not well conceive, how the unsensible Creature can be said to groane or travaile in paine, or the unreasonable to bee capable of hope or free will, or lastly to expect earnestly the manifestation of the sonnes of God; you will say these things are spoken figuratively, bee it so, yet of necessity though not these affections or qualities themselves yet somewhat proportionall thereunto must bee found in these Creatures; else can the Apostles argument bee of no validity to prove what there hee intends; and this attributing of supernaturall properties to unreasonable Creatures, can hardly I thinke bee paralled in any passage of holy Scripture. Which the cleere judgement of the great *Augustin* well perceiving, made him shunne the exposition now commonly received, as likewise did St *Hierom* whose words as I find them quoted by *Salmeron* are these, *de rationali Creatura sermonem fecit; & non (sicut quidam existimant) de irrationali vel insensibili quæ ad servitutem hominum Creata est & posthac peritura.* Lastly I can not understand, how the insensible Creature in regard of the service it performes to man can bee said to bee subject to vanity, since it should have performed that service even in the estate of innocency, & vanity wee know came not in but by the fall; and besides I see not in what sense it can well be

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termed to bee capable of the glorious liberty of the ſonnes of God, that beeing nothing elſe but eternall happines, though ſome and that of our owne Church, grounding themſelves upon thoſe words, have beene ſo bold as to affirme that the very beaſts (at leaſtwiſe thoſe which were made at the firſt Creation) ſhall in the day of judgement riſe againe to immortality; a brutiſh aſſertion and well deſerving to bee ranged among thoſe impious poſitions S. *Auguſtin* ſpeakes of.

To his ſecond poſition, touching the time of this innovation, I ſay that hee builds it vpon a ſuppoſition of an innovation which is not yet ſufficiently proved. Beſides what he meanes by *poſt peractum judicium* I know not, but am ſure that S. *Peter.* 2. 3. 12. tels us that in the very day of judgement, the heavens being on fire ſhall be diſſolved, & the elements melt with fervēt heate: neither can it be imagined if there bee any ſuch innovation as is pretended but that it ſhall inſue inſtantly upon this diſſolution. And for his place out of the. 1. Cor: 15; it rather makes for me, who hold an *end*, (as the Scripture cals it) not an innovation. His paſſage out of St *Auguſtin* is Cap. 14. not. 4. as your Copie hath it; but to *Auguſtines* authority *Thomas* anſwers ſupplem: part. 3. queſt. 74. art. 7. ad 1um. *Auguſtinus non loquitur determinando ſed opinando* and maintaines the direct Contrarie to *Suarez* throughout that article.

To his firſt reaſon, the reprobates with there preſence can no more contaminate the new world, then the reprobate angels did the heavens by there fall, which notwithſtanding ſtill Continues the manſion of the elect angels and glorified Saints.

To the ſecond, it might bee as convenient (for any thing I can underſtand) for the reprobates to looke upon the light and glory of the new world, as upon the glorified Saints, and Chriſt himſelfe ſetting in judgement in as much as being not to injoy it, itſhall make more for the confuſion then conſolation.

To theſe might be added *Salmeron*, who in his fourth diſputation on the ſecond of St *Peter* thus writes: *Quanquam autem cali & terra & omnia conterenda ſint, & poſtea in melius reformanda: voluit tamē deus per* Petrum *& per alios prophetas declarare omnia peritura & in nihilum fere redigenda, ut agnoſcamus omnipotentiam ejus, qua non ſolum potuit mundum condere, ſed etiam deſtruere & in chaos antiquum redigere, & quod magis eſt in nihilum vertere: quod tamen videretur nobis prorſus fieri non poſſe.* and *Beza* ſeems to have beene of the ſame opinion, annot: in cap. 8. ad *Rom.* v. 20. *Vanitatis* [*id eſt illi per ignem diſſolutioni qua annihilationis erit ſpecies, ſicut aperte & copioſe deſcribitur* 2. *Pet.* 3. 7. 10. 11. & 12. *promittuntur enim novi Cali & nova terra non priorum reſtitutio ſive in eundem ſive in meliorem ſtatum: nec ijs poſſum aſſentiri qui hanc diſſolutionem, ad ſolas qualitates referendam cenſent*; ſo as undoubtedly hee held a diſſolution, of the ſubſtance yet not by an abolition of the effence, as hee expreſſeth him ſelfe in his annotations on the very next verſe, but by a ſeparation (it ſhould ſeeme) of the forme from the matter; & Conſequently by an abolition of the forme, the matter remaining the ſame, and truly did I hold any innovation of the world, I ſhould rather aſſent to theſe, thē to *Suarez*, & thoſe that follow his opinion, aſwell in regard of the grave authority of

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the patrones thereof by him cited, as also of the waighty reasons, and pressing scriptures by him alleaged which he very slightly and Coldly answers; but for mine owne part some of them I thinke unanswerable, and thus farre agree with them being doubtles herein convinced by plaine evidence of Scripture) that there shall bee a dissolution of the world not onely in regard of the qualities but of the very substance thereof which some of them seeme to hold by an annihilation or totall abolition, others onely by corruption, or a destruction of the formes, though herein I differ from them, that I hold as a totall so likewise a finall abolition without any substitution of a new world insteed of the abolished, they the substitution of a new in place of the old abolished that is, new matter togeather with new formes and new qualities or at least wise new formes & qualities, the matter still remaining the same, but the places which they ordinarily bring for proofe of this, are in truth so weake that the very reading of them (as before I said) would serve for a sufficient answere, and for the 8th to the Romans as I find it not alleaged by them, so neither can it serve there turne in as much as it must bee the same creature which waiteth for the manifestation of the Sonnes of God, which is subject to vanity, which groaneth and travaileth in paine till now, the selfe same I say, and not another insteed thereof that must and shall bee delivered from the bondage of Corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God, as in the resurrection the same bodies of ours and not others insteed thereof shall bee raised to immortality, *absurdum enim est & deo indignum ut hæc quidem Caro lanietur illa vero Coronetur* saith *Tertullian*. And for those who hold that the same Creature in kind shall bee restored (as did the fathers of the *Latin* Church they hold withall that in that passage to the Romans, the unreasonable and unsensible creature can not bee understood; so as they who from thence would prove a renovation of the world in *specie* have doubtlesse the chiefe both of the *Greeke* and *Latin* fathers therein against them.

This opinion as it is related by *Suarez* rather makes for mee then against mee in as much as some of the elements it wholy annihilates, and if some, why not all? there being no reason that I know, why in this innovation the earth should bee preferred before the water, or the aire before the fire specially there being in scripture no mention made of the abolition of the fire as of the water there seemes to bee Reu: 21. 1. But for *Beda*; *Bonaventure* and *Aquinas* on the fourth of the sentences indeavour to interpret him as if hee intended nothing else but some great change in the fire and water, then in the other two elements, in regard of there active qualities of heate and Cold, whose operations shall then cease, but saith *Pererius lib. 2. de Cælo & astris quæst.* Comment: in *Genesin Beda in lib. de Sex ætat: mundi Cap. 69. Satis explicate & diserte Sententiam suam exponit, quæ prorsus nihil a supradicta opinione Augustini differt.* Now though it be true that S. *Augustin* in the place alleaged Commenting upon those words, *& mare jam non est* at first tels us, that *utrum maximo illo ardore Siccatur, an & ipsum vertatur in melius non facile dixerim, Cælum quippe novum & terram novam futuram*

leginus. De mari autem novo aliquid me uſpiam legiſſe non recolo: yet hee thus Concludes that chapter; *Iam tunc non erit hoc ſæculum vita mortalium turbulentum & procelloſum quòd* maris *nomine figuravit* which though *Suarez* obſerved not, yet *Pererius* did, *verum illud* (ſaith hee,) *ex apocal: produ&tum* & mare jam non eſt, *non movit Auguſtinum ut putaret poſt diem judicij non futurum mare.* And for *Ambroſe* hee is as much or more miſtaken, then in the teſtimony of *Auguſtin*; the words are theſe: *quod verò infert*, & mare jam non eſt *poſſumus Secundum litteram intelligere Vt mare penitus deleatur*; *Alter*, *mare jam non erit quia propriam figuram amittet Sicut Cælum & terra ut in pulchriorem formam reparetur. Sed Spiritaliter hoc intelligendum puto* and at laſt Concludes. *Mare igitur jam non erit, quia omnis multitudo impiorum Cum deceptoribus ſuis dæmonibus, in infernum detruſa, preſentem mundi faciem à ſua inquinata habitatione mundâ præſtabunt.* And beſides, *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durrham*, who about 80. years ſince brought thoſe Commentaries into light, makes a doubt whither the author of them were St *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan*; but *Sixtus Senenſis Bibli: Sancta lib.* 4. flatly denies it and gives his reaſons for it.

Hee ſaith not *Certum* eſt but *videtur de fide*, but wee know *quædam videntur & non ſunt*, and ſo doth *Paræus* take this to bee: *Queſtiones has ex earum numero eſſe meminerimus, de quibus etiam optimis Theologis licet dubitare, ignorare, diſſentire, Salva fidei & Charitatis Compage*, Comment: in 8. ad Rom: explicat. *Dubij decimi ex verſ.* 21. and with him herein agrees peter Martyr: *pij animi eſſe Cenſeo neutram partem pertinaciter aſſirmare: nihil enim habemus alterutram in partem Satis Certo definitum Loc: Com. Claſſe.* 3. *Cap.* 17 yet for mine owne part I profeſſe it to be a part of my beleefe that neither the heavens, nor earth are ſo to be diſſolved or annihilated as nothing proportionable thereunro ſhall ſupply theyre functions, though in a tranſcendent and ſupernaturall manner: that which the divines terme the Empyriall heaven and the Scriptures the heaven of heavens or third heaven 2. Cor 12. 2. ſhall more then ſupply all that which the viſible and materiall heavens now doe, & that which the Pſalmiſt calls the land of the living. I had utterly fainted, but that I verely beleeved to ſee the goodnes of the Lord in the land of the living Pſal. 27. 13. ſhall more then ſupply all that which this earth wee now live upon doth: as then I beleeve, that the body of Chriſt is truly in the Sacrament though not in a proper but a figurative ſenſe; ſo doe I as verely beleeve that upon the diſſolution of theſe heavens and earth, wee ſhall have new prepared for us but in a figurative not in a proper ſenſe which notwithſtanding ſhall be as proportionable to our future ſtate of glory, as theſe are to our preſent ſtate of mortality, and this I hope is no hereſie, at leaſt wiſe, I have not found it, condemned by any Councill, which *Suarez* in reaſon ſhould have produced.

His owne opinion (which is that the heavens & the elements without any of the mixt bodies, ſhall be renewed) hee holdes but probable, & trnly for mine owne part) I thinke his prooſes being well waighed, will hardly reach ſo farre.

His firſt prooſe is becauſe under the name of *Heaven* all the ſimple bodies diaphanous, and under the name of *earth* the *earth* and water,

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are comprehended, where hee seems to exclude the water from the bodies *diaphanous*, by what rule or for what reason I know not. His allegation from the first of *Gen*: I thinke none ever expounded so but himselfe, the Common opinion of divines for this last 800 years and upward being, that by heaven in that place the Empyreall heaven, and by earth the first matter is to bee understood; but for mine owne part I should Conceive with *Zanchius* and *Pareus* that those words containe an universall proposition in regard of the particular workes of the Creation which by peecemeale afterward insue, and Consequently, that not onely the simple but the mixt bodies are therein to bee included. Which exposition wonderfully pleaseth St *Chrysostome* neither is it disallowed by St *Augustine. lib.* 11. *de Civitate dei Cap.* 33. and *Basil* in his 3. homilie upon *Gen:* ingenuously acknowledgeth that it was *à majoribus tradita* and in truth I thinke that those words of our Creed *maker of heaven and* earth were borrowed from the words of *Moses* in that place, & for any thing I have ever redd or heard no man ever expounded them, as they stand in the Creed, only of simple bodies, but of the whole world togeather with all the parts and species therein Contained both visible and invisible, as the nicen Creed more distinctly expresseth it: if then wee should understand those places where mention is made of a new heaven and a new earth, as those words are in likelihood to bee understood in the first of *Gen:* I see not how it can well bee avoided but that the mixt bodies must aswell be renewed as the simple. And to this same purpose his passage out of the 8th to the *Romans* is more full which himselfe seems to acknowledge, for whereas the Apostle speakes of the *Creature* hee renders it the *world* and no man I thinke ever yet so defined the world as to consist only of simple bodies which he seemes to imply in that which followes *per omnem Creaturam saltem simplicia ex quibus mundus Constat Paulus intelligit* where hee did well to add *saltem*, for no interpreter that I ever yet met with, hath so expounded that place if hee understood it of the unsensible Creature, but that he referred it to the mixt aswell as the simple bodies; I need not quote authours to this purpose for I presume there is not so much as one that ever commented on that chapter who can bee shewed to the contrary either ancient or moderne, *Romanists* or reformed. And whereas hee saith *non legimus mundum annihilandum*, I wonder what can be spoken in more plaine terques for annihilation, then is that in some of those passages which himselfe had alleaged in the page going before, as namely *Iob.* 14. 12. *Rev.* 20. 11. or that of *Esay.* 51. 6. as *Aquila* and *Symmachus* by the testimony of St *Hierome* translate *Cœli Comminuentur in vihil.*

His second allegation out of. 1. Cor. 7. 31. save that it comes backd by the countenance of *Augustine* and *Hierome* (though the places hee cites not) himselfe no doubt would soone answer, the Apostle intending no more in that place then doth S. *Iohn*, 1. 2. 17. and therefore hath our *English* translation rightly rendred it not the figure but the fashion of this world passeth away, and if the figure of the world properly so termed, (as it stands in relation to substance) were there to be understood

derſtood, then from a ſphericall muſt it bee turned to a quadrate, or ſome other which no man I thinke hath hitherto preſumed to affirme.

l To his third allegation *Eccleſ.* 3. 14. Firſt I would willingly know whither God made not the mixt bodies aſwell as the ſimple, and if ſo, why the one ſhall not be for ever as well as the other: but both doubtleſſe are there ſaid to bee for ever. 1. 4. of the ſame booke, that is, to abide till the Conſummation of all things, and *hunc* (ſaith *Lorinus*) *omnium interpretatio fere collimat.*

m His third argument being grounded upon a ſuppoſition not ſufficiently proved; which is, that the heavens and the earth properly ſo called, ſhall bee renewed needes none other anſwere: but that the foundation being ſandie, the building laid thereupon cannot be ſound; yet by the way wee may firſt obſerve that in the ſame page before hee had made S. *Auguſtine* affirme that the element of water was *penitus conſumendum*, out of that place of the *Revelat. mare non erit amplius*, but heere he tells us that S. *Auguſtine* in the ſame booke and chapter underſtands thoſe wordes *de turbulento ſæculo hoc.* Secondly, if all the elements are to be renewed becauſe they make to the perfection of the world, I ſee not by what right hee can exclude the mixt bodies, without which undoubtedly the world could not bee but very imperfect; and laſtly for his reaſon drawne from the nature of contraries it might as well follow that darkeneſſe ſhould then likewiſe ſucceed by turnes, becauſe it is oppoſite to light.

n That the Empyreall heaven ſhall ſtill remaine without any innovation, I willingly agree with him.

o As before he made the number of the bodies to be renewed but probable, ſo likewiſe heere the manner of renewing them, wherein hee dealt wearily, foreſeeing hee muſt otherwiſe condemne all thoſe Fathers who hold a ſubſtantiall change amongſt whom hee named ſome before, (as namely *Ambroſe* and *Oecumenius*) whom notwithſtanding here he brings in againe as allowing onely of an accidentall; and *Pererius* in his 14th diſputation upon the eighth to the *Romans* ſets *Irenæus* in the former ranke, whom *Suarez* in this point ranges among the latter.

p His proofe out of *Iob* I cannot finde, except that be it, verſe the 18. *Haſt thou with him ſpread out the skie which is ſtrong, and as a molten looking-glaſſe?* but what he can from thence inferre to his purpoſe I know not. That out of the *Pſalmes* will without ſtraining beare the ſame interpretation as the other out of *Eccleſiaſtes.*, which I have already ſhewed not to make for his opinion, the meaning of both being (as I conceive) that the world ſhall endure in the ſtate that God created it without decay till the Conſummation thereof.

q His allegation out of the 30 of *Eſay*, *Hierome* (ſaith hee) expounds *de tempore poſt Chriſti adventum*, and ſo doe I underſtand it, with the ſoundeſt Expoſitours, but after Chriſts firſt comming in the fleſh, not after his ſecond to judgement; our laſt Tranſlatours thus ſumme that chapter from the 18. verſe to the 27. (the paſſage by him alleaged being in the 26.) [Gods mercies towards his Church] and in truth

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the wordes which immediately follow in the same verse, that this augmentation of light shall bee, *in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound*, plainly shew that hee speakes not of the renovation of the world, but of his Church or chosen people: neither is that speech of the Prophet, being so understood, a *manifest equivocation*, (the proper character of a Jesuite) but an elegant metaphour, thereby implying the great increase of knowledge which should bee under the Kingdome of Christ, as *Amos* 8. 9. The famine of the word is shadowed under the setting of the Sun at noone. *Hierome* (saith hee) and *Epiphanius* collect the same from the 8. to the *Romans*, for if this innovation were substantiall, *destructio erit non perfectio, & timerent non expectarent*; but I would willingly bee resolved of him, whither perishing, vanishing, dissolving, passing away, melting, burning up, falling downe as a withered leafe (which are the Scripture phrases) be not equivalent to destruction? And againe, the Creatures expect not their destruction but their deliverance, as a man desires not physicke, but his health that is wrought by it, though the one perchance cannot well be effected without the other. Now for *Hierome* how hee understood that passage in the 8. to the *Romans*, which concernes this businesse I have already shewed, if *Salmeron* alleadge him aright.

Fourthly, hee tells us that the fire ordained to burne the world shall not touch the heavens, whereas all those Gentiles who speake of the worlds end by fire, include therin the heavens aswell as the other parts thereof: and so doe the Scriptures (and that in so manifest termes, as I wonder any man should make a doubt thereof) specially S. *Peter* 2. 3. But (saith he) *Hierome* and *Augustine* understand him of the region of the aire; yet that S. *Augustine* was not so resolute in that exposition, or at least wise in that opinion as he would make us beleeve, sufficiently appeares by those wordes of his, in his enarration on the 101. *Psalme*, *Sunt autem & cæli cælorum superiores in firmamento, sed utrum & ipsi perituri sint igne; an hi soli cæli qui etiam diluvio perierunt disceptatio est, aliquanto scrupulosior inter doctos nec facile, maxime in angustia temporis explicari potest*: And if *Suarez* with his Schoolemen, had used the like modestie in this and other questions of like nature, it would have become them much better; but *Gregory* determines it directly against them. *Cælum igitur & transibit & erit, quia & ab ea quam nunc habet specie per ignem tergitur; & tamen in sua semper natura servatur, unde per Psalmistam dicitur: mutabis eos & mutabuntur*; so as hee holds expresly that the same heavens whereof the Psalmist there speaks, (being undoubtedly the starrie heavens) shall at last be purged by fire. *Mor. 17. cap. 5.*

And of the same heavens (saith *Salmeron*) in his disputations upon that place of *Peter*, speaketh the Apostle, *loquitur ergo hoc in loco de veris cœlis de quibus David dixit: Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, & opera manuum tuarum sunt cæli, ipsi peribunt [animam per ignem.] Vbi ostendit veros cœlos & veram terram vere peritura.* But more confident he is a while after, backing his Exposition with strong reasons. *Quod autem quidam ex patribus interpretantur non de supremis & veris cœlis, sed de aëreis & ad quos esse intelligendum: ratione ipsius textus revincuntur, nam imprimis*

ostendimus

oſtendimus nunquam cœlorum nomine in plurali numero aëreos & elementares cœlos accipi: Deinde poſt cœlos nominatos ſubdit; [Elementa vero calore ſolventur, & infra, & elementa ignis ardore tabeſcent,] quod ad aërem & aquam & ſpharam ignis ſpectare videtur. Non poſſunt ergo per cœlos accipi illa tria elementa, cum his cœlos ab elementis contradiſtinguat: and to *Suarez* his argument, that the heavens ſpoken of by S. *Peter* were by his owne teſtimonie in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 5. made of the waters, which of the ſtarrie heavens cannot be affirmed: he anſwereth that by *water* in that place is to bee underſtood the firſt matter out of which all things were made, as *Gen.* 1. 2. *The Spirit of the Lord mooved upon the face of the waters*: but had *Salmeron* well conſidered of the matter, he needed not to have ſought ſo farre for an anſwer, in as much as it plainely appeareth not onely by the *Greeke*, but the beſt *Latine* copies, that thoſe wordes *out of the water and in the water*, are to be referred to the earth and not to the heavens, which our laſt Tranſlatours well cleare by rendring the wordes thus, [by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth ſtanding out of the water and in the water] not the heavens then but the earth is ſaid, not to be made, but to ſtand out of the water, in as much as a part of the face of it is uncovered, and for the uſe of living Creatures made higher then the water, but the greateſt part is yet covered with water, and ſo in that ſenſe as truely likewiſe it is ſaid to ſtand in it.

Now to *Salmerons* ſecond argument he gives no leſſe then ſixe ſeverall anſwers, but one good one would have beene worth them all: ſuch as they are we will examine them in the ſame order, as by him they are propoſed.

His firſt anſwer then is [*Dicit tranſitura quod localiter fieri poteſt & dicit magno impetu*] this anſwer is ſo obſcure as I can but gueſſe at his meaning, which I take to be this; that the fire ſhall not worke upon the heavens, but they ſhall paſſe away with a great noyſe in regard of their ſwift motion; if ſo, then the ſtarrie heavens are there to bee underſtood, yet how a thing may bee ſaid to paſſe away, and withall to remaine ſtill in the ſame place. I cannot well conceive, but beſide this paſſing away, it might have pleaſed *Suarez* to obſerve that they are reſerved unto fire. *v.* 7. and being on fire ſhall bee diſſolved. *v.* 12. neither is it ſaid that they ſhall paſſe away *magno impetu*, as he hath it, but with a great noyſe, ſuch a noyſe as is the cracking or hiſſing of thinges that burne in a fervent fire.

His ſecond anſwer is, that heaven is taken for the whole expanſion, ſome ſpeeches being verefied in regard of the higher, and ſome of the lower part thereof; this we deny not, but all the queſtion is how the word *Heavens* is in this chapter of S. *Peter* to be underſtood, we ſay it is to bee referred to the ſtarrie heavens, becauſe it is diſtinguiſhed from the elements, whereunto as yet hee hath made no kinde of anſwer.

His third comes in with a *fortaſſe rapietur*, but I thinke we may more ſafely reply upon him with a *fortaſſe non rapietur*, at leaſt in his ſenſe, and by what warrant he ſubſtitutes *raptus* inſteed of *tranſitus* I know not, by the

the one a vanishing, and by the other a whirling round being signified.

His fourth carries (I confesse) some face of an answer, but the knot will bee untide if wee consider that the Apostle having spoken of the elements in generall, *v.* 10. instanceth more specially in the earth, not to distinguish it from the other, but to shew that notwithstanding above and beyond the rest, it abounds in the variety of the manifold and excellent workes both of God and man; yet shall it also together with all the workes thereof bee burnt up: but why the Apostle should likewise instance in particular in the region of the aire, I know no such reason.

To his fifth, I know not what warrant he hath for that *rapuit coeli* he there speakes of, much lesse that the aire shall be so whirled as it is an *heaven*, but set on fire as it is an element, these be meere fictions of his owne braine, he might (in my judgement) more probably have said according to his owne grounds, that the higher region of the aire should be whirled about together with the heavens, but the lower region should be set on fire, for so hee holdes that the last fire with which the world shall be consumed, shall ascend no higher then did the waters of the flood, that is fifteene cubits above the highest hills: but I would demand then, what should become of the residue of the aire above those fifteene cubits, or how it shall remaine and not be purged as well as the lower region.

Lastly, hee tells us that by the name of the elements the water and earth are to be understood, but that (say I) is unlikely, considering they make but one globe, and so many times goe under the name of one element, and why the aire and fire should not be termed elements aswell as they, I see no reason; since (whatsoever *Suarez* seeme to affirme to the contrary) they as primordially concurre to the worlds constitution, as doe the earth and water; neither doe the aire and fire more depend upon the earth and water for their being, then doe the earth and water upon them, and whereas hee tells us that S. *Peter* distinguisheth the heavens (he speakes of) from the earth and the water, *v.* 5. so doth he likewise from the other elements, *v.* 10. and againe, *v.* 12.

His fifth generall argument to prove that the heavens shall not bee destroyed in regard of their substance, is, because if they be incorruptible the fire cannot worke upon them, and if corruptible, they cannot by the fire be transformed to a better state. To the last member of his division I answere first, and desire to learne of him why the elements being corruptible (at least wise in regard of their parts) should bee purged by that fire, and not the heavens, if they bee likewise corruptible as being compounded of the elements, or of the same matter the elements are compounded of: and for the first member of his division, *Aquinas* indeed tells us, *suppl. 3. part. quæst. 74. art. 4.* and experience hath confirmed it for the space of these many thousand yeares, that *Corpora cœlestia peregrinæ impressionis non sunt receptiva*, but that *extrema* of his can none otherwise be understood but in the course of nature: and so likewise it is impossible that materiall fire can worke upon immateriall

riall ſubſtances, the Apoſtate Angels I meane, and damned ſpirits, but by the power of God and as an inſtrument of his wrath or will, it may and ſhall worke even upon ſpirituall ſubſtances, much more then upon the heavens, and that it ſhall then and thus worke himſelfe a little before ſeemes to affirme; *Vtraque inundatio tum aquæ tum ignis non in naturis ſuis, ſed in divina ordinatione fundatur.*

w Foreſeeing this anſwer to his argument he frames it into an objection, and then anſwers it, that the fire may perchance worke upon the heavens if God ſo will, but to affirme that hee ſo will wants a ſufficient ground. Where I wonder why he ſhould ſo limit Gods power, who without all *peradventure* can aſwell extend the effectuall operation of fire to things which in their owne nature are not combuſtible, as he can and hath ſuſpended it from working upon things which in their nature are combuſtible; but I more wonder that he ſhould ſay that this aſſertion, *that the fire ſhall worke upon the heavens*, wants ground, ſince S. *Peter*, (if he be read without prejudice, and his ſenſe not ſhifted by ſophiſtry) hath ſo clearely expreſſed it, that to an ingenuous minde no farther doubt can poſſibly be left thereof.

x Touching his ſumme in ſome things I agree with him, in ſome other I differ; in this I agree that *Cæli non ſunt igne purgandi*, and I cannot but allow well of his reaſon, *Cælum enim ſit puriſſimum ſordes non habeat expurgandas*, and his anſwers to the objections drawne from *Iob* and *Theodoret* I hold ſufficient: but his other poſition, that *Cæli non ſunt corrumpendi*, is ſo directly contrary to the cleare teſtimonies of Scriptures and Fathers, ſpecially thoſe of the *Greeke* Church, that (to ſpeake in the moſt favourable termes of it) I cannot but hold it erroneous.

y His firſt reaſon to prove that thoſe heavens ſhall bee renewed, is becauſe their motion ſhall ceaſe, a ſtrange inference, yet not ſo ſtrange as are the places hee brings to prove the ceſſation of that motion; the bodies themſelves remaining. *All the hoſte of heaven ſhall be diſſolved* ſaith the Prophet *Eſay* 34. 4. *and the heavens ſhall be rouled together as a ſcrole: and all their hoſte ſhall fall downe, as the leafe falleth off from the Vine, and as a falling figge from a figge-tree.* Which very words S. *Iohn Revel.* 6. 13. ſeemes to have borrowed from the Prophet: *And the ſtarres of heaven fell unto the earth even as a figge-tree caſteth her untimely figges, when ſhee is ſhaken of a mighty winde: And the heaven departed as a ſcrowle when it is rolled together, and every Mountaine and Iland were mooved out of their places.* Both which paſſages (if they be to bee underſtood properly, and not figuratively as *Iunius* would have it) ſeeme rather to inferre an abolition or corruption then a renovation: and the rowling together of the heavens ſeemes rather to inferre their burning as a peece of parchment, that rivells up together in the flame, then a ceſſation from motion.

And for his other teſtimonie, *Revel.* 10. 6. *That time ſhall be no more*, though the heavens ſhould ſtand ſtill, yet time may remaine by the motion of ſome other thing which may ſerve to meaſure it, as on the other ſide though they ſhould ſtill moove, yet all reaſonable Creatures being removed out of the world, time ſhould then ceaſe, (at leaſt wiſe in regard of uſe) there being none left to meaſure motion: but for mine owne

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owne part I ſhould thinke that the ceſſation of time, implies rather an abolition then a ceſſation of motion in the heavenly bodies, once I am ſure that it implies the one as well as the other.

His ſecond reaſon drawne from the increaſe of light, is a bare affirmation without warrant, ſo as by a bare negation it may as eaſily bee rejected. z

That the Elements likewiſe ſhall not periſh in their ſubſtance, but bee renewed; Hee endeavours to prove firſt from the Fathers. *Qui æque loquuntur de toto univerſo*: yea but I would willingly know what Fathers hee meanes; if the *Greeke*, they by his owne acknowledgement hold that the whole world ſhall periſh in ſubſtance; if of the *Latine*, they likewiſe hold that the *whole world* ſhall bee renewed in qualities, not onely the heavens and elements, but the *whole world*, it being indeed moſt true which he affirmeth, *loquuntur de toto univerſo*, ſo as he can have little helpe from the Fathers, either *Greeke* or *Latine* to mainetaine his opinion. a

And for Scripture leſſe; all three places which hee bringes to that purpoſe from the firſt and third of *Eccleſ.* as alſo from the eighth to the *Romans*, beeing already fully anſwered: nay they all rather make againſt him, who ſhuttes out the mixt bodies from his renovation, which notwithſtanding, thoſe paſſages all include. b

So likewiſe his induction is neither true in the ſeverall parts thereof, nor, were it true, doth it make for him. Firſt then for the fire, hee tells us that it is of the ſame nature with that fire which ſhall burne the world: this indeed S. *Auguſtine* ſeemes to affirme, *De Civit. Dei.* 20. 16. *Tum figura hujus mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione prateribit; ſicut factum eſt mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluvium.* And herein is hee followed by *Aquinas* and the greateſt part of the Schoolemen; but upon what ground they build I know not, other then their owne imagination. And conſidering it ſhall have thoſe purging qualities and effects in regard of the univerſall, which are pretended, but are improper for the nature of our fire; mee-thinkes they who hold ſuch a purification, ſhould withall hold that the inſtrument ordained for the effecting thereof, ſhould bee of ſome other nature then any yet created; but of what nature ſoever it bee, *Aquinas* holdes in expreſſe termes that it ſhall worke, not *ut naturale agens*, but, *ut inſtrumentum divinæ virtutis*, and ſo it may doubtleſſe worke both upon the heavens and the element of fire, and if upon them much more upon this: and that it ſhall indeed worke upon the elements appeares by S. *Pet.* 2. 3. 10. 12. where the element of fire (if any ſuch be, or it be rather the moſt ſubtile part of the aire) is not excepted; nay the ordinary gloſſe (and that of *Bede*) telling us in expreſſe termes, that all foure are there to bee underſtood, and conſequently that of fire: Neither doth *Aquinas* himſelfe to me ſeeme to bee of any other opinion, in as much as *ſupple.* 3. *part. quæſt.* 74. *art.* 3. having propoſed this objection in the front of that article. *Videtur quod ignis ille non ſit ejuſdem ſpeciei cum igne elementari, nihil enim* c

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ſeipſum conſumit, ſed ille ignis quatuor elementa conſumet ut dicit gloſſa. 2. Pet. ult. Ergo ignis ille non erit ejuſdem ſpeciei cum igne elementari. Thereunto hee makes this anſwer: *Ad primum dicendum, quod ignis ille quamvis ſit ejuſdem ſpeciei, cum igne qui apud nos eſt, non tamen eſt idem numero; videmus autem quod duorum ignium ejuſdem ſpeciei, unus alterum deſtruit, major ſcilicet minorem, conſumendo materiam ejus, & ſimiliter etiam ille ignis ignem qui apud nos eſt conſumere poterit.*

And that the Element of fire is in its ſpheare ſo pure as it needes no purgation, hurtes not mee, who hold not that it ſhall bee purified but conſumed. And whereas he tells us that this purging fire (as he calls it) ſhall not reach ſo farre, I may more truely ſay of his bold aſſertion therein, then he doth in ſome other caſes; *caret fundamento.*

d Touching the higher region of the aire, that likewiſe (ſaith he) is ſo pure as it needes no purging: yea but though the vapours aſcend not thither, yet by conſent of the beſt Philoſophers, exhalations doe, from whence there are bred Comets and other fierie Meteors, which there appeare, and carry (no doubt) much droſſie matter in them: but (as I ſaid before) for my ſelfe I hold no ſuch purgation, but an abolition which the laſt fire ſhall performe; for that it ſhall not reach thither (as was ſaid) *caret fundamento.*

e For the Element of water hee quotes Saint *Auguſtine de Civit. Dei*: 20. 16. but the wordes are not as hee quotes them. *Quod autem ait; & mare jam non eſt, utrum maximo illo ardore ſiccetur, an & ipſum vertatur in melius, non facilè dixerim. Cælum quippe novum & novam terram futuram legimus, De mari autem novo aliquid me uſpiam legiſſe non recolo.* Where Saint *Auguſtine* leaves it doubtfull whither the Element of water ſhall bee wholly aboliſhed or no, and *Suarez* himſelfe leaves it doubtfull whither if it remaine it ſhall bee renewed or no, or in what manner.

f Laſtly for the earth, hee teacheth us that it ſhall remaine in kinde, but the whole maſſie body thereof ſhall not bee purifyed. No ſhall? how then ſhall wee now have a new earth, and why doth Saint *Peter* aſſure us that the Elements ſhall melt with fervent heat, and that the earth with the workes that are therein ſhall bee *burnt up*? marrie that quoth hee, is to bee underſtood onely in regard of the ſurface of the earth, and an accidentall change. But I demaund whither to be *burnt up*, imply onely an accidentall change; as alſo how it ſhould come to paſſe, that ſome parts onely ſhould bee advanced to the honour of this change, and not all? Of this laſt hee gives a double reaſon, the one that the fire cannot ſo ſwiftly pierce into the bowels of the earth; which is true if wee conſider it as a naturall agent, and not rather as an inſtrument of Gods power and juſtice. His other reaſon is drawne from Hell, but whether Hell bee locally ſeated about the earths Center (as hee preſuppoſeth) I finde it no where in Scripture determined.

How this morall change ſhall bee effected in the world by fire, or to what ende I cannot conceive; a Temple that hath beene abuſed to prophane uſes, may againe bee reconſecrated by prayer, or (as their

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their practise is) by the sprinkling of holy water and such like Ceremonies, but now what resemblance this last fire shall hold with these I know not: Againe, Temples are thus cleansed that religious exercises may the more conveniently bee performed in them, but to what ende the world should bee so purified, I cannot understand. Besides, if any corner of the Temple bee polluted, the whole is held unholy; and the same reason seemes to bee in the world, because of the continuitie of all the parts, without which the frame it selfe could not stand, and then must the heavens and the element of the fire, and the higher region of the aire bee purified aswell as the rest; and for the two lower it is certaine, that howsoever for the present they may bee accounted pure, yet by reason of the continuall interchange of the Elements, and their daily transmutation one into another, it cannot bee but they have contracted that morall or rather relative pollution which hee speakes of, as also in regard of the manifold and daily abuse of them all by wicked men.

His Physicall change hee makes to consist, first in the utter abolition of the mixt bodies, and then in removing all extraneous affections from the Elements; as saltnesse from the sea; and excrements from the earth. For the mixt bodies I shall have a more proper place to speake of them hereafter; but for the two affections of the Elements which he instanceth in, I see not well how they can be removed by fire; saltnesse being rather caused then taken away by it, and for the earth, if by the working of the fire upon it, it should bee reduced to its owne nature, it would bee none other then sand, or dust, or ashes; it is the moisture that now holdes the parts thereof compacted together, and yet is there much aire mixed with it as it is, but if that moisture should once be removed from it, the parts thereof being more porose must needs either remaine emptie, or admit of more aire, and consequently cannot consist without these adventitious affections.

His positive change consisting in the addition of a new perfection, hee would willingly ground upon the eighth to the *Romans*, where (saith hee) *Paulus ait gloriæ participes fore*; yea, but how if it bee not so to bee found in the text? The wordes are *Creatura liberabitur a servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*; not *Creatura erit particeps illius gloriæ*, that is his glosse which corrupts the text; and I hope hee will not say that the unreasonable and unsensible Creature shall be made partaker of that glorious libertie, which is reserved for, and is proper unto the sonnes of God.

His best warrant then for this positive change is from *Aquinas*, who affirmes *suppl. 3. part. quæst. 91. art. 4.* that the earth shall bee as glasse, the water as Chrystall, the aire as heaven, and the fire as the lights of heaven. But I would willingly learne from whence all these glorious effects shall proceede, how they can stand with the nature of the Elements (which are still supposed in their substance to remaine the same) or lastly to what ende and purpose they shall

bee: it ſhould ſeeme by *Suarez* that hee would make the fire to bee the inſtrument of all this wonderfull change; but how fire in the courſe of nature (for miracles he labours by all means to avoide them) can produce ſuch effects as to make the earth like glaſſe & the Sea like Chryſtall; for mine owne part I muſt profeſſe I cannot conceive, and for the element of fire and higher region of the aire, hee aſſures us that the laſt fire ſhall not reach unto them.

Secondly, how earth can put on the properties of glaſſe, and yet ſtill remaine earth; how water can put on the properties of Chryſtall and yet ſtill remaine water, how aire can put on the properties of heaven (which is thought to bee a ſolid bodie) and yet remaine aire; or laſtly, how fire can put on the properties of the lights of heaven, and yet ſtill remaine fire, I cannot underſtand, nor how theſe things ſhould be accompliſhed without the deſtruction of the eſſentiall qualities of the elements, and conſequently of the eſſences themſelves.

Thirdly, to what end ſhall all this great adoe be? the Maſter of the Sentences, *Lib.4. diſt.48.* here ingenuouſly profeſſes himſelfe to be ignorant. *Si vero quæritur quis ſit uſus lucis, ſolis & lunæ, fateor me ignorare, quia in Scripturis non memini me legiſſe.* And if no uſe can be aſſigned of the light of the Sun and Moone, much leſſe of that in the Elements, & this ingenuitie of the Maſter of the Sentences *Peter Martyr* both commendeth and followeth: *Loc. Com. Claſſ. 3. cap. 17. Sed ea Sacris Scripturis non confirmantur; nec ſatis apparet cum Chriſti corpus & infinita juſtorum corpora ſole ipſo magis lucentia, oculis beatorum conſpicienda ſint, quid præterea oblectationis afferre poſſit inſtauratarum creaturarum conſpectio; quare placet mihi candor & ſimplicitas Magiſt. Sentent. Cum dicat ſe neſcire quod in Scripturis ſacris non meminerit ſe legiſſe. Vtinam in alijs rebus deſiderandis uti voluiſſet pari modeſtia & fide.*

k Whereas hee affirmes that this illumination in the Elements ſhall never faile, becauſe the heavenly bodies ſhall perpetually reſt in the ſame ſituation; hee ſeemes to ſay that the Elements ſhall borrow their light from the lights of heaven, and if ſo, then of neceſſitie muſt the Elements bee more inlightned on that Hemiſphere, where the Sunne reſts, then in the other where there will bee little or no light in compariſon of the other Hemiſphere.

And for thoſe paſſages which hee quotes of *Eſay*, and the *Revelation*, being rightly examined, they rather make for mee then for him: *The Sunne ſhall bee no more thy light by day, neither for brightneſſe ſhall the Moone give light unto thee: but the Lord ſhall bee unto thee an everlaſting light, and thy God thy glory*, ſaith the Prophet. *Chap. 60. verſ. 19.* and then in the next verſe hee thus goes on. *Thy Sunne ſhall no more goe downe, neither ſhall thy Moone withdraw it ſelfe: for the Lord ſhall be thine everlaſting light, and the dayes of thy mourning ſhall be ended.*

To which paſſage of the Prophet the Apoſtle ſeemes to allude *Rev. 21. 23. And the Citie had no need of the Sunne, neither of the Moone to ſhine in it: for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lambe is the light*

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light thereof; and againe in the very next chapter v. 5. *There shall be no night there, and they needs no candle neither light of the Sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall raigne for ever and ever.* then which I know not what could be deuised to be spoken more expressly, that there shall then be no more Sunne or Moone, because the inhabitants of the new *Ierusalem* shall not want the vse of them. So as why he should quote those two places of the *Reuel.* I know not, they making both directly against him. And for that of the Prophet, where he saith *Thy Sunne shall no more goe downe, &c.* it must undoubtedly bee referred to that Sunne which he had immediately before spoken of. *The Lord shall be vnto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory:* for of the Sunne and Moone properly so called, hee had said in the former part of that verse, there shall be no more vse of them.

That which most of all seemes to trouble him in this businesse is the transparencie of the earth, least the light should shine downe to hell: but the great wit of S. *Augustine* could not well resolve it selfe (as it seemes) where to place it, for in his 20th booke *De Civit. Dei* and 16th chapter, speaking of hell fire, hee thus goes on, *Quisquis cujusmodi & in qua mundi vel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui spiritus divinus ostendit:* in which passage I finde both *Vives* and *Marlorat* to be deceived, taking him as if he spake of the last fire which shall consume the world, whereof indeed he speakes immediately after in the same Chapter.

But *Suarez* taking it for granted that hell must bee in or about the center of the earth, tells us that the earth shall be transparent and lightsome just to the confines thereof, which I take to bee the same with *Paludanus* his opinion, that it shall be illuminated *usque ad limbum puerorum inclusive*, which (as I remember) they make to border upon Hell, but whither or no these infants shall bee removed from thence at the day of judgement, and dwell here upon the earth, it is not yet determined amongst them; the onely thing in this point which now rests to be inquired is, how farre the borders of Hell reach upward, (for downeward I thinke they all agree that they extend full home to the Center) if then from thence wee allow for Hell three thousand miles upward, there remaine yet five hundred by the calculation of Geometricians to the upper face of the earth, all which according to the opinion of *Suarez* shall bee transparent and lightsome, and that without a miracle, though by his leave his Master *Thomas* be therein of another minde. *Terra vero quamvis ex natura sua opaca esse habeat propter defectum lucis; tamen ex divina virtute in sua superficie gloria claritatis vestietur, sine praejudicio tenebrarum ipsius.* But I wonder why both *Aquinas* and himselfe should speake of illuminating onely the superficies of the earth, and yet withall affirme that this light shall shine downe to Hell, as if the verge of Hell extended to the superficies of the earth: which were it so, no roome could bee left for the *Limbus puerorum.* Suppose then wee allow but the thousandth part of the Globe of the earth for the superficies thereof, or from the bounds of Hell (and lesse I trow they will not allow) yet there will remaine three miles and an halfe

downeward, I would demaund then what ſhall become of all the mightie quarries of ſtone, and mines of mettall, which lie within this compaſſe, ſhall they remaine? or ſhall they be annihilated? if they ſhall remaine, then ſhall not all the mixt bodies bee aboliſhed, if they ſhall be annihilated, then either *vacuum* muſt be admitted, or ſome new bodies muſt be created, and ſubſtituted inſteed thereof.

Two Scriptures hee alleadges for this illumination of the earth, the firſt, *Revelat.* 21. 21. *And the ſtreet of the Citie was pure gold, as it were tranſparent glaſſe*: but no man neede doubt but that the Apoſtle there ſpeakes figuratively of the heavenly *Ieruſalem*, for otherwiſe wee may as well underſtand the twelve gates (there ſpoken of) to be of twelve entire pearles, and the twelve foundations to bee of twelve pretious ſtones in a litterall and proper ſignification; and beſides, the wordes being that the ſtreet of the citie *was* of pure gold, but was *as it were* only of tranſparent glaſſe, there is greater reaſon (as I conceive) to reſemble it to gold then to glaſſe: it being ſaid to bee the one, but the other in ſhew and appearance. Laſtly, if onely the *ſtreet* were thus tranſparent, then this illumination of the earth ſhall not pierce ſo deepe downe as they ſuppoſe, or the limits of hell aſpire higher then we imagine.

His ſecond Scripture is *Eſay* 60. 19. *The Sunne ſhall bee no more thy light, &c.* which mee ſeemes is ſtrangely alleadged to the purpoſe hee would ſtraine it to: ſpecially conſidering that before hee had made this illumination of the earth to bee cauſed by the lights of heaven.

Hee now comes to the Expoſition of thoſe Scriptures which are brought againſt his opinion, but this part (which hee ſhould eſpecially have ſtood upon) he paſſeth over ſo ſhortly and ſleightly, as makes mee thinke hee was guilty of the defence of a bad cauſe, or cared not much to betray it. The Expoſitions hee brings are three without any particular application: and beſides (which is worth the noting) hee cunningly conceales all the reaſons which are brought againſt him, though many and ſtrong, as if they deſerved not any anſwer.

His firſt Expoſition is, that by heaven is to be underſtood the region of the aire; which Expoſition by reaſon of S. *Auguſtines* great authoritie in the Church, (and none otherwiſe) carries with it ſome ſhew in the interpretation of the 2. *Pet.* 3. but for the other Scriptures produced in his firſt page, wherein heaven is mentioned, I finde not any who ſo expound that word, neither in reaſon can they.

His ſecond Expoſition or rather ſhift is this, that where the ſtarrie heavens are underſtood, there it muſt be meant not of a reall periſhing, but onely of the variation of their ſtate and miniſterie: but to overlooke the places onely by himſelfe quoted, pag. 1. I would aſke whither in the judgement of any reaſonable and indifferent man. *Tabeſcet omnis militia cælorum. Cæli ſicut fumus*, or as *Aquila* and *Symmachus* turne it, *Cæli comminuentur in nihil, & in ſalis modum conterentur & evaneſcent. Ego creo nouos cælos. Vidi nouum cælum. Homo cum dormierit non reſurget*

resurget usque dum non erunt cæli. Opera manuum tuarum cæli, ista peritura sunt. Cælum & terra transibunt. I say I would aske whither these places can possibly bee expounded onely of a variation of the state and ministerie of the heavens; and that into a better state without any change of the substances.

To the last of these hee frames his last exposition, as if the wordes were to bee understood hyperbolically or comparatively, thus, Heaven and earth shall sooner passe away then my words, which exposition as I denie not, so I thinke it can not well bee denied, but that the wordes likewise imply a passing away of heaven and earth; and *Salmeron* having set downe both senses, first the absolute and then the comparative, Concludes, *prior sensus scripturis videtur magis consonus, & per transatum intelligo, innovationem essentialem saltem secundum formam. Dicuntur enim cæli non tantum transire, sed perire etiam & veterascere. Deficere ut fumus & senescere apud Esaiam. Abire apud Iob, recedere in apocalypsi: ardere & solvi apud beatum Petrum. Cæli novi & terra nova dicuntur ab Esaia & in apocalypsi. Et quanquam Cælum non recipiat peregrinas impressiones ex se; secus erit ex præcepto dei. Ideo Petrus apud Clementem lib. Recognitionum tradit, quod ut ovum frangitur ut pullus delitescens videri possit; ita Cælum hoc quod sub aspectum cadit dissolvendum est, ut gloria beatorum appareat de ferm: Dom: tract.* 32.

Touching his order and causes how this innovation shall bee performed, I might easily passe it over for that it is stuffed with meere devises of his owne braine, without any warrant or shew of warrant: and besides it presupposeth an innovation of the world as granted, which as yet is not prooved; and thirdly in the greatest part of his assertions touching this order, he dissenteth from his M. *Thomas.*

As whereas hee first tels us that after the last judgement ended, and the returne of Christ togeather with the Saints into heaven, *Cæli magno impetu transibunt.* i. *Cælestes orbes velocius agitabuntur, secumque rapient cælos aerios &c.* which extraordinary swift agitation of the heavenly Sphears I find not any to speake of but himselfe: but the place it should seeme which hee alludes unto is. 2. Pet. 3. 10. Where the originall word doth not signifie *impetu* but *stridore*, and so *Beza* rightly translates it, and our last traslators, with a *great noise. In morem procellæ*, *Erasmus* turns it and *Calvin ad modum procellæ*, it comes all to one like the ratling of an haile-storme. But I have not met with any who hath made his comment upon those words, neither can himselfe well doe it, considering that by *heaven* in that chap: of St *Peter* are not to bee understood (as before he tels us) the *celestiall sphears* but the region of the aire.

Now after this great hurry or cõmotion (saith he) the fire which shall purge & burne the world shall follow, so as he makes the judgement to bee first, then this Commotion, and after that the last fire; directly opposing himselfe herein to *Aquinas* suppl. 3. part. quest. 74. art. 7.

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where hee thus determines that queſtion in the body of the article. *Sed Contra eſt quod dicitur in Pſal. 96. ignis ante ipſum præcedet.*

Præterea reſurrectio præcedet judicium, alias non videret omnis oculus Chriſtum judicantem: Sed mundi conflagratio reſurrectionem præcedet. Sancti enim qui reſurgent corpora ſpiritualia & impaſsibilia habebunt, & ita non poterunt purgari per ignem, cum tamen in littera dicatur ex verbis Auguſtini quod per illum ignem purgabitur, ſi quid in aliquibus ſit purgandum: ergo ignis ille judicium præcedet, from whence hee deduces this concluſion. *Cum mortuorum reſurrectio judicium præceſſura ſit, conflagratio ignis quantum ad mundi purgationem ſpectat; dei judicium præcedat oportet: quantum vero attinet ad illius actum quo malos involuet, judicium ignis conflagrationem antecedet.* And the parts of this concluſion he afterwards proves diſtinctly & particularly.

p The ſame likewiſe ſeemes to have beene the opinion of *Lombard* lib. 4. diſt. 47. d. *Purgato vero per ignem mundo & ad judicium veniente domino, emittetur vox illa magna, qua reſurgent omnes mortui.*

His next poſition is, that this fire ſhall not bee of a different nature from our common fire, neither need wee (ſaith hee) conceive it to bee any other, Sithence ours is apt to produce the foreſaid effects, where no doubt hee meanes thoſe effects which himſelfe had before aſſigned to it, but herein likewiſe hee plainely varies from *Thomas ſuppl.* 3. part. q. 74. ar. 3. where though hee hold indeed that the fire wherewith the world ſhall bee purged, ſhall be *ejuſdem ſpeciei Cum igne elementari* (as hee there ſpeakes) yet in his anſwere to the ſecond objection in that article, he as plainly maintaines that neither our fire, nor that, is in it ſelfe apt to produce thoſe effects, but only as an inſtrument of Gods power; *Ignis ille non aget, niſi ut inſtrumentum divinæ virtutis.* But whither this laſt fire ſhall bee of the ſame kind with ours or no, I thinke God only knowes.

q As alſo where it ſhall beginne or in what manner it is to bee bredd, for mine owne part I ſhould thinke that ſome new fire is to bee created to that great purpoſe, (though *Suarez* determine to the contrary) and that it ſhall beginne with the heavens not in the region of the aire. But as poſitive as he is, he flatly croſſeth himſelfe in this poſition, for whereas before hee had tolde us that after the judgement ended, and Chriſt his returne into heaven togeather with the Saints, the celeſtiall ſphears ſhould with a wonderfull force bee whirled about, and then ſhould follow the fire of conflagration, hee tels us heere: *probabile eſt primo præire judicem ad locum judicij, deinde ibi quieſcere durante judicio &c.* Which contradictorie aſſertions I know not how to reconcile.

To his laſt poſition, I ſhould conceive it to be much more probable that this fire ſhould worke at once upon all the parts of the world, then that it ſhall bee carried ſucceſſively as *Suarez* thinkes: for ſo muſt it needs bee a long time in working, whereas the Scriptures ſeeme every where to ſpeake to the Contrary.

r If it be *totius terræ exuſtio*, a burning up of the whole earth, how ſhall the ſame earth *in ſpecie* bee renewed?

Wee are now come to the great doubt of the mixt bodies, why they ſhould

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should bee excluded from this Renovation, the heavens and elements being onely admitted thereunto. *Suarez* heere brings diverse strange objections against this opinion; but vouchsafes not any kind or colour of answere to any one of them, & truly some of them (for mine owne part) I hold unanswerable, and some others there are no lesse waighty which either out of ignorance or negligence or wilfulnes hee hath omitted. As namely that no one of the fathers can bee produced either *Greeke* or *Latin* who wholy excluded the mixt bodies: and also that the mixt bodies being removed by annihilation, there must needs ensue a *vacuum* thereupon, except we should affirme that those emptie places are to be supplied and filled up by the dilatation of the elements, which I much doubt how it can bee done, the mixt bodies being so many in number, and many of them so vast in quantity. Upon which consideration mee thinkes it had beene the safer way to have said, that the mixt bodies shall bee resolved into the elements, rather then that they shall be abolished.

But having mustered up such objections as he foūd he could not well answere, his resolution in spite of all that could be said to the Contrary is: *Sed non est recedendum à Communi Theologorū sententia, mixta non permāsura*, where by *Theologorum* hee can not understand the fathers, but only the schoolemen, and yet they doe not all so agree in the matter neither, but that some of them (as appeares by himselfe) are of a contrary opinion. And to speake ingenuously I find no sufficient reason of admitting the elements to this renovation, & excluding the mixt bodies: and for the two reasons which hee bringes they are weake and frivolous. His first is that the mixt bodies are corruptible, why so are the elements in regard of their parts: Yea but they are incorruptible in regard of the whole; and so are the mixt bodies in respect of there species.

His second is that *mixta ferè omnia referuntur ad usum hominis ratione corporis corruptibilis, qui usu cessabit*: but I beseech you Sir, may not the same as truly bee said of the elements? and againe if it bee but *fere omnia*, then all by force of this argument can not bee excluded *si quaeras* (saith *Peter Martyr* speaking of the mixt bookes) *quam ista habitura sint utilitatem, si perstiterint? Respondeo, eandem quam tu attribuere poteris elementis; quemadmodum enim tum nihil elementis intelligebimus, ita ne brutis quidem, aut plantis aut alijs partibus orbis.*

His next conclusion might well be passed over without any respect, being grounded upon no kind of warrant, onely by the way wee may observe, that the fire which shall purge the world having performed that whereunto it is ordained, shall (saith he) be carried downe to Hell, but to what end hee expresseth not, neither can I conceive but for the punishment of the damned: and yet I trust hee will not denie but that hell-fire it selfe is sufficient to that purpose.

The world having received its purgation, the motion of the heavens (saith hee) shall bee at an end, which I grant is the common opinion of the schoolemen, but the proofes hee produceth for the confirming of this assertion, are in truth so poore and weake; as the very reading of them to an intelligent man are confutation sufficient.

His

His first passage from the 60 of Esay I have already examined and found to bee defective.

His second from the 8 to the *Romans* that the creature is subject to vanity is doubtlesse as impertinent, for to say that a part of that vanity is the motion of the heavens, seems to mee a strange position, since all vanity (without question,) came into the world by the sinne of man, and I thinke no man will be so absurd as to say, that the heavens should not have mooved except man had sinned, or that they did not move before the sinne of man.

Which answere likewise may well bee shaped to his third and last passage quoted out of the first of Ecclesiastes.

And against him may well bee objected those wordes of *Moses. Gen.* 1.14. God said let there bee lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day from the night, and let them bee for signes and for seasons and for dayes and for yeares: as also Gen. 8. 22. while the earth remaineth seede time and harueſt, and cold and heate, and Summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease, which must needs cease if the heavens cease from there motion. These are cleere. Scriptures against the cessation of that motion, but those which are brought for it are so invalid, that *Pererius ingenuously confesseth, Equidem non memini uspiam in sacris litteris hoc aperte & proprie tradi*: and *Peter Martyr* tels us in plaine terms. *Hoc mihi certissimum videtur, quodque omnino affirmari debeat istas naturas rerum non mansuras in extremo die, nisi aliquod opus habitura sint; pugnat enim & cum natura & cum communi ratione, aliquid constituere quod omnino sit otiosum. Quæ autem deus his rebus opera sit ascripturus, facile nos fateamur ignorare.*

His answere to his owne objection immediately following is, that *motus non magis naturalis est cælo quam quies*, which is (I am sure) directly against *Aristotle* and against reason, if nature according to his definition be *principium motus in eo, in quo est*, & were not their motion more naturall then there rest, I see not how we can well defend there standing still at the prayer of *Iosua* to have beene miraculous. Nor yet why the consummation of the world (which depends upon the heavenly motions) should not be termed naturall, which no divine (I thinke) hitherto durst affirme. And besides the Iesuits themselves commenting upon *Aristotle* affirme with one consent (as *Aristotle* doth); that a Circular motion is as naturall to heaven in its place, as is the motion of heavy bodies downeward, or light bodies upward to there place: as improper then and unnaturall as it is that a great massie stone should rest in the aire, so unnaturall & improper is it that the heavens should stand still: to say then that rest is as naturall to the heavenly bodies as motion, is certainely but a shift to put off this present doubt without any shew of soundnesse; especially if wee defend that the heavens intrinsecally and of themselves have an inclination to this motion, which inference is freely acknowledged by *Pererius*. *Ego ita sentio, posita renovatione mundi, eaque mutatione quam post diem judicij futuram Theologia docet, valde consentaneum rationi esse cælum ex se & intrinsecè, nullam habere naturalem propensionem ad motum circularem*: nam si haberet non video equidem,

equidem, quemadmodum eo motu privatum, non careat perfectione ſibi naturaliter convenienti, & imperfecte ac violenter ſe habeat. Now they who maintaine intelligences to bee the movers of the heavenly bodies, may perchance with ſome colour defend, that of themſelves they have no ſuch intrinſecall propenſion to a *circular motion*; but they who hold not any ſuch intelligences can not in my underſtanding poſſibly avoide it, and conſequently this objection to them is altogeather unanſwerable.

Laſtly, how the ſunne can ſtand ſtill in one place and yet illuminate all the parts of the world; or how ſtanding ſtill and the light thereof being much increaſed, it can chuſe but exceedingly warme or rather burne up thoſe parts it illuminates, I muſt profeſſe for mine owne part I can not comprehend.

In the next place he ſhewes us that upon the ceſſation of the celeſtiall motion, ſhall preſently inſue the innovation of the world; whereas he had told us before that *finita purgatione quieſcet Cælum*, and I hope hee will not denie but that his innovation doth at leaſt in part conſiſt in that purgation, though the perfection thereof it ſhould ſeeme, he would place in the illuſtration of the world: but heere I ſhould firſt demande who ever made up the world onely of the heavens and the elements? and ſecondly how thoſe parts of the world ſhall bee illuſtrated, which are in ſituation oppoſite to the ſunne as the *Antipodes* are to us? ſpecially conſidering that hee holds (as before I obſerved) that this pretended illumination of the elements ſhall bee derived from the heavens: as alſo that the globe of the earth ſhall not be throughout tranſparent, but only toward the ſurface thereof.

Neither yet can I underſtand from him by any thing hee hath hitherto ſaid what uſe or end there can bee of this illuſtration; onely in one place hee gives a glance at it, *videtur reliquum terra perſpicuum fore & pervium Beatorum oculis*: But I deſire to bee informed by him where hee mindes to place theſe Saints hee ſpeakes of? if heere upon the earth hee can not avoide the hereſie of the millenaries; if in the higheſt heavens (as I make account hee will) I much doubt how a carnall eye, though glorified can from thence diſcerne the earth, which is as nothing in compariſon of the viſible and moovable heaven; or what uſe the Saints (being in the fulnes of glorie by reaſon of the blisfull viſion of the ſacred Trinity) can make of beholding theſe inferiour objects I can not underſtand, but am willing to learne of any who can rightly informe mee therein.

To his firſt reaſon *nulla eſt ratio ut ultrà differatur*, I anſwere *nulla eſt ratio ut omnino fiat.*

To his ſecond I oppoſe himſelfe, *cum terra natura ſua denſa ſit, non eſt capax luminis in profunditate ſine miraculo*, and yet hee makes this illumination to reach downe as farre as hell, which I ever conceived to bee *in profunditate*; though then we ſhould grant that this action of innovation requires no ſucceſſion in regard of the agent or the action, yet in regard of the object it doth, which naturally hath in it that which he terms *reſiſtentiam Contrarij.*

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c This queſtion hee hath already determined, by telling us that the earth together with the other elements ſhall put on new apparell, which can be to no purpoſe if it be over whelmed with waters, though herein hee have the great champion of there ſociety to croſſe him: *omnino credibile eſt poſt ultimi judicij diem, elementum aquæ ad locum ſuum naturalem rediturum, totamque terram undique cooperturum. Bellar: de amiſſ. grat. & ſtatu pecc. l. 6. cap. 2.*

And thus having ended mine examination, I leave you to judge with what ſucceſſ, but for my ſelfe I muſt profeſſe, that in my judgment I never read ſo weake a diſcourſe, from the pen of a Clarke reputed ſo profound, which I impute rather to the weakeneſſe of the cauſe, then of his witt or learning; and this in truth hath ſtrenghned mee in mine opinion, yet ſo as when I ſhall ſee better reaſon to convince me, I will not bee obſtinate.

SECT. III.

Since the firſt impreſsion of my booke, I fell upon the common places of Iohannes Gerhardus *Doctor of Divinity and profeſſor in the Vniverſity of* Iena, *who in his ninth Tome & fifth chapter* de conſummatione Sœculi, *not only maintaines an utter abolition of the world, by many reaſons and authorities not produced by mee, but in my minde moſt fully anſwereth the paſſage taken from the* 8th *to the Romans; which becauſe it is held the ſtrongeſt objection againſt me, and this booke I thinke is in few mens hands, I will heere ſet downe at large.*

ROm. 8. v. 19. *Expectatio creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.* v. 20. *Vanitati enim creatura ſubjecta eſt, non volēs, ſed propter eum qui ſubjecit eam in ſpe.* 21. *quia & ipſa creatura liberabitur à ſervitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei.* v. 22. *ſcimus enim quod omnis creatura ingemiſcat & parturiat uſque adhuc.* Hic locus Apoſtolicus primarius eſt, quem pro contrariâ ſententiâ vel maximè urgent. Expreſſè enim videtur Apoſtolus aſſerere, quòd creatura æquè ac filij Dei à corruptione ſit liberanda, & ad libertatem ab omni corruptione immunem traducenda. *Reſp.* conſideranda ſunt in hoc dicto, 1 *ſubjectum.* 2. *prædicatum.* Subjectum eſt κτίσις v. 19. & quidem πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις v. 22. quid vero nomine *creaturæ h. l.* intelligatur, de eo plurimùm variant Interpretum ſententiæ. Quidam de Angelica, quidam de humana, quidam de corporali natura intelligunt. 1. Orig. Theodoret: in comm. Nazianz. orat. 1. in Julian. Cyrillus. lib. 3. theſauri cap. 1. &c. per creaturam intelligunt *Angelos*, qui vanitati & ſervituti corruptionis non ſuæ, ſed hominum maximè electorum ſerviunt, & ab hac ſervitute liberabuntur in conſummatione ſœculi, & reſurrectione piorum ad vitam æternam. Quidam tamen piorum poſteriora duntaxat verba v. 22. *Omnis creatura ingemiſcet*; quidam verò & priora & poſteriora ad Angelos referunt. Hier. in comment. dubius eſt, magis tamen inclinat in eorum ſententiam, qui de Angelis exponunt: *univerſi* inquit, *hunc locum diverſis modis exponunt, ſive omnis creatura reſurrectionis tempus expectat, quia tunc in melius commutabitur,*

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mutabitur, sive Angelica; sive rationalis creatura. Petrus enim dicit Angelos desiderare gloriam Sanctorum. Et postea: Vanitati subjecta est creatura, si Angeli hominibus ministrant, sicut Angeli gaudent super pœnitentes, ita dolent super converti nolentes. Item: *manifestè docuit Apostolus, quia ingemiscentiam creaturæ tribuit, quod non de irrationali vel insensibili creatura sermonem fecerit.* Sed hæc interpretatio probari non potest. 1. quia Apostolus in genere loquitur, πάντοτε. 2. Angeli sunt beati & in bono ac gloria confirmati, ergò de ipsis dici nequit, quod sint vanitati subjecti & ab ea liberandi, quod sint in dolore & gemitibus; 3. Angeli non inviti sed sponte inserviunt hominibus Psal. 103. v. 21. Heb. 1. v. ult. 4. explicatio illa occasionem dedit impiæ hæreticorum quorundam opinioni, cujus meminit August. lib. 83. qq. q. 67. *quod Angeli omnes in dolore & gemitibus sint, donec nos homines penitùs ab omni miseria liberemur.* 2. Quidam *de creatura rationali* videlicet de hominibus textum Apostolicum accipiunt, sed diversimodè. Quidam enim *de hominibus in carne adhuc vivantibus*, quidam *de spiritibus defunctorum textum accipiunt.* Illorum aliqui, *in genere de omnibus hominibus*, ac proinde de homine, ut homo est & dei creatura intelligunt. August. in expos. propos. Epist. Rom: n. 53. & lib 83. qq. q. 67. *Omnis creatura in homine est, quia intelligit spiritu, & sentit animâ, & localiter corpore movetur.* Probat ex eo, quia Apostolus non dicit *totam* sed *omnem creaturam*, & quia *absurdum est gemitum tribuere creaturæ irrationali.* Idem statuunt. Anselm. in comment, & ex pontificijs Andreas Masius in cap. 6. Josuæ. *Omnis creatura*, inquiunt, id est, *omnis homo qui est nodus & vinculum omnis creaturæ, microcosmus & mundi miraculum, quia homo ab omnibus creaturis aliquid participat, ab elementis scilicet esse, à plantis vegetari, ab animalibus sentire, ab Angelis ratiocinari, & sic omnes creaturæ patiuntur in homine & cum homine.* Sic creatura capitur pro homine Marc. 16. v. 15. Coloss. 1. v. 23. At qui 1. nec de pijs nec de impijs hominibus dictum Apostolicum intelligi potest, ergò etiam de hominibus in universum accipi nequit. Non de illis, quia creaturam ingemiscentem à pijs expressè distinguit. v. 23. Quidam sanè ut Aretius, Salmeron *de solis Apostolis* in illo versiculo sermonem esse volunt, cùm illi fuerint *Christianæ Ecclesiæ primitiæ*, confer Oecum. in comment. sed contrarium ostendit *generalitas descriptionis*, loquitur enim Paulus de omnibus pijs, *qui primitias spiritus habent, & redemptionem corporis expectant, quiq; spe salvi facti sunt. v. 24. qui per patientiam liberationem expectant. v. 25. quorum infirmitatem spiritus adjuvat.* pro quibus, *spiritus interpellat gemitibus inenarrabilibus. v. 26. qui sunt sancti. v. 27. qui deum diligunt*, quibus *omnia cooperantur in bonum; qui secundum propositum vocati sunt.* &c. v. 28. quæ omnia non possunt ad solos Apostolos accommodari. Neque verò Paulus sic loquitur, *non solum autem, sed & nos Christi vel spiritus primitiæ*: quæ phrasis ad Apostolos referri peculiariter posset, sed dicit, *Nos qui primitias spiritus accepimus*, quod omnibus verè pijs est commune. Socinus in resp. ad Pucc. p. 176. refert *ad Christum* piorum caput, ut sic sensus, omnes Christianos ab interitu & corruptione liberatum iri, non secus ac Christus ipse liberatus fuit, ut sic respectus habeatur ad v. 17. *coharedes*

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Christi, si tamen compatimur &c. At quomodo de Christo dici potest, quòd liberatus fuerat à servitute φθορᾶς *cum caro ejus non videret* διαφθοράν? Ps. 16. v. 10. Acts. 2. v. 13. cap. 13. v. 37. ut nihil dicam de eo, quòd per quam coactè ad remotiora verba Apostoli referantur. Missa igitur hac interpretatione addit Socinus particulam, *Et propter Angelos*, fuisse annexam, qui Dei beneficio ac liberalitate à corruptione absunt. Sed ostendimus jam ante non satis commodè de Angelis dici posse, quod vanitati sint subjecti, & a servitute corruptionis liberandi. Non de his quia impij non tam sollicitè expectant liberationem filiorum Dei, nec ingemiscunt pro illa obtinenda. 2. Apostolo non est propositum hoc loco explicare, quid sit in homine, vel, quid in homine patiatur, sed *quid extra* ἐν ἑαυτοῖς *intra nosipsos ingemiscimus*. Cohortaturus enim pios ad patientiam in adversis, proponit iis exemplum tum *ipsius filij Dei* Christi Iesu v. 17. cum quo si patiantur glorificationem certò expectare possint, tum *totius creaturæ* quæ propter Deum creatorem vanitati subjecta, à servitute corruptionis aliquando liberabitur. 3. gemitus tribuitur h. l. creaturæ non *propriè* sed *metaphoricè* per prosopopœiam, ut postea monebitur. 4. particula πᾶσα in Scripturis accipitur tum *collectivè* tum *distributivè*, ac pro ratione subjectæ materiæ explicanda est per τὸ *omnis*, vel *tota*. Quidam ergo putant hoc loco vertendam esse per τὸ *omnis*, cum Apostolus loquatur non de *partibus* sed *speciebus* creaturæ, *totum* enim dicitur respectu specierum, *omne* respectu partium. Sed potest sine ulla absurditate accipi non solum de *generibus singulorum*, sed etiam de *singulis generum*; nam & *omnis creatura* h. e. omnes creaturæ corporalis species, & *tota creatura* h. e. omnia specierum individua servituti corruptionis sunt subiecta. Quidam verò in specie *de certa hominum classe* locum hunc exponunt; Cùm enim omnes homines in duas distribuantur classes, in *pios* sc. ac *impios*, iustos and iniustos, renatos ac non renatos, inde quidam de illo, quidam de hoc hominum genere locum explicant, priorem interpretationem profert Gregorius in comment. Iob 3. lib. 4. moral. cap. 4. 1. *Justos*, inquit *quamvis nullus desiderium carnalium tumultus possideat, duris tamen vinculis eos in hac vita positos suæ molestiæ corruptionis ligat. Aliud nempè justi de morte, aliud de corpore tolerant, & contra semetipsos quotidiè interno certamine desudant &c. Verum hæc creatura tunc à servitute corruptionis eripitur, cum ad gloriam filiorum Dei resurgendo sublevatur. Hinc itaq; Electi molestè vincti sunt, quia adhuc corruptionis suæ pœnâ deprimuntur, sed cùm corruptibili carne exuuntur, ab omnibus, quibus nunc astricti sunt, molestiæ vinculis relaxantur*, Gregorium sequitur Lyranus in comment. *Creatura sunt boni, qui in creatione Dei manserunt, vel quia sunt causa omnium.* Item *Creatura est homo non amans istà caduca, patienter tamen ferens, sciens Deum subjecisse ad conversationem humilitatis, liberabitur autem à cura quærendi victum, & alia, quibus servitur nostræ mortalitati.* Eadem interpretatio probatur Caietano, Catharino in comm. & Salmeroni Disputat. 17. in epistola. Rom. Tom. 13. pag. 556. qui eam hisce ornant pigmentis: *Dicitur homo justus præcisè creatura, vel quia is manet in eo bono, in quo creatus à Deo fuerat, in gratia scilic. & justitia, vel propter excellentiam, quia omnis creatura electorum hominum causa potissimum*

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tissimùm à Deo condita est, atque ijs præcipuè deservit; quo sensu vox creatura usurpatur Iacob. 1. vers. 18. voluntariè nos genuit, ut simus initium aliquod creaturæ eius. Dicitur omnis creatura, ut significetur universitas justorum cuiuscunque nationis, sexus, ætatis, conditionis & professionis fuerint. Hæc creatura h. e iustus expectat revelationem gloriæ filiorum Dei, tanquam complementum præmij & consummationem suæ felicitatis sibi promissum, interim subjectus est vanitati, h. e. rebus corporalibus & mutabilibus propter necessitates præsentis vitæ circa eas occupatus &c. Socinus in respons. ad defens. Franciſci Puccii cap. 6. pag. 170. pro astruenda istac interpretatione sequentia urget fundamenta. 1. *articulus additus voci* κτίσεως v. 19. *præter numerum singularem apertè demonstrat, de insigni aliqua creatura verba fieri, de ea scil, cujus in præcedentibus fecerat mentionem, videlicet de hominibus per spiritum Dei regenitis.* 2. *Non tantum in primis illis verbis articulus est, sed in sequentibus semper repetitur, & postremò in eo loco ponitur, ubi necesse sit si rectè Latinè interpretari velis addere pronomen hæc aut illa.* v. 22. πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις *omnis illa sive hæc creatura; Si Paulus de omni creatura generatim loqui voluisset, non* πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, *sed* πᾶσα κτίσις *dixisset, ac in superioribus, ubi non est nomẽ* omnis, *non in singulari, sed in plurali numero locutus fuisset.* 3. *Si de tota rerum natura Apostolus verba facere voluisset, non dixisset* πᾶσα, *sed* ὅλη κτίσις. 4. *res ipsa, de qua Paulus hic loquitur, de alia creatura, præterquam de homine per spiritum Dei regenito verba hæc intelligi vetat. Quænam creatura patefactionem filiorum Dei expectat, præter illos homines, qui divinitus edocti, spiritu mentis suæ renovati sunt?* ἀποκαραδοκία *ipsum actum & gestum expectandi ante oculos ponit, significat enim exerto capite expectare, at hic actus hominibus tantum competit. Quomodo omnibus creaturis unquam accommodabitur illud, non volens, sed sua sponte? quomodo illud in spe? quomodo illud ingemiscet & parturit usque adhuc? nam plusquam poeticè & per prosopopœiam quandam prorsus inauditam hæc omnia dicta fuisse asseverabimus? at quemadmodum non per prosopopœiam de ijs qui primitias spiritus habebant sed secundùm ipsissimam veritatem dicitur, quod intra se gemerent, expectantes adoptionem filiorum Dei, sic de omni illa creatura verè & non fictè dictum fuit, quod ingemisceret ac pariturret.* 5. *in alijs etiam Scripturæ locis verbum creare pro regignere, & quasi iterum creare, ac nomen creaturæ pro homine ponitur.* Sed quid de his rationibus statuendum sit, partim ex præcedentibus intelligi potest, partim ex sequentibus manifestum erit. Ostendimus jam ante, pios ab illa creatura secum ingemiscente distingui. Justi sunt ipsi filii Dei, *quorum revelationem creatura solicitè expectat*, utiq; ergo per creaturam non possunt præcisè intelligi justi. Adde quod vox *creaturæ* indefinitè posita (quo modo v. 20. ponitur) nunquam in Scripturis pro solis piis, & iustis hominibus usurpatur, sed perpetuò additur quædã descriptio ac ἐπεξήγησις, ut *creatura nova* 2. Cor. 5. v. 17. Galat. 6. v. 15. quantò minùs ita accipi commodè poterit, quando additur *particula universalis* πᾶσα quod fit v. 22. Socinus d. l. urget dicta Apostolica Ephes. 2. v. 10. Jac. 1. v. 18. in quibus vox creaturæ absolutè posita usurpatur pro hominibus regenitis, sed *descriptio addita* significationem illam satis luculentè demonstrat. *Creati sumus in Christo ad opera bona, gennit nos verbo veritatis.* Posteriorem inter-

pretationem recitat Augustinus d. l. *Creatura, hoc est, homo infidelis liberabitur à servitute corruptionis, hoc est, à peccato, quia vocabitur ad fidem, fietque filius, ut postea libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei consequatur. In ijs* (inquit) *qui crediturí erant, videbat Apostolus, quod dicebat, quia creatura, hoc est, Natura hominis, quæ tantumodò creatura est, nondum per fidem aggregata numero filiorum Dei, liberatur à servitute interitus, ut interitui non serviat, cui serviunt omnes peccatores. Peccatori enim dictum est, morte morieris, liberabitur autem in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei, i. e. ut & ipsa perveniat ad libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei per fidem, quæ fides cum in ea non erat, creatura tamen modo dicebatur, & ad ipsam refertur, quod sequitur. Scimus quia omnis creatura congemiscit: erant enim adhuc crediturí, qui spiritu subjacebant laboriosis operibus.* Sed Apostolus hoc loco non agit *de liberatione à servitute peccati* quæ fit per fidem in hac vita, sed de *liberatione à servitute corruptionis*, quæ non nisi in morte & per mortem obtingit, quod ipsum ex v. 23. Augusť. ibid. rectè colligit: *Hæc adoptio*, inquit, *quæ jam facta est in ijs qui crediderunt in spiritu, non in corpore facta est. Nondum enim corpus reformatum est in cœlestem illam mutationem, sicut spiritus jam mutatus est reconciliatione fidei ab erroribus conversus ad deum.* Adde quòd impii & injusti, quatenus tales, servituti peccati sponte sint subjecti, nec desiderent ab ea liberari. Qui de spiritibus defunctorum textum exponunt, illi eum accipiunt, *de animabus Sanctorum ante Christum defunctorum*, qui liberationem ex limbo expectaverint. Hieron. in comm. *Omnem creaturam dicunt esse, quicunque usque ad adventum Christi justi fuerunt, quia & ipsi nondum accipientes expectant, Deo pro nobis aliquid melius providente.* Et postea; *Communem creaturam nominat post Adamum & Evam justos qui fuerunt usque ad tempus Christi &c.* Sed hæc sententia 1. nititur falsa hypothesi. 2. nec satis commodè de animabus in limbo dicetur, quòd *vanitati* & *servituti corruptionis* fuerunt subjectæ quia pœnam duntaxat *damni*, non autem *sensus* illis aliàs tribuunt. Apostolus dicit *creaturam adhuc ingemiscere & expectare.* Atqui eo tempore, quo Apostolus hæc scribebat, limbus jamdudum erat evacuatus, ut ipsismet huius limbi Architecti concedunt. Quod v. 20. indefinitè dicitur *vanitati subjecta est creatura*, illud quidam *specialissimè, adeoque individualiter* de Adamo & Eva accipiunt. Hieron. in comm. h. l. Quidam etiam sic dicunt: *Adam & Evam esse creaturam, quos olim serpens à spe divinitatis vanitati subjectos corruptioni effecerit deservire, non ex semetipsis peccantes, sed serpentis instigatione & consilio. Et ipsi*, (inquiunt) *liberabuntur, ut jam non corruptioni deserviant.* Et postea; *Creatura autem Adam est & Eva, quæ adhuc expectat à Deo se recipere adoptionem. Vanitas est prævaricatio, cui subjecta Eva non propriâ voluntate, sed serpente decepta spe illa, quâ audierat, eritis quasi Dei; servitus autem est corruptionis, quam audivit Adam: Terra es, & in terram ibis. In resurrectione autem recepturi sunt incorruptionem filiorum Dei.* Sed hæc interpretatio iisdem evertitur argumentis, quibus prior, ac idem utrobique manet subiectum in propositionibus Apostolicis, ut series connexionis ostendit. Quidam ergo non de *Angelica*, nec de *humana*, sed

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de corporali & irrationali creatura, hoc est de tota universitate creaturæ corporalis & ratione carentis, quæ comprehendit cœlos, elementa, aliaque ex elementis constituta, locum Apostolicum exponunt. Ita statuunt ex Græcis Patribus, Chrysostom: Theodoretus, Theophilactus & Oecumenius in comm. h. l. Ex Latinis Hilar. lib. 12. de Trin. *Ambros.* lib. 4. hexam. & author commentariorum in epistolas *Pauli*, qui sub nomine *Ambrosij* in operibus ejus extant, & ex nostris plerique omnes. Probatur hæc interpretatio 1. ex creaturæ appellatione; κτίσις proprie significat, quicquid est à Deo creatum, totam scil. mundi machinam cum omnibus partibus contentis. *Syrus* reddit בריהא à rad. ברא *creavit*: 2. *ex invariata repetitione.* Apostolus in quatuor distinctis versiculis nomen *creaturæ* quater repetit sine ulla variatione, permutaturus procul dubio hoc nomen voce alia, nisi creaturam generaliter acceptam intelligere voluisset. 3. *ex aliorum locorum collatione*, Sap. 13. v. 5. *à magnitudine & specie creaturæ per analogiam generator illorum conspicitur*, Rom. 1 v. 20. *invisibilia Dei à creatura mundi per ea, quæ facta sunt, conspicuntur*, ubi manifestum est, nomen κτίσεως pro visibili creatura accipi. 4. *ex oppositione* creaturæ illi, de qua Apostolus v. 19. 20. 21. & 22. egit, opponuntur v. 23. *homines & quidem filij Dei spiritum adoptionis habentes.* 5. *ex sufficienti enumeratione.* Si enim nec Angelica nec humana creatura intelligi potest, ut ostendimus, itaque creatura corporea, visibilis & irrationalis intelligitur. 6. *ex interpretum testificatione.* Multi enim ex veteribus & recentioribus ita interpretantur, ut ostendimus. Diximus autem intelligi *creaturam corpoream visibilem & irrationabilem*, ut ab hoc subjecto propositionis Apostolicæ excludimus *Angelos & Homines.* Et sanè Angelos malos hinc excludi, dubium nullum, quia illi non *liberabuntur à servitute corruptionis, nec expectant revelationem filiorum Dei in die novissimo secuturam*, sed dici illius mentione exhorrescunt, ut colligitur ex Math. 8. vers. 20. 2. Pet. 2. v. 4. Iud. vers. 6. *Bonos Angelos & spiritus defunctorum piorum creaturæ* appellatione *simul* intelligi, statuit *Aretius* in prop. loc. 156. pag. 499. *Miror*, inquit, *si de illis qui in cœlis agunt vitam beatissimam, textus Apostolicus intelligi non potest. Sancti enim defuncti expectant corporum suorum restitutionem, sine quibus beatissimam vitam agere non possunt, quibus dum carent, meritò sub servitute interitus eo respectu dici possint. Sancti Angeli gaudent peccatoribus pœnitentibus, quibus dum serviunt, quid impedit de illis etiam accipi ratione ministerij, non naturæ?* Sed de Angelis hunc locum non posse intelligi jam ante ostendimus. Regerunt, qui Angelos ab Apostolo nomine creaturæ simul intelligi arbitrantur. 1. *Angelos bonos dici subjectos vanitati & corruptioni non sua, sed hominum, quibus inserviant.* 2. *ab hac vanitate eosdem liberandos, quando totus mundus suâ vanitate peribit, & gaudium beatorum perfectum erit.* 3. *ingemiscere eos ac dolere suo quodam modo, ut enim lætantur super peccatore pœnitentiam agente Luc. 15. v. 10. sic ob corruptum hominum statum dolent, sensu miseriæ nostræ afficiuntur; & gloriam filiorum Dei, per quam ruinam suam sciunt esse reparandam, exoptant.* At hæc omnia tum demum locum haberent, si Angeli, ut reliquæ creaturæ corporeæ impijs inservirent, illud enim servitium Apostolus præcipuè in hoc loco no-

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mine *vanitatis* intelligit, ut ostendimus. Iam verò Angeli piis duntaxat inserviunt. Adde quod sit dispar ratio inter *lætitiam* ac *tristiam*. Lætantur Angeli peccatoribus pœnitentiam agentibus, quia hic effectus non pugnat cum gloria & fœlicitate in qua divinitùs confirmati sunt: tristari autem ac dolere minimè possunt quia tristia & dolor cum fœlicitate illa pugnat, in cœlo enim *nec dolor nec gemitus*. Apoc. 7. Explicationi spiritibus piè defunctorum robur aliquod quæri possit ex eo, quod Apoc. 6. v. 11. *animæ martyrum* diem judicij ac resurrectionis solicitè expectare dicuntur, sed quia animas cœlestis gloriæ participes jamdum factas, *vanitati adhuc subjectas & à servitute corruptionis adhuc liberandas* statuere perquam durum, ideo eas à latitudine subjecti in textu Apostolico secludimus. Si quis verò omninò *Sanctos Angelos & animas piè defunctorum* nomine creaturæ simul velit intelligere, is poterit v. 19. ubi *indefinitè* ponitur creaturæ nomen, de corporali, visibili & rationali creatura accipere, sed v. 22. ubi additur particula universalis πᾶσα κτίσις in genere de omni ente creato, de tota entis finiti latitudine accipere, quo modo accipitur Iudith 16. v. 17. Apoc. 3. v. 14. *ac per ingemiscentiam ac parturitionem* vehemens desiderium absque ullo doloris & molestiæ sensu intelligere. Fateri interim cogetur, nihilominùs ab hac creaturæ universalitate excipi *Angelos malos & animas damnatorum*; itemque articulum v. 22. additum πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις videri ἀνάφορικὸν, ut sit sensus *omnis illa creatura*, scil. de qua hactenus actum, adeoq; αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις illa ipsa creatura, ut v. 21: habetur, *nobiscum ingemiscit*: Qua ratione identitas subjecti in singulis quatuor versiculis evidenter confirmatur.

Prædicatum tria membra complectitur, 1. *subjectionis servitium*. 2. *expectationis desiderium*. 3. *liberationis beneficium*. De primo dicit Apostolus v. 20. ματαιότητι *vanitati subjecta est creatura non volens, sed propter eum qui subjecit eam in spe* v. 21. *dicit eam esse constitutam sub servitute corruptionis*. Per ματαιότητα 1. *Chrysost. Theophly. Oecumen.* intelliguntur *corruptionem*. *Quemadmodum* (ait *Chrysost.* in comm.) *homine corruptibili effecto creatura quoque corruptibilis est effecta, sic homine effecto incorruptibili & ipsa quoque subsequetur*. Homil. 10. ad populum Antioch. *Deus mirabilem hunc fecit mundum sed corruptibilem. Vanitati creatura subjecta est*, h. e. *corruptibilis facta est Deo jubente. Quoniam enim hominem creatura nutrire debebat corruptibilem, & ipsa corruptibilis esse debeat. Non enim decebat corruptibilia hominum corpora incorruptibili creatura uti*. Diceretur ergo hoc sensu ματαιότης *servitus corruptionis*, hoc est, corruptio quæ est quædam servitus; ut enim servus invitus servit, ita creaturæ intereunt invitæ. Vera est hæc interpretatio, sed non plena, nec præcipuum Apostoli scopum attingit. 2. Origenes lib. 1. περὶ ἀρχῶν, c. 7. *Vanitas hæc sunt corpora, in quæ anima ante corpus existentes, ob peccata sua sunt detrusæ, & talia corpora sunt, etiam Sol, Luna, imò & terra & cœli. Hæc enim omnia habent animas, quæ ante ea extiterunt, ac consequenter possunt ipsa peccare, judiciumque Christi æquè ac homines subibunt. Hæc ergo corpora propriè expectant resurrectionem, & ut à corruptione liberentur, propriè sperant & ingemiscunt. Hæc interpretatio* hæretica est & absurda ut ostendit *Epiphan.*

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phan. hæreſ. 64. & *Hieronymus* in Epiſtola ad *Avitum.* 3. *Eraſmus* ματαιότητα vertit *fruſtrationem*, quod creatura non aſſequatur illud quod utcunque contendit efficere; τὸ μάταιον enim quandoque ſignificat *fruſtraneum*, quod fit μάτην fruſtra, quo agens non aſſequitur finem, quem ſibi propoſuit. Creaturæ propoſitam habent incolumitatem ſui, eam verò impedit φθορὰ ſive corruptio, ſed Apoſtolus ipſe ματαιότητα exponit per δουλείαν φθορᾶς. Natura mediatur *immortalitatem ſpecierum* per quotidianam ac perennem Individuorum ſucceſſionem, ſed hoc fruſtra fit; quia non ſolum *Individua* quotidiè intereunt, verum etiam & ipſæ ſpecies in conſummatione ſæculi abolebuntur. 4. Socinus d. l. p. 180. *per vanitatem* cui creatura, h. e. ut ipſe interpretatur, *homines regeniti in hac vita* ſunt ſubjecti, intelligendum eſſe dicit, *non corruptionem ſimpliciter, quæ omnibus animantibus non tantum hominibus communis eſt, ſed abjectionem, ignominiam & perpeſſiones illas, quarum antèa Apoſtolus mentionem fecerat & quæ Chriſtianorum ſunt propriæ, quas neceſſariò non corruptio tantùm, ſed plerumque etiam immatura corruptio conſequitur.* Sed in nullo Scripturæ loco φθορὰ pro illis calamitatibus & paſſionibus piorum uſurpatur. Vera igitur & genuina interpretatio eſt ea, qua *per vanitatem cui creatura ſubjecta eſt* intelligitur, non ſolùm defectus mutabilitatis, corruptio & mortalitas, cui omnes creaturæ corporeæ ac viſibiles ſubjectæ, ſed etiam ac cumprimis ſervitium illud, quo creaturæ in hac vita abuſibus impiorum coguntur eſſe ſubjectæ: *Omnis homo vivens vanitas eſt*, inquit Pſaltes. Pſal. 39. ver. 6. quia ergò creaturæ inſerviunt homini, ideò per hoc ſervitium ſubjiciuntur vanitati. Omnes homines ſunt mortales & corruptibiles, quia ergò creaturæ inſerviunt hominibus impijs nequiter eas abutentibus, ideò per hoc ſervitium ſubierunt δουλείαν φθορᾶς. *Sol oritur ſuper bonos & malos, pluvia deſcendit ſuper juſtos & injuſtos*, Math. 5. v. 45. aërem communiter hauriunt pij ac impij, terra omnes ex æquo alit, & mortuos tam bonos quam malos in gremium ſuum recipit, terrâ naſcentibus omnes fruuntur, cum tamen ſoli pii beneficijs illis digni ſint, hoc ergo ſervitium impiis præſtitum eſt illa ματαιότης ac δουλεία φθορᾶς cui creaturæ in hac vita coguntur eſſe ſubjectæ. Sic vinum eſt bona & præclara Dei creatura, ſed cogitur in hac vita ſervire cupiditatibus ebrioſorum. Hæc eſt illa ſervitus corruptionis; *cui creatura illa ſubjecta eſt non volens*; unde *ingemiſcet* & juxta proſopopœiam Apoſtolicam *expetit ab hac ſervitute liberari*; elegit enim potius non eſſe & in nihil abire, quam abuſui ebrioſorum inſervire, & hac ratione contra creatorem ſuum quaſi militare, Idem judicium eſto de reliquis Dei Creaturis. Poteſt cum hac explicatione conjungi prima & tertia, nam propter peccatum non ſolùm homo morti, ſed etiam tota creatura *corruptioni eſt ſubjecta*, ac ſæpius cogitur luere pœnam ſcelerum ab hominibus commiſſorum: propter peccatum protoplaſtôn terræ maledictio denuntiatur, *ut germinet ſpinas ac tribulos.* Geneſ. 3. v. 17. 18. in diluvio propter peccata hominum totus terrarum orbis miſerè vaſtatur; propter peccata Sodomitarum totus illius regionis tractus, qui ob pulchritudinem, amœnitatem & fertilitatem *Paradiſo* comparatur, igne cælitùs depluto exuritur; in plagis Ægypti terra, aqua, aër propter

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Pharaonis obſtinatam malitiam inficitur ac corrumpitur, impijs minatur Deus *cælum ferreum ac terram æneam*, quæ eſt miſera vanitas & corruptio, cui propter hominum creaturis peſſimè abutentium peccata, natura rerum eſt ſubjecta. Præcipuus inſuper creaturarum finis eſt, ut ex illarum inſpectione Deum creatorem agnoſcamus. Rom. 1. ver. 20. atque hunc finem apud impios creatura non aſſequitur, ideoque in illis ad διορθωσίαν informandis inſtar magiſtri negligentes & refractarios diſcipulos informantis fruſtra laborat, quæ etiam eſt *vanitas & ſervitus corruptionis*, quo ſenſu ac reſpectu tertia interpretatio cum quarta conjungi poteſt. Cæterùm huic vanitati & ſervituti corruptionis creatura dicitur ſubjecta, οὐκ ἑκοῦσα *non volens, ſed propter eum qui ſubjecit eam in ſpe.* h. e. non proprio vel naturali motu ſe illi ſubjecit, ſed Dei creatoris voluntate eidem ſubordinata, ſive certo modo atque ordine eſt ſubjecta. Syrus reddidit לא בצביה *non pro voluntate ſua non ſponte aut pro voto ſuo* ac προσδοκίαμὸν adjectum ἐπ' ἐλπίδι conjunxit cum verſu ſequente 21. *in ſpe quod & ipſa creatura liberabitur.* Quomodo vero creatura *non volens* vanitati ſubjecta? Qui per *vanitatem* intelligunt mutabilitatem & corruptionem, in varias abeunt ſententias, cùm eſſe mutabile & corruptibile videatur creaturæ corporali ac viſibili eſſe naturale, utpote proveniens ab eſſentialibus ipſius principiis. Thomas illud *non volens* ſic interpretatur, *quod defectus, qui conſequuntur naturæ corpoream mutabilitatẽ, cujuſmodi ſunt ſenium, putrefactio, corruptio, ſint contra naturam particularem hujus vel illius rei, cujus nimirum appetitus tendit ad ſui conſervationem & fugit ſuam corruptionem*; Theophylactus refert ad Dei Providentiam & creationem: Hoc, *inquit, ſignificat Dei providentia et cura mundum eſſe conditum, nec ipſum per ſe fuiſſe extructum, ſed totum ad commoditatem & uſum hominis à Deo eſſe factum.* Alii referunt ad ſecuturam mundi renovationem: *Non volens dicitur, quia cum hic mundus expectet mirabilem illam renovationum & ſtatum gloriæ, ad quem in reſurrectionis tempore perventurus eſt, ideò præſentem hunc ſtatum tanto ignobiliorem dicitur non velle, comparatione ſcil. majoris boni quod expectat.* Sed quia per vanitatem & ſervitutem corruptionis diximus præcipuè intelligi ſervitium, quod impiis in hac vita creaturæ impendunt, ideò ſenſus eſt, quod creatura quaſi abhorreat à peſſimo illo impiorum abuſu, interim tamen quia primitùs ad uſum hominis condita, ideò Dei creatoris imperio & ordinationi obſequitur. Cùm enim Apoſtolus per emphaticam Proſopopæiam totius creaturæ corporeæ univerſitatem velut unam quampiam perſonam nobis proponat, ut poſtea videbimus, ideò etiam ſenſum & appetitum ipſi tribuit, quod *non volens* vanitati illi h. e. impiorum abuſui ſit ſubjecta. De ſecundo *Prædicati* membro dicit Apoſtolus. *v.* 19. ἡ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. & verſ. 22. *ſcimus quod omnis creatura* συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. Dixerat verſ. 18. *paſſiones hujus temporis non eſſe condignas ad futuram gloriam, quæ in nobis revelabitur.* *v.* 19. ſubjungit ἀποκαραδοκία, *ſolicita enim creaturæ expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.* 1. ut quodamodo explicet magnitudinem ac pondus futuræ illius gloriæ, cujus cauſa, donec reipſa contingat, omnes moleſtias & quævis hujus vitæ adverſa æquo animo tolerare debeamus,

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cum etiam irrationalis creatura anxiè ac ſolicitè tempus illud, in quo gloria filiorum Dei manifeſtanda eſt, expectet, quod magnum eſt argumentum, gloriam illam eſſe auguſtam & inæſtimabilem. 2. ut certitudinem ſecuturæ illius gloriæ demonſtret, quia enim omnis creatura revelationem filiorum Dei avidiſſimè expectat, ideò ea certiſſimè ſuo tempore ſequetur, neque enim illud univerſale totius naturæ deſiderium à Deo ipſi innatum atq; inſitum poteſt eſſe fruſtraneum. 3. Ut dignitatem filiorum Dei exprimat, quod illis non ſolum, *omnia in bonum cooperentur, quod primitias ſpiritus acceperint, quod cum Chriſto patiantur, ac proinde etiam cum ipſo glorificandi ſint*, ſed quod omnia etiam unà cum ipſis ingemiſcant, parturiant & liberationem eorum unicè expetant. Magna autem in verbis Apoſtoli eſt emphaſis. Expectationem illam creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei deſiderantis vocat ἀποκαραδοκίαν, quod Hilar. lib. 12. de Trin. vertit *longinquam*, Ambroſius *frequentem expectationem* jam inde ſcil. à prima mundi origine, vel ſaltem à lapſu protoplaſtôn cœptam & quotidiè durantem. Theophylactus rectiſſimè vertit *ſolicitam, anxiam & quaſi exerto capite factam expectationem*. Componitur enim hæc vox ex ἀπὸ à κάρα caput, & δοκεῖν videre, qui enim aliquid videre magnopere deſiderant & cupidè expectant, exporrecto, ſive exerto capite ſubinde illud proſpiciunt, in altum ſuſpiciunt, quaſi rem deſideratam indè expectent. Syrus reddidit: *Omnis creatura expectat & oculos intendit* מצפיא *in ſpecula quaſi expectat*, Philip. 1. v. 20. utitur hac voce Apoſtolus ad exprimendũ vehemens illud *deſiderium* ac *ſpem* qua afflictiones quas pro Chriſto patiebatur, in ipſius gloriam ceſſuras ſperabat. In verſione Aquilæ habetur. Pſal. 37. v. 17. pro התחוללו vehementèr *expectavit, inſtar parturientis*, quâ ſimilitudine etiam poſtea utitur Apoſtolus. Polybius utitur hoc vocabulo *de anxia, ſolicita illa expectatione, quam exercitus ad prælium parati habere ſolent dum expectant Imperatoris mandatum.* Emphaticè igitur vox ἀποκαραδοκίας *expectationem creaturæ ſolicitam exprimit.* Auget emphaſin, quod Apoſtolus non ſimpliciter dicit, *creatura expectat*, ſed *expectatio* creaturæ expectat q. d. creaturæ tam anxiè atque avidè gloriã illam expectant, ut videantur eſſe ipſa expectatio: *per revelationem filiorũ Dei* intelligit plenariam communicationẽ gloriæ cœleſtis in vita æterna quæ filijs Dei in die noviſſimo continget, ut colligitur ex v. Col. 3. 4. Joh. 3. v. 2. hæc filiorum Dei revelatio eſt *conſummata conſolatio, h. e. conſummata gloria quæ non erit niſi reſumptis corporibus*, ait Hilarius in Pſal. 125. v. 22. addit *creaturam* συστενάζειν καὶ συνωδίνειν, ubi rectè notat Chryſoſtomus quod *Apoſtolus* μεγοποποιεῖν τὸν κόσμον ὥστε ἐμφατικώτερον εἶναι τὸν λόγον, *introducit totam rerum creatarum viſibilium ac corporearum univerſitatem velut fœminam quandam parturientem & ingemiſcentem ob dolores, quos ante partum & in partu ſuſtinet.* Quia enim dies noviſſimus eſt tempus παλιγγενεσίας. Math. 19. v. 28. quo terra magno & mirando partu corpora reſuſcitatorum in lucem edet, ac filij *reſurrectionis* in vitam prodibunt; Luc. 20. v. 36. ideò creaturam adventum diei noviſſimi cupidè expectantem parturienti, & præ dolore ingemiſcenti fœminæ confert. Talis proſopopœia etiam in alijs Scripturæ locis occurrit, ſic mare, flumina, montes, arbores, introducuntur à ſpiritu Sancto, ut *plaudentes, jubilantes*, & *exultantes*: Non tamen ſimpliciter & abſolutè pronunciat Apoſtolus

postolus, *quod creatura ingemiscat ac parturiat*, sed quod συστενάζει ac συνωδίνει *simul ingemiscat ac simul parturiat*, vel quod creaturæ inter sese, vel (quod convenientius est ut apparet ex v. 23.) quòd *unà cum homine* ingemiscant & parturiant, h.e. in similitudinem parturientis doleant, anxiè expectantes tempus, quo filii Dei, sive gloria filiorum Dei est revelanda, quamvis diversitas quædam lectionis hìc occurrat, quidam enim codices olim habuerunt, *congemiscit*, & *parturit*, quo modo legit *Hieronymus* in comm. cap. 24. Esa. Quidam: *congemiscit & condolet*. Quidam congemiscit & dolet. August. d. l. Quidam ingemiscit & parturit, Cyrill. lib. 5. Thes. cap. 7. Hesych. lib. 5. in Levit. Ambros. in comment. sed dubium nullum, genuinam esse lectionem eam, quæ habet *congemiscit & comparturit*. Additus συνωδίνουσιν ἄχρι νῦν diversimode exponitur. Qui ad *homines pios* referunt, sic exponunt, quod ille dolor ac gemitus per gratiam justificationis non sit ablatus, sed maneat in piis usque ad mortem. Qui ad *spiritus defunctorum* referunt, eo sensu accipiunt, quod animæ usque ad diem resurrectionis corporum suorum restitutionem, & gloriæ filiorum Dei revelationē expectent. Sed quid de hisce hypothesibus statuendū sit, jam antè vidimus, de corporea, visibili & irrationabili creatura Apostolo sermo est, quam dicit *usq; nunc* expectare, ut ostendat desiderium illud esse non solum anxium, sed etiam continuum, quod jam inde à lapsu protoplastôn cœperit, ac ab eo tempore perpetuò duraverit, quin & ad finem usque mundi duraturum sit, De *tertio prædicati membro* tractat Apostolus. v. 21. *quia & ipsa creatura liberabitur à servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*, hoc est anxia illa creaturæ expectatio non frustrabitur suo eventu, quia creatura à servitio illo, quo impiorum abusibus servire cogitur, aliquando liberabitur. Quod additur εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης diversimodè exponitur. 1. Chrys. accipit *causaliter*, particulam enim εἰς exponit per διὰ *propter, vel in commendationem* libertatis & gloriæ filiorum Dei, id quod declarat quadam similitudine. *Quemadmodum Nutrix quæ infantem alit regium, illo ad regium principatum evecto, & ipsa quoque bonorum fructuum percipit: pari ratione cum homo gloriâ donabitur, hanc ejus gloriam cæteræ creaturæ quæ homini servierunt participabunt; Thomas in supplem. q. 91. art. 3. Quemadmodum paterfamilias cum dignitas filio nova confertur, illius famulos novo atque illustri amictu induit: sic Deus cum nova sempiternaque dignitas homini in cœlo tribuetur, creaturam quæ illi servit, illustriore veste decorabit. Sed hæc explicatio renovationem mundi fore* præsupponit, quod adhuc in quæsito est. 2. Quidam exponunt *exemplariter, in libertatem* h.e. in imitationem vel ad exemplum *libertatis gloriæ* sive *gloriosæ filiorum Dei*, ut sic similem quandam libertatem, stabilitatem & immortalitatem cum filiis Dei reliquæ creaturæ intelligantur accepturæ. 3. Ambrosius accipit *temporaliter* quia εἰς ἐλευθερίαν accipit pro ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ *in libertate*, ut sic denotetur tempus, quo liberanda erit creatura à servitute corruptionis, nimirum quando filiis Dei *libertas gloriæ*, h.e. gloriosa liberatio ab omni miseria, infirmitate, mutabilitate, afflictione adeoque ab omnibus corporis & animi malis obtinget. 4. Posset etiam particula εἰς exponi *eventualiter*, ἐκβατικῶς *Creatura liberabitur à servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*, h.e. quando creatura in consummatione sæculi

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culi ab illa vanitate & servitute corruptionis liberabitur, tunc *libertas gloriæ* sive gloriosa libertas filiorum Dei in publico Angelorum & hominum conspectu manifestabitur. Hisce probè observatis facile appareret ex hoc loco Apostolico mutationem præsentis mundi in statum meliorem non posse Apodictice demonstrari. 1. Quod si enim de *creatura Angelica* vel humana subjectum Apostolicæ prædicationis accipiatur, nihil præsidij in hoc textu invenient, qui accidentium tantùm abolitionem defendunt. Sed quia interpretationes illæ licet magnis in ecclesia Doctoribus probatæ, textui minùs conveniunt, ac simplicius est *per creaturam* intelligere universam creaturam corpoream visibilem & irrationalem, ideò addimus. 2. Apostolum nequaquam dicere, *quòd liberanda sit creatura à corruptione*, quæ phrasis substantiali interitui opposita videri poterat, *sed à servitute corruptionis*, quæ eidem minimè adversatur: Renati in hac etiam vitâ liberantur *à servitute peccati*, Rom. 6. v. 7. interim non liberantur plenariè *ab* ipso *peccato*, quippè quod in carne ipsorum adhuc habitat. Rom. 7. v. 17. Si Christianus in Turcia captivus detineatur, ac misera servitute prematur, inquè ea tandem moriatur, is liberatur à servitute corruptionis, sed non ab ipsa corruptione, quia corpus ejus in pulverem convertitur. Si creaturæ liberantur *à servitute corruptionis*, h. e. à servitio, quod impijs hominibus in hac vitâ mortali impendere coguntur, interim tamẽ ipsæ non sunt nec fiunt liberæ à corruptione. 3. Liberatio illa creaturæ non fit per renovationem, restaurationem, incorruptibilitatis communicationem, inq; meliorem statum mutationem, sed per ipsam corruptionem atq; annihilationem, quando scil. hominibus impijs non amplius cogentur servire. Quo n. sensu *vanitas & servitus corruptionis* ipsis tribuitur, eodem sensu opposita *liberatio à servitute corruptionis* ipsis assignanda, ut ostendit oppositio. Jam verò *vanitas & servitus corruptionis* creaturæ tribuitur sensu eo, quòd impijs turpiter ac nefariè contra voluntatem creatoris illis abutentibus coguntur in hac vita servire; Ergò etiam liberatio à servitute corruptionis eo sensu illis tribuenda, quod servitium illud unà cum hac vita mortali desinat, quæ servitij abolitio non solum *per renovationem* ac restaurationem, sed etiam per *annihilationem* fieri potest, ac proinde *ab indeterminato ad determinatum, à genere ad certam speciem, à liberatione ad modum liberationis* per renovationem non debet fieri progressus. 4. Tertull. lib. de anim. cap. 42. de Epicuro memorat, *quòd, mortem ad nos nihil pertinere, hoc evincere voluerit argumento: quod dissolvitur, sensu caret, quod autem sensu caret, nihil ad nos.* Senec. in consolatione ad Martiam, *per mortem homini liberationem ab omnibus malis contingere dicit*, atque interim morte totaliter hominem interire opinatur: *Mors* inquit, *omnium & solutio est & finis, ultra quam mala nostra non exeunt.* Ibid. *non potest esse miser qui nullus est.* Quod ille sensu Epicuræo de homine ad immortalitatem condito falsò affirmavit, illud ad creaturas corporeas propter hujus vitæ usum conditas sano sensu applicare possumus. Interitus creaturæ servitij illius cui in hac vita subjecta est, & solutio est & finis, ultra quem servitium illud non erit. 5. Meritò verò urgemus illud quod Apostolus nomine creaturæ non tantum intelligat cœlum, Elementa ac terram, sed omnes omninò corporeas, visibiles & irrationales creaturas,

quæ

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quæ abusui impiorum in hac vita non minus, quàm cœlum, terra, & elementa sint subjectæ. Quod si ergò *liberatio illa à servitute corruptionis* aliquando futura esset per renovationem & incorruptibilitatis participationem, consequens foret, non solùm cœlum & elementa, sed etiam corpora mixta, ac omnium specierum in brutis & arboribus individua esse aliquando renovanda, & ad incorruptibilitatem resuscitanda quod tamen nec ipsi renovationis patroni concedunt. Vim hujus instantiæ Franciscus Puccius in defens. adv. Socinum ferre non potuit, inde *pag.* 18. disputat, *etiam bruta animantia esse ad incorruptibilitatem resuscitanda.* 6. Ideò verò Apostolus maluit dicere, *creaturam liberandam à servitute corruptionis*, quàm totaliter interituram, tum quia voluit usurpare talem phrasin, quæ etiam de homine prædicari posset, nec tamen hominis respectu interitui esset opposita. Jam verò totalis interitus ac corruptio in die novissimo hominibus non competit, liberatio autem à servitute corruptionis hominibus est etiam communis: tum quia voluit in prosopopœia allegorica, & hyperbole illa metaphorica, qua creaturis irrationalibus actus quosdam rationis dedit persistere; q. d. Si creaturæ abusui impiorũ in hac vita subjectæ sensus ac rationis essent participes, præoptarent potius omnimodam annihilationem, quàm talem servitutem. 7. ex phrasi εἰς ἐλευθερίαν colligi nequit, *terminum ad quem* liberationis, fore unum ac eundem creaturæ cum filiis Dei, aliàs enim sequeretur, creaturam etiam vitæ æternæ & cœlestis gloriæ filij Dei promissæ, fore participem, sed denotatur duntaxat *liberationis tempus* ut ex Ambrosio monuimus. Quidam addunt, *non institui identitatem, sed generalem comparationem*, cujus sensus hic sit. Sicut certa est liberatio filiorum Dei à suâ vanitate & servitute corruptionis, cui in hoc mundo subjacent, sic etiam certa erit reliquarum creaturarum à vanitate liberatio, quamvis liberationis modus, utrobique plurimum variet, Confer. D. Feurborn. in disput. contra Phil. Cæsarem th. 132. & seqq.

SECT. IV.

The testimonies of such Divines as hold the future Abolition *of the world, besides those already named in mine* Apologie, *as also of some of those already named, whose words are not there expressed.*

Johannes Gerhardus S.S. Theol. Doctor, in Academia *Ienensi* Professor Publicus, locis communibus. Tom. 9. cap. 5. de consummatione sæculi.

SEntentiam de substantiali mundi interitu, non defendimus ut fidei articulum, scitu aut creditu simpliciter necessarium, sed eam emphaticis scripturæ dictis quæ de fine mundi loquuntur, magis conformem esse dicimus.

Iohannes Wollebius S.S. T.D. in Academia Basiliensi Profess. Publicus, Compendia Theologiæ Christianæ. lib. 1. cap. 36.

Having set downe both the opinions, the one for the Renovation, the other for the Abolition of the world, at last he concludes: *Etsi in istiusmodi*

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istiusmodi controversia, qua nullus fidei articulus labefactatur, liceat ἐπέχειν, salvo tamen aliorum judicio Cordatus Lector posteriori sententiæ subscribet, aliud quippe est instaurari, & in melius mutari: aliud instar vestimenti veterascere, instar fumi evanescere, dissolvi, liquescere, conflagrare, præterire, non amplius existere, ut superiora testimonia volunt.

Conradus Vorstius S.S. T. D. Professor publicus in Gymnasio Steinfurtensi loc. com. in epist. 2. D. Petri ex cap. 3.

'Concludendum igitur est mundum hunc vere olim interiturum sive 'substantialiter olim periturum esse.

Andreas Rivetus S.S. T. D. Lugduni Batavorum Professor publicus, in cap. 8. Gen. Exercitatione 58.

'Sententia quæ substantialem mundi interitum tuetur à paucioribus 'defenditur, sed qui argumentis pugnant non levibus, tam è Sacra Scrip- 'tura quam ratione desumptis.

Having at large examined that passage commonly brought, from the 8. to the *Romans*, his censure thereupon is, *non existimarem hunc locum ad cæli & terræ renovationem referri posse.* His close of all is, *Non existimo affirmativam sententiam de cæli & terræ secundum substantiam, id est, materiam & formam permanentia, certis argumentis & talibus quibus contradici non possit, hactenus fuisse demonstratam; id sufficere videtur si rerum istarum omnium conflagrationem & dissolutionem asserentes, hoc certum ponamus futuram habitationem sanctorum amœnissimam, & locum etiam horrendum supplicijs impiorum destinatum; primam illam cæli novi & novæ terræ nominibus venire, in ea nihil carnale esse cogitandum. Cavendum etiam ne gloriam filiorum Dei communicemus corruptibilibus creaturis quæ beatitudinis sunt incapaces.*

Iohannes Chassanio locorum com. lib. 3. cap. 22. ubi docet

'Promissionem de cœlis novis & terra nova summam & perfectam 'Ecclesiæ instaurationem in regno Dei patris allegoricè significare; pro- 'ut spiritualia & æterna rebus corporeis & aspectabilibus sæpius in 'Scriptura figurantur. Ita mundum isto visibili præstantiorem nobis 'proponi, ne hujus mundi casum & finem *doleamus*, hujus rei rationem 'subjici cum in illis cœlis novis, & terra nova *justitia inhabitare dicitur. Whereunto he addes*, Hinc liquido apparet de novo aliquo cœlo, aut terra 'non proprie hic agi, ne quis existimet [ut nonnulli censent] hunc mun- 'dum renovatum iri, ipsamque mundi substantiam non perituram esse, 'sed ejus qualitatem, quatenus vitiosa & corruptioni obnoxia est, non 'igitur renovabitur mundus, sed plane desinet.

Clarissimus Iunius in Paral. append. in 2. Pet. 3. v. 7. Paral. 14. docet

'Effecta in eo poni duo, prius, quod hi cœli cum stridore peribunt, 'elementa æstuantia solventur, terraque & res quæ in eo sunt exurentur, 'omnia denique colliquescent, tribus versibus antecedentibus: id est, 'hæc omnia, vanitati subjecta *peribunt*, glorioso adventu Christi. Alter 'effectus est, quod novi cœli & terra nova, nova urbs, nimirum venturi 'illius sæculi, omnia denique nova piis in Christo futura sunt, ut *Esai.* '65. *vers.* 66. gravissimè promissum est, & *Iohannes* prædicat glorioss- 'simè, *Apocal.* 21. *Proculdubio invenies, non cœlum hoc, aut terram hanc,*

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quasi refusam, sed illud ipsum habitaculum in quo justitia habitat, &c. Quibus verbis satis indicat se fuisse in ea sententia, desitura esse quæ jam videntur, & quæ nova promittuntur ad statum beatæ vitæ rerum præsentium similitudine expositum, referri debere. Ideo etiam in privatis responsionibus ad quæstiones sibi propositas, eandem sententiam, *terram hanc, imò hanc naturam non fore*, ratione & authoritate stabilire conatur.

Remonstrantes in Examine Censuræ, cap. 19. pag. 220.

Argumenta certè quæ pro substantiali mundi interitu militant, & Scripturæ loca quæ ei fini serviunt, tam sunt multa & evidentia: quæ verò pro accidentali interitu adhibentur tam levia & pauca, ut mirum videatur Remonstr: cur non pro ista potius parte universalis consensus; quàm pro hac steterit.

Socinus in resp. ad defens. Franc. Puccij, cap. 6. pag. 135.

Ego profectò perspicere nondum possum, quibus verbis ex sanctis literis depromptis rerum cælestium immortalitatem, seu potius perpetuam permansionem, vel etiam renovationem aliquis confirmare possit, atque ijs etiam globum hunc terrestrem annumerare. Quinimo multa ex divinis literis testimonia proferri possunt, quibus contrarium perspicuè demonstretur. Vita hæc animalis ac terrestris in die judicij cessare debet, & ejus loco spiritualis & cœlestis substitui. Quid ergo vero cœlo & vera terra in illa nobis opus erit? nonne & cœlum & terram, ut huic animali ac terrestri vitæ inservirent, Deus creavit? qua cessante propter quam utrúmque conditum fuit, annon & ipsa cessare debent? Cum Dominus Iesus apertè dicat nos Angelis Dei similes futuros, quid nobis cum cælo hoc quod aspicimus, & cum terra hac in qua habitamus, vel cum alijs ejusdem generis? Nunquid Angeli Dei hoc cœlo & hac terrâ, sive alijs ejusdem generis utuntur atque fruuntur? cui usui amplius futura sunt nobis omnia, quæ in cœlo vel in terra sunt vel alia ejus similia? nunquid ad cibos quibus sustentemur, eorum ope & inde percipiendos cum immortales futuri simus, ut nulla refectione opus habituri? sed opinor non quibus sustentemur, sed quibus delitiemur; ergo & Angeli ipsi, quorum pares futuri sumus, non solum cibis utuntur, sed etiam eos hujus cœli ope, & ex hac terra, sive ex alijs his similibus percipiunt, alioqui si aliunde suos cibos haberent, etiamsi in futuro sæculo comedendum nobis esset, non tamen ob eam causam, cœlo aut terra aliqua vera nobis opus esset. Num fortassis aliquo sole & luna, aliquibusve stellis ad diei & noctis distinctionem, ad tempestatum vicissitudines, ad annos norandos, propter quæ sydera omnia creata fuerunt, opus erit nobis qui in perpetua luce futuri sumus experturi, qui sempiternam vitam vivemus? Num luce hac creata & ipso sole ac luna ad locum illustrandum ubi erimus opus erit nobis, qui ipsam increatam lucem perpetuò præsentem habituri simus, quibusque Deus ipse & claritas ejus & Dominus Iesus agnus ille purissimus in æternum lucebunt ac vice solis & lunæ erunt? Num ad oculorum oblectationem, sydera egebimus nos, qui Deum ipsum præsentem intuebimur, & æternæ majestatis ejus jucundissimo aspectu in omne ævum perfruemur? At credo animantibus cæteris illum novum cœlum & terra

nova,

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'nova, non nobis usui erunt? sed Petrus manifestè ait, nobis non bestijs 'promissum fuisse à Deo novum cœlum & novam terram; quan- 'quam non video, quomodo si bestiæ non minus quàm nos immortales 'sunt futuræ, vel aliquo cœlo ac terrâ egere possint, vel varietates & vi- 'cissitudines quas cœlum terræ impendens secum necessariò affert, ex- 'periri queant.

Wolfangus Frantzius in disput: suis contra Pontificios, Calvinianos, Socinianos disput. 7. de judicio extremo sect. 6.

An & quomodo mundus sit interiturus?

'Post recitatas utriusque partis sententias & rationes concludit tan- 'dem Thesi 37. Verisimilior igitur est eorum sententia, qui statuunt fi- 'nem mundi futurum in adventu filij Dei talem, quod nimirum filius 'Dei totum mundum quoad substantiam, ignea flamma resolvet & per- 'det, ita ut non amplius sint stellæ, sol & luna in cælo, elementa non am- 'plius appareant, & quod in illo transitu mortui omnes revocabuntur in 'vitam; Eo enim etiam respexit *Iobus cap.* 14. 12. Quod homo non re- 'surget donec non fuerint cæli.

Iuvencus Præfat. in hist Evangel.
Immortale nihil mundi compage tenetur.
Non orbis, non regna hominum, non aurea Roma;
Non mare, non tellus, non ignea sydera cæli.
Nam statuit genitor rerum, irrevocabile tempus,
Quo cunctum torrens rapiet flamma ultima mundum.

Lutherus in D. Petri epist. post. Enarra. cap. 3.

'Hic qui volet inquirat an beati in cœlis tum vel in terra habitaturi 'sint. Hic locus certè sonat, in terra ipsos habitaturos, ita ut totum hoc, 'cœli & terra in unam quandam paradisum cessura sint, in qua Deus ha- 'bitabit. Non enim solum ille in cœlis habitare solet, sed ubique, igitur 'erunt & electi ubi ipse fuerit.

Tilenus in Syntag. de judicio extremo.

'Novum cœlum & terram novam de quibus Isaias vaticinatur c. 65. '17. non de aspectabilis hujus cœli, ac terræ instauratione, sed proprie 'de ecclesiæ instauratione per Christum, vel typicè de sede beatorum, 'intelligimus; ut patet ex collatione hujus loci cum *Apoc.* 21. 1. Quo- 'circa *Petrus* 2. *ep.* 3. 13. dictum illud repetens, adjicit, *in quibus justitia 'habitat.* Significans se non agere de hac terra, in qua degunt homines 'injusti; brutæ animantes & res caducæ, sed de justorum habitaculo, '& corporis, quod non amplius animale, sed spirituale factum est, loco. 'De aspectabili autem hoc cœlo & terra Prophetæ hujus minimè ambi- 'gua est sententia, ubi illud, velut fumum, evaniturum; istam, ut pan- 'num, veteraturam esse docet. cap. 51. v. 6.

'Cum futuri sæculi status in hoc sæculo aliter exponi non possit, 'quam rerum præsentium similitudine; ideò duo extrema hujus uni- 'versitatis, uterque; Isaias scilicet, & Petrus nominant, ut typo hujus u- 'niversitatis, in qua nunc versamur, universitatem illam futuri sæculi in 'qua æternum victuri sumus, quodammodo adumbrent.

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Ægidius Hunnius de Providentia.

Atque illud interire, perire, transire, præterire, intelligunt illi non de redactione cœlorum in nihilum, sed de eorum instauratione & in statum perfectiorem & meliorem transformatione.

'Respondeant ergo ubi & in qua grammatica interire idem significat 'quod instaurari, vel in nobiliorem statum transformari? cum hujusmo- 'di instauratio vel in formam perfectiorem transmutatio, rem potius ab 'interitu vindicet, & non solum in Grammatica, sed etiam in Physicis, 'imo non in Philosophia tantùm, sed etiam Theologia interitui velut è 'diametro opponatur? Adhæc certum est, talem transformationem, 'qualem illi secundũ accidentia tribuunt cœlo & terræ, adscribi corpo- 'ribus electorum, quos dies Domini vivos apprehendet, dicente Paulo; 'Non omnes quidem moriemur, omnes autem transmutabimur. Hoc 'cum ita sit, quæro ex illius opinionis assertoribus, anne rectè dici ex- 'istiment, si quis affirmet, eorum fidelium, qui in adventu Domini su- 'perstites erunt, corpora esse in illa transmutatione interitura? peritura? 'transitura? fugitura, ut locus eis non inveniatur amplius? nec fore ea 'amplius: sicut de cœlis, terra & mari scriptura hæc omnia pronunciat? 'si hoc ipsimet absurdum esse censent, reputent secum, pari absurditate 'laborare hanc ex eodem fonte petitam interpretationem, qua per 'transire, perire & interire putant intelligendam transformationem è 'statu viliore in longè præstabiliorem.

Eadem ferè habet in Comment: ad Roman: cap. 8.

'Quod autem obtendunt aliqui: illud perire, interire, transire non de 'redactione cœlorum & terræ in nihilum, sed restauratione & commu- 'tatione in nobiliorem statum esse intelligendum; hi nihil dicunt. Ubi 'enim unquam *interire* idem significat quod *instaurari*? ubi idem quod 'in *melius mutari*? cum ejusmodi mutatio rei in statum meliorem, potius 'rem ab interitu vindicet, & interitui quiddam sit oppositum.

'Præterea an non eorum fidelium qui in adventu Domini reliqui e- 'runt corpora, pari ratione interire dicenda forent, quando per transfor- 'mationem subitam illam mutabuntur in melius? si talis in nobiliorem 'formam & statum mutatio dicenda foret interitus. Cum verò hoc ab- 'surdum sit affirmatu, quidni & prius absurdum sit oportet? proinde in- 'ter creaturas prima creatione factas, non existimo ullam aliam duratu- 'ram in æternum; præter solos Angelos & homines: cœlum autem & 'terram, quæ nunc sunt, sic transitura, ut juxta testimonium Apocalyp- 'seos, nullus amplius eis locus sit futurus.

Math. Beroaldus. Chron. lib. 1. *cap.* 2.

'Sine homine mundi nullum usum fore, quia hominis causa sit condi- 'tus, nemo est ut existimo, qui non assentiatur. At hominum generi, cui 'loco alio fruenda & fælicitas, mundus non semper incoletur, sed suo 'tempore relinquetur. Quod autem divino imperio acciderit, mundum '& quæ in mundo sunt, in nihilum reditura, quemadmodum ex nihilo 'fuerant effecta, tantendum est, uti etiam vera nobis ex Dei verbo sugge- 'rit ratio.

Balthazar

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Balthazar Meisnerus in Philosophia sobria. part. 1. sect. 3. q. 5.
Num mundus κατ' ἰδίαν sit interiturus?

'Quantumvis autem τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι hic fortè sit tutissimum, & locum habere 'debeat regula à Bernardo præscripta, serm. 4. omn: sanct: Quod nulli 'datum est experiri, nullus conetur effari: attamen si sacrarum litterarum dicta, de interitu mundi loquentia, accuratius considerentur, totalis potius mundi corruptio, quam nuda qualitatum immutatio statuenda esse videtur.

Polanus in symphonia Catholica. cap. 28. thesi. 3.

'Destructio mundi hoc est, cœlorum mobilium, elementorum & corporum elementarium, erit substantialis non accidentalis, erit abolitio & annihilationis species; sic ut cœli igni conflagrantes cum stridore 'sint præterituri, elementa æstuantia dissolvenda, terraque & quæ in eâ 'opera sunt exurenda.

Arnobius Iunior, de Deo trino & uno.

'Sicut ex nihilo factus est mundus, ita ad nihilum redigendus erit in 'fine sæculi, quia scriptum est, *Ipsi peribunt &c.*

Math. Martinius in Thelogia.

'Resp: cœlum & terra non tantùm dicuntur interitura, ac peritura, 'sed etiam non amplius futura, ac ita transitura, ut locus eis non inveni'atur.

To these might be added the testimonies of *Melancthon*, *Brentius* and *Bucer*, as witnesseth *Vorstius* in the place before alleadged; and besides it is certaine that many of the ancient Fathers, and some of the latter *Romanists* (even by the confession of *Suarez*) being no doubt convicted by the evidence of Scripture, held an utter Abolition of this world, but the substitution indeed of a new insteed thereof, though the passages they vouch to that purpose prove it not; neither doe any of them assigne any end of their new world that I can finde: I will instance only in *Vallesius de sacrâ Philosophia. cap. 89.*

'Videtur probabilissimum esse, mundum hunc corporalem quem con'spicimus perituum aliquando esse, ac pro illo alium longè præstantio'rem esse denuo creandum; alienum enim omnino à ratione est, corpora 'naturâ mobilia, quæque naturali impetu feruntur, ut cœlestes orbes in 'æterna violentia contineri. Nihil enim Philosophis certius, quàm 'nullum violentum esse æternum. Cœlum autem cum naturaliter fera'tur circulo, præter naturam & violenter detineretur: neque minor in'feretur violentia elementorum naturæ, si ea quoque quali nunc sunt 'naturâ durarent. Etsi enim corporibus suis, ordine dispositis naturalis 'succederet quies, esset tamen necesse, statum & illum ordinem & quie'tem interturbari actione mutua elementarium virtutum, nisi essent acti'va passivis proxima sine ulla actione, quod nihilominus rationi repug'nat. Quid enim posset illas inducias firmare, nisi à majore virtute illata 'violentia? verisimilius ergo multo est, corpora hæc cælestia & elemen'taria, que ad hanc velut rerum genesin optimè comparata nunc sunt, 'exacto toto tempore, & elevatis successivis mutationibus, quasi toto 'jam negotio peracto, velut defuncta munere suo finiri, atque alia pro 'illis longè pulchriora, & æternam illam requiem naturaliter expetentia

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'& ſecundum ſe tota inalterabilia creari denuò, quæ immutabilibus & 'æternis ſubſerviant, ut priora hæc naſcentibus & intereuntibus deſer-'viant modò.

My worthy friend Mr *Iohn Downe*, now with God, after he had ſent me his doubts raiſed from the 8th to the *Romans*, about the worlds Renovation; partly from mine anſwere thereunto, and partly from the expoſition of *Iohannes Gerardus* in the precedent Section, received ſo good ſatisfaction, that in his atteſtation annexed to my booke in the ſecond impreſſion, he inſerted theſe verſes which are there to be ſeene:

Reddetur ingens quam videmus machina
Levis favilla, tenuis & ciniſculus;
Cinis, favilla? non ſat eſt, imo Nihil.

By all which it appeares, that beſides authority of Scripture & force of reaſon, I ſtand not ſingle in the opinion of the worlds abolition, but have many great and grave Divines therein joyning with mee, with whom I muſt either ſtand, or they fall with me.

Epiſt. 2. cap. 3. I conclude all with S. *Peter*, *Seeing therefore that all theſe things muſt be diſſolved, what manner perſons ought yee to bee in holy converſation and godlineſſe, looking for and haſting unto the comming of that day of God, by the which the heavens being on fire, ſhall be diſſolved, and the elements ſhall melt with heate? But wee looke for new heavens and a new earth, according to his promiſe, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſſe. Wherefore beholdſeeing that yee looke for ſuch things, bee diligent that yee may bee found of him in peace, without ſpot and blameleſſe.*

***

Non eſt mortale quod opto.

Whatſoever I have written in this or any other booke, I humbly ſubmit to the cenſure of the Church of *England*.

FINIS.

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AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL THINGS Contained in the foure former Bookes of this *Apologie*.

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